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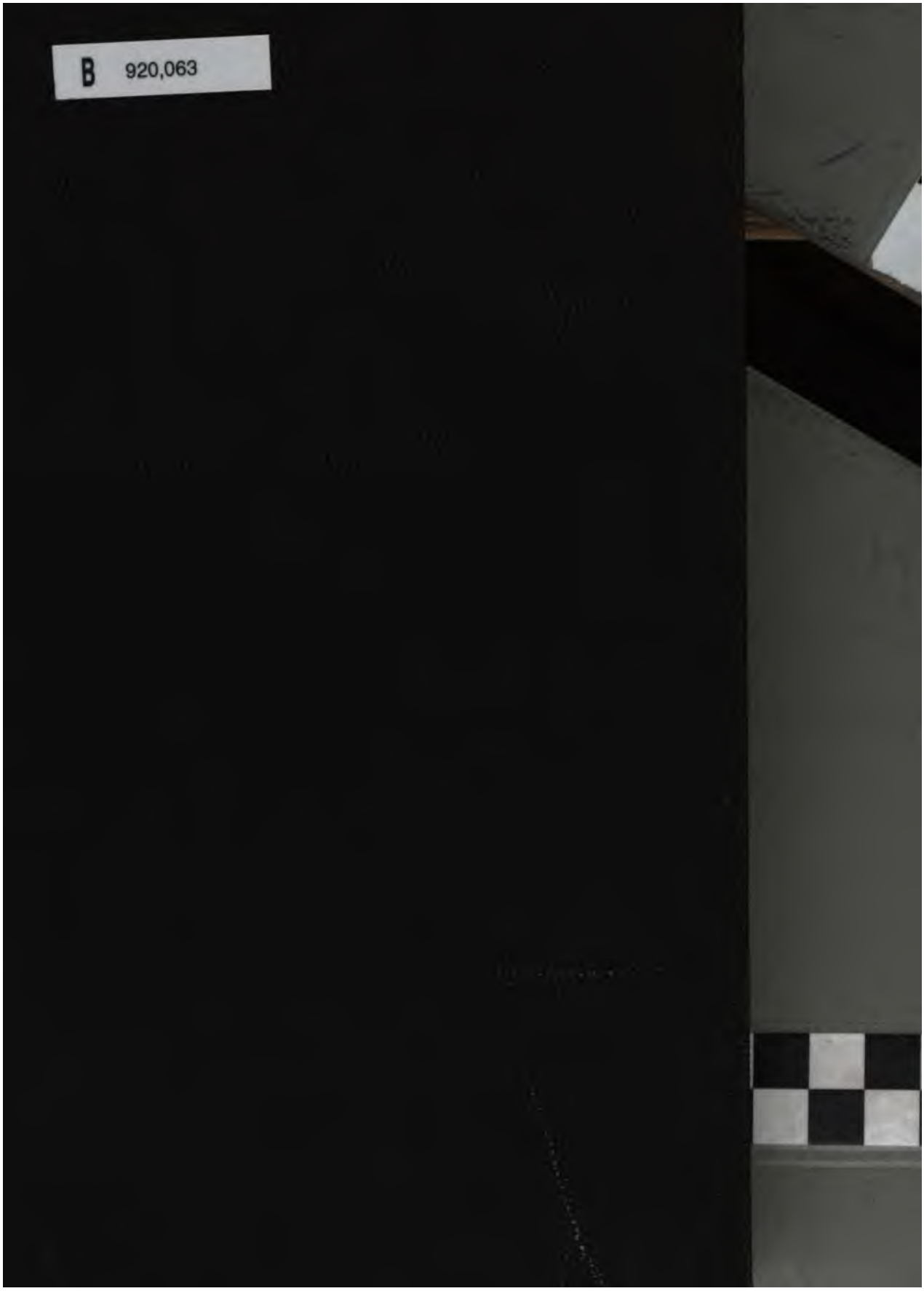

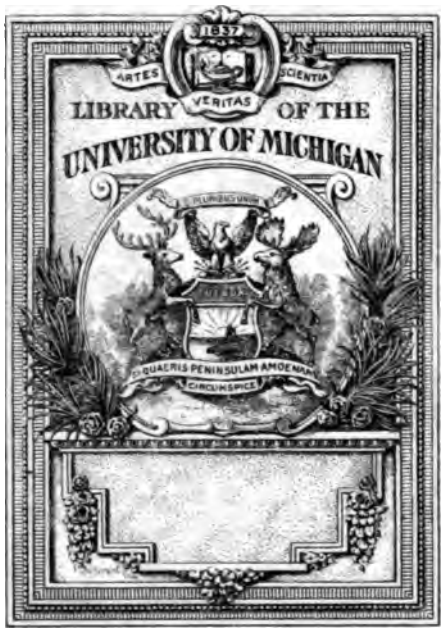
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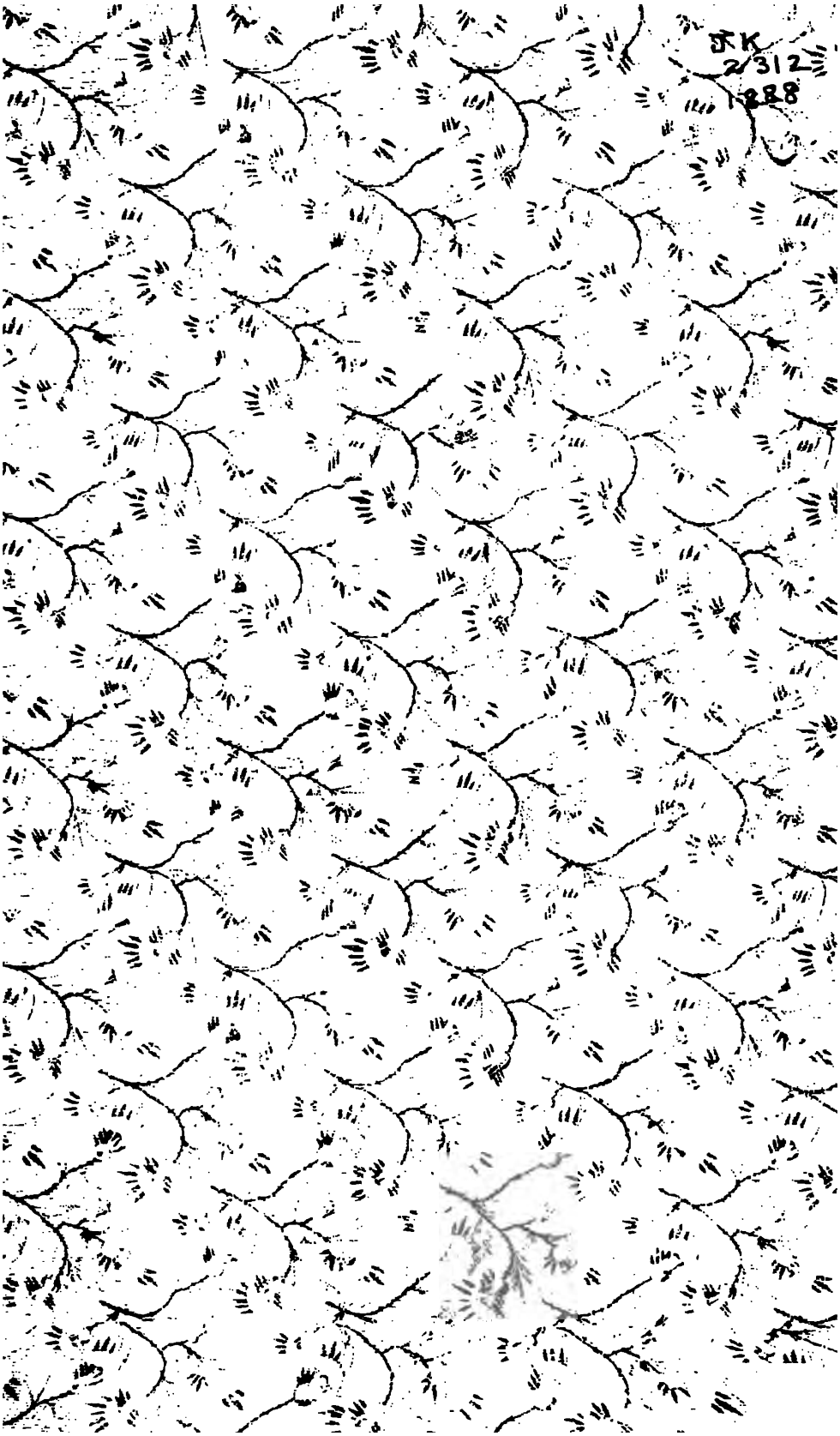

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Democratic party. National committee, 1888-1892.

THE CAMPAIGN TEXT BOOK

OF THE 4/6936

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

FOR THE

Presidential Election of 1888.

"The Government can never be restored and reformed except from inside, and by the active, intelligent agency of the Executive. We must hope that Providence will, in its own good time, raise up a man adapted and qualified for the wise execution of this great work, and that the people will put him in possession of the executive administration, through which alone that noble mission can be accomplished, and the health and life of our political system be preserved and invigorated.—SAMUEL J. TILDEN TO IROQUOIS CLUB, CHICAGO, MARCH 11TH, 1882.

"Cleveland's administration has been free from official or personal scandal; has been honest and clean. There have been no Star Route robberies; no navy jobberies; no War Department corruptions; no profligate waste by United States Marshals; no Treasury combinations or speculations; no corrupt operations in or through the Land Office. No American at home or abroad has had occasion to droop his eyes in shame because of any such things under Mr. Cleveland's administration. On the contrary, there has been a resolute effort to promote honest government, to increase efficiency, and to lessen expenses.—GEO. W. CHILDS, IN THE PHILADELPHIA LEDGER, AUGUST, 1888.

PREPARED BY DIRECTION OF THE

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

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PREFACE.

An attempt has been made in this text-book to present all the ideas and policies which the Democratic party has exemplified in the administration of the affairs of the Government during the past four years, and to illustrate the principles of the party as established during all the years of its growth and history.

While one important and absorbing question agitates the people of the country during the present campaign, it must not be forgotten that the party has behind it more than three years of successful administration, during which period the country has been prosperous, while its affairs have been carried on with honesty, economy, and efficiency. These have been so illustrated in every department of the Government that those chapters of this book devoted to the history of the Departments and the Bureau Service cannot be studied too closely.

This record forms an important part of the administration of President Cleveland. By this record it gained the confidence of the country, because it started out with the idea of conducting the business of the Government in a straightforward and efficient manner.

This is illustrated, in particular, in the general management of the Treasury Department and in every bureau forming a part of it. In each and all of these, as the brief and comprehensive tables submitted will show, a vastly increased amount of work has been done at a very marked reduction in cost. There is not only a proportionate reduction, but a real one, in spite of the accumulated work which the new administration found on the 4th of March, 1885, and of the business incident to the growth of the country. It has been so conducted as to insure efficiency and real economy. More work has been done by a smaller number of people and for less money than at any period of the same extent in the history of the Federal Government.

The facts concerning the reduction of the public debt, the maintenance of the public credit, and the distribution of the surplus funds of the Government may well be commended to Democratic speakers and writers.

The administration of the Navy will also command attention not only in the building of vessels, in the honesty and economy of which repairs have been made, and in the rectification of old and apparently settled abuses, but even in the detail affairs of the Department which have been conducted with such economy that the expenditures have, for the first time in many years, been kept within the estimates and the appropriations.

The public land policy of the administration is fully set forth in the chapter devoted to this subject, and the facts therein stated are so startling as to carry condemnation of the methods which conferred nearly two hundred millions of acres of the lands of the people upon railroad corporations during the period of fourteen years while the Republican party held unrestrained power.

The Indian Bureau is one of the branches of the administration to which the President has always devoted much thought and attention. His earliest declarations on this question showed a deep and intelligent interest in the wards of the nation, and the men selected for the purpose of carrying out his policy have done so with such success that while the expense of conducting the bureau has declined, the number of children in the schools has more than doubled.

In the Department of Justice there has been an increase of nearly fifty per cent. in the business over the last year of President Arthur's administration, with an increase in cost of less than three per cent.

The Department of Agriculture has never been conducted with such intelligence and efficiency as it is now. New experiments have been made which promise great results for the agriculture of the country, and the bureaus have been strengthened at every point until their work is perhaps better and more efficient than that done in any similar department in any other country.

The comprehensive chapter on "Democracy and the Soldier," shows the relations not only of the President to the veterans of our civil war, but the practical results secured in the executive conduct of the Department. A larger number of pensions have been granted during three years of Cleveland's term than during any similar period. The annual value of pensions has increased, the number of pensioners has been greatly enlarged, and the business has been conducted with a promptness never before known and with an utter absence of partisan manipulation. The President's pension vetoes, both of general and of private bills, are fully set forth, and make a complete answer to the charges which have been so recklessly made of antagonism to the interests of the soldier. These show that he has, in three years, signed almost as many private bills as Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Arthur did during sixteen years.

The Postoffice Department has extended its business almost indefinitely, with a cost surprisingly small compared with the old expenditures and the old results. The railway mail service has been enlarged and extended, as have the free delivery

service and every other branch of postal work. The receipts have increased twenty-five per cent., with the same rates of postage, over the last year of Republican ascendency, while the expenses have only been increased eleven per cent.

Due and careful study of the administrative features of the work accomplished by Mr. Cleveland and his cabinet is especially commended to all speakers and writers.

The other features of the book are more obvious. The tariff question is fully treated not only in the speeches of the members of the Ways and Means Committee, and of a large number of the Representatives on the floor of the House, but by interviews, letters and other methods of communication employed by men of experience at the head of manufacturing establishments, as well as by practical artisans.

The book is commended to campaign speakers and to the editors of newspapers friendly to the continuance of Democratic power, in the hope that they may find its pages an arsenal from which they may draw facts and arguments in favor of the assertion and maintenance of Democratic principles and policies.

Statistical tables covering purely political questions are also appended, for the first time, to a book of this kind. An attempt has been made in the indexing to give the ready reference to the topics treated in the book. It does not, however, pretend to the fulness and completeness which would be expected in a work of a less ephemeral character.

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CHAPTER I.

DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINES.

I.

THE PLATFORM OF 1888—ADOPTED BY THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION AT ST. LOUIS, JUNE 7.

The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and endorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress, as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also endorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

Chief among its principles of party faith, are the maintenance of an indissoluble union of free and indestructible states, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality and establishing justice.

The Democratic party welcome an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland President of the United States; and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people.

During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over-taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmatured, it has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only averted disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 of acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interest of the taxpayers, and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

By intelligent management and a judicious and economical expenditure of the public money, it has set on foot the reconstruction of the American navy upon a system which forbids the recurrence of scandal and insures successful results.

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations, while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own government and people at home and abroad.

The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained.

Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of good government, the National Democracy invokes a renewal, of popular trust by the re-election of a Chief Magistrate who is faithful, able and prudent.

They invoke an addition to that trust by the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

The Republican party, controlling the Senate, and resisting in both houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses; enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets; capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed.

The Democratic party will continue, with all the power confided to it, the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, endorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

Of all the industrious freemenof our land an immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from the tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation.

All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessaries of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people.

Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when by unnecessary taxation trusts and combinations are permitted and fostered, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens, by depriving them as purchasers,of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when through unnecessary taxation a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the national treasury.

The money now lying idle in the federal treasury resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than $125,000,000, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than $60,000,000 annually.

Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriations and expenditures, whether constitutional or not, the accumulations of extravagant taxation.

The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish unnecessary taxation.

Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not, and need not, be endangered by a reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises, by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operation.

In the interest of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party, would promote the advantage of such labor, by cheapening the cost of the necessaries of life in the home of every working man, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment.

Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

Resolved, That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that right of self-government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under the Constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana, and New-Mexico are by virtue of population and development entitled to admission into the Union as States, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican Party in refusing Statehood and self-government to their people.

Resolved, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their effort to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home rule in Ireland.

II.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JULY 10, 1884, AND REAFFIRMED AT ST. LOUIS, JUNE 7, 1888.

The Democratic Party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will

ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers.

This is now the condition of the country. Hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by fraud which can never be forgotten, nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits, or for high office.

The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity.

Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures.

It demands the restoration of our navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist.

It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It imposed and has continued those burdens.

It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers. It has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

It professes a preference for free institutions. It organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops.

It professes a desire to elevate labor. It has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor.

It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans. It left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions.

It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff. It created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent. reduction. Its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent.

It professes the protection of American manufactures. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods, and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials.

It professes to protect all American industries. It has impoverished many to subsidize a few.

It professes the protection of American labor. It has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people.

It professes the equality of all men before the law. Attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress was overset by the decisions of its courts.

It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform." Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honey-combed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels or a veto upon bad nominations.

That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry and deprived labor of employment and just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution of this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can, and must, be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government, economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion—religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as a conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the territory should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest civil service reform, and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and state, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation that will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporal abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain; and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned by the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores, our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own government and by all foreign powers.

It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof.

An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country, or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do no act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking, and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain.

Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand for the people of the United States an American policy.

Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry.

Under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in old world monarchies—their costly war

navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite their twenty years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy.

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

CHAPTER II.

THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION.

OUTLINE OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION WHICH NOMINATED CLEVELAND AND THURMAN.

On February 22, 1888, the National Democratic Committee met in Washington to issue the call for the convention. There was a sharp rivalry between the representatives of New York, St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco and Cincinnati for the convention, which was settled in favor of St. Louis, and the time for holding the convention fixed for Tuesday, June 5.

The State Conventions were held from February until within a fortnight of the assembling of the National Convention at St. Louis. In every one, without a word of dissent or an opposing vote, the renomination of Grover Cleveland was demanded and his administration indorsed.

The National Committee met in St. Louis on Monday, June 5th, and chose Stephen M. White, Lieutenant Governor of California, as Temporary Chairman, and Frederick O. Prince, of Massachusetts, as Secretary, and these selections were ratified by the vote of the convention. Prayer was offered by Bishop John G. Granberry, of Missouri.

During the first day's session the various committees were chosen, consisting of one member from each State upon Resolutions, Credentials, Permanent Organization, the National Committee, the committee to notify the candidates of their nomination, and a chairman and secretary for each delegation. Adjournment was then had until the following day, to enable these committees to do their work.

The second day's session was opened with prayer by Rev. J. P. Green, of St. Louis. The Committee on Permanent Organization reported the name of General Patrick A. Collins, Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, as President. Mr. Collins was escorted to the chair by William H. Barnum, of Connecticut, Roswell P. Flower, of New York, and John O'Day, of Missouri, and made the following address:

GENERAL COLLINS'S SPEECH.

We represent in this convention more than 30,000,000 of the American people; we bear the commission to act for them, and their injunction to act with all the wisdom that God has given us, to protect and safeguard the institutions of the Republic as the fathers founded them.

In a time when the world was king-ridden and pauperized by the privileged few, when men scarcely dared to breathe the word "Liberty," even if they understood its meaning, the people scattered along our eastern coast, with a sublime heroism never equaled, broke from all traditions, rejected all known systems, and established to the amazement of the world the political wonder of the ages, the American Republic—the child of revolution nursed by philosophy. The hand that framed the immortal Declaration of Independence is the hand that guided the emancipated country to progress and glory. It is the hand that guides us still in our onward march as a free and progressive people. The principles

upon which our government can securely rest, upon which the peace, prosperity and liberties of the people depend, are the principles of the founder of our party, the apostle of Democracy, Thomas Jefferson.

Our young men under thirty have heard more in their time of the clash of arms and the echoes of war than of the principles of government. It has been a period of passion, force, impulse, and emotional politics. So that we need not wonder that now and then we hear the question asked and scarcely answered, "What difference is there between the two parties?" Every Democrat knows the difference. The Democratic creed was not penned by Jefferson for a section or a class of the people, but for all time. These principles conserved and expanded the Republic in all its better days. A strict adherence to them will preserve it to the end, so the Democracy of to-day as in the past believe with Jefferson in (1) equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; (2) peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none: (3) support of the State Governments in all their rights as the most competent administrators of our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-Republican tendencies; (4) the preservation of the general Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace and safety abroad; (5) a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped off by the sword of revolution where peaceable means are unprovided; (6) absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; (7) a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments in war; (8) the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; (9) economy in the public expenses-that labor may be lightly burdened; (10) the honest payment of our debts and the preservation of our public faith; (11) encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid; (12) the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; (13) freedom of religion; (14) freedom of the press; (15) freedom of the person under the protection of the habeas corpus; (16) trial by juries impartially selected. Add to these the golden economic rule that no more taxes should be levied upon the people in any way than are necessary to meet the honest expenses of government, and you have a body of principles to sin against which has been political death to every party hitherto, to sin against which in the future will be political suicide.

WHAT THE PARTY HAS DONE UNDER THESE.

True to these principles the Democratic party fought successfully our foreign wars, protected our citizens in every clime, compelled the respect of all nations for our flag, added imperial domain to our territory, and insured peace, prosperity and happiness to all our people. False to these principles the great Federal, Whig and Know-Nothing parties went down, never to rise, and we are here to-day, representatives of the party that has survived all others, the united, triumphant, invincible Democracy, prepared to strike down forever the last surviving foe in November.

Our standard must be the rallying point now and in the future for all good citizens who love and cherish republican institutions, who love liberty regulated by the Constitution and law, who believe in a Government not for a class or for a few, but a Government of all the people, by all the people, and for all the people. This has been the asylum for all good men from over the earth who flee from want and oppression, and mean to become Americans. But we invite and welcome only "friends to this ground and liegemen" to the Republic. Our institutions cannot change to meet hostile wishes, nor be so much as sensibly modified save by the peaceful and deliberate action of the mass of our people in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the land. Whatever problems the present has or the future may present, so far as political action can effect them, will be dealt with by the American people within the law. And in the future, as in the past, the people will find security for their liberty and property, encouragement and protection for their industries, peace and prosperity in following the party of the American masses, which will ever shield them against the aggressions of power and monoply on the one side, and on the other the surging of chaos. While almost all the rest of the civilized world is darkened by armies, crushed by kings, or night-mared by conspiracies, we alone enjoy a healthy peace, a rational liberty, a progressive prosperity. We owe it to our political institutions, to dem-

ocratic teachings, at least as much as to the exuberant soil. The man is not a good American who, knowing what we are, by act or word, exoeriment or thought, in any way, will attempt to weaken the foundation of this splendid political structure—the Republic of the United States.

We are confronted by a wily, unscrupulous, and desperate foe. There will be no speck on the record that they will not magnify into a blot; no circumstance that they will not torture and misrepresent; no disappointment that they will not exaggerate into a revolt; no class or creed that they will not seek to inflame; no passion that they will not attempt to rouse; no fraud that they will not willingly perpetrate. They fancy, indeed, that there is no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity; no crime that will not be condoned. But we stand at guard, full armed at every point to meet them. Our appeal is not to passion nor to prejudice, to class or faction, to race or creed, but to the sound common sense, the interest, the intelligence and patriotism of the American people.

THE NEW CONDITIONS OF THE PARTY.

We meet to-day under conditions new to the Democrats of this generation. How often closed about us, when the day of victory seemed almost as far away as the day of general judgment. It could not then be said that we met for spoils or personal advantage. We met to keep the fires of Democratic liberty alive till the dawn of a better day. If we were a party of misfortune, it must also be agreed that we were a party of undaunted we stood in conventions in the past when to others it seemed as if the shadows of death courageand inflexible principles. Twent y-eight years ago the Democratic party, rent in fragments, heated by feuds that only time could allay or punishment destroy, met, as it looks now, merely to settle in angry mood the terms upon which they should become exiled from power. By their mad dissensions they elected to go to defeat rather than wait for the sobering influence of time to close the breach. To the younger men of that day the act seemed suicide, mitigated by insanity. Their madness transferred to a minority of the American people the political government of all. That party, whatever the honesty and respectability of its members, however patriotic its motives, was not broad or national at its base. It had almost but one central idea, and when that idea was set in the Constitution and crystallized into law, it ran a career of riot that appalled all men. The history of that period of political debauchery is too sad and familiar to Americans to be recited anew. The Republican party, sometimes peacefully and sometimes by force, sometimes fairly and sometimes by fraud, succeeded in holding power 24 years, till at last the American people, no longer condoning its faults or forgiving its sins, hurled it from power and again committed to the historic party of the Constitution and the whole Union the administration of our political affairs. We won by the well-earned confidence of the country in the rectitude of our purpose, by the aid of chivalrous and conscientious men who could no longer brook the corruptions of the Republican party. It was a great, deserved, necessary victory.

The day on which Grover Cleveland, the plain, straightforward, typical American citizen chosen at the election, took the oath of office in the presence of the multitude—a day so lovely and so perfect that all nature seemed exuberantly to sanction and to celebrate the victory—that day marked the close of an old era and the beginning of a new one. It closed the era of usurpation of power by the Federal authority, of illegal force, of general contempt for constitutional limitations and plain law, of glaring scandals, profligate waste and unspeakable corruption, of narrow sectionalism and class strife, of the reign of a party whose good work had long been done. It began the era of perfect peace and perfect union. The States fused in all, their sovereignty into a Federal Republic with limited but ample powers, of a public service conducted with the absolute integrity and strict economy of reforms pushed to their extreme limit; of comprehensive, sound, and safe financial policy; giving security and confidence to all enterprise and endeavor, a Democratic administration faithful to its mighty trust, loyal to its pledges, true to the Constitution, safeguarding the interests and liberties of the people. And now we stand on the edge of another era, perhaps a greater contest, with a relation to the electors that we have not held for a generation—that of responsibility for the great trust of government. We are no longer authors, but accountants; no longer critics, but the criticised. The responsibility is ours, and if we have not taken all the power necessary to make that responsibility good the fault is ours, not that of the people.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS JUSTIFIED ITSELF.

The Administration of President Cleveland has triumphantly justified his election. It compels the respect, confidence and approval of the country. The prophets of evil and disaster are dumb. What the people see is the Government of the Union restored to its ancient footing of justice, peace, honesty, and impartial enforcement of law. They see the demands of labor and agriculture met so far as Government can meet them by the legislative enactments for their encouragement and protection. They see the veterans of the civil war granted pensions long due them to the amount of more than twice in number and nearly three times in value of those granted under any previous Administration. They see more than 32,000,000 acres of land recklessly and illegally held by the grantees of the corrupt Republican regime restored to the public domain for the benefit of honest settlers. They see the negro, whose fears of Democratic rule were played upon by demagogues four years ago, not only more fully protected than by his pretended friends, but honored as his race was never honored before. They see a financial policy under which reckless speculation has practically ceased and capital freed from distrust. They see for the first time an honest observance of the law governing the civil establishment, and the employes of the people rid at last of the political highwaymen with a demand for tribute in one hand and a letter of dismissal in the other. They see useless offices abolished and expenses of administration reduced, while improved methods have lifted the public service to high efficiency. They see tranquility, order, security and equal justice restored in the land; a watchful, steady, safe and patriotic Administration—the solemn promises made by the Democracy faithfully kept. It is "an honest Government by honest men."

If this record seems prosaic, if it lacks the blood-thrilling element, if it is not lit with lurid fires, if it cannot be illustrated by a pyrotechnic display, if it is merely the plain record of a constitutional party in a time of peace, engaged in administrative reforms, it is because the people of the country four years ago elected not to trust to sensation and experiment, however brilliant and alluring, but preferred to place the helm in a steady hand, with a fearless, trustworthy, patriotic man behind it. Upon that record, and upon our earnest efforts, as yet incomplete; to reduce and equalize the burdens of taxation, we enter the canvass and go to the polls confident that the free and intelligent people of this great country will say, "Well done, good and faithful servants."

GREETING TO THE INDEPENDENTS.

To the patriotic independent citizens who, four years ago, forsook their old allegiance and came to our support, and who since that time have nobly sustained the Administration, the Democratic party owes a deep debt of gratitude. That they have been reviled and insulted by their former associates is not only a signal compliment to their character and influence, but another evidence of the decadence of the Republican party. Blind worship of the machine—the political juggernaut—is exacted from every man who will take even standing room in that party. The Democratic temple is open to all, and if in council we cannot agree in all things, our motto is: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity." To all good men we say: "Come in." "Good will ne'er halted at the door stone." As four years ago you voted with us to reform the Administration, to conserve our institutions for the well being of our common country, so join with us again in approval of the work so well accomplished to complete what remains undone. We ask you to remember that it is a "fatal error to weaken the hands of a political organization by which great reforms have been achieved and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries." Four years ago you trusted tentatively the Democratic party, and supported with zeal and vigor its candidate for President. You thought him strong in all the sturdy qualities requisite for the great task of reform. Behold your splendid justification. No President in time of peace had so difficult and laborious a duty to perform. His party had been out of power for twenty-four years. Every member of it had been almost venomously excluded from the smallest post where administration could be studied. Every place was filled by men whose interest it was to thwart inquiry and belittle the new Administration; but the master hand came to the helm, and the true course has been kept from the beginning.

We need not wait for time to do justice to the character and services of President Cleveland. Honest, clear-sighted, patient, grounded in respect for law and justice, with a

thorough grasp of principles and situations, with marvelous and conscientious industry, the very incarnation of firmness—he has nobly fulfilled the promise of his party, nobly met the expectations of his country, and written his name high on the scroll where future Americans will read the names of men who have been supremely useful to the Republic.

Fellow Democrats: This is but the initial meeting in a political campaign destined to be memorable. It will be a clashing of nearly even forces. Let no man here or elsewhere belittle or underestimate the strength or resources of the opposition. But great as they are, the old Democratic party, in conscious strength and perfect union, faces the issue fearlessly.

When the permanent organization had been effected, the Committee on Resolutions not being ready to report, a motion to proceed at once to name candidates for the nomination for President of the United States was carried, and DANIEL DOUGHERTY, of New York, presented the name of GROVER CLEVELAND in the following speech:

DANIEL DOUGHERTY'S NOMINATING SPEECH.

I greet you, my countrymen, with fraternal regard. In your presence I bow to the majesty of the people! The sight itself is inspiring; the thought sublime! You come from every State and Territory, from every nook and corner of our ocean-bound, continent-covering country. You are about to discharge a more than imperial duty with simplest ceremonials. You, as representatives of the people, are to choose a magistrate with power mightier than a monarch, yet checked and controlled by the supreme law of a written Constitution.

Thus impressed I ascend the rostrum to name the next President of the United States. New York presents him to the convention and pledges her electoral vote. Delegations from the thirty-eight States and all the Territories are assembled without caucus or consultation, ready simultaneously to take up the cry and make the vote unanimous. We are here, not indeed to choose a candidate, but to name the one the people have already chosen. He is the man for the people! his career illustrates the glory of our institutions. Eight years ago, unknown save in his own locality, he for the last four has stood in the gaze of the world discharging the most exalted duties that can be confided to a mortal. To-day determines that not of his own choice, but by the mandate of his countrymen, and with the sanction of Heaven, he shall fill the presidency for four years more. He has met and mastered every question as if from youth trained to statesmanship. The promises of his letter of acceptance and inaugural address have been fulfilled. His fidelity in the past inspires faith in the future. He is not a hope. He is a realization.

Scorning subterfuge, disdaining re-election by concealing convictions, mindful of his oath of office to defend the Constitution, he courageously declares to Congress, dropping minor matters, that the supreme issue is reform, revision, reduction of national taxation. That the Treasury of the United States, glutted with unneeded gold, oppresses industry, embarrasses business, endangers financial tranquility, and breeds extravagance, centralization and corruption. That high taxation, vital for the expenditures of an unparalleled war, is robbery in years of prosperous peace. That the millions that pour into the Treasury come from the hard-earned savings of the American people. That in violation of equality of rights the present tariff has created a privileged class, who, shaping legislation for their personal gain, levy by law contributions for the necessaries of life from every man, woman and child in the land. That to lower the tariff is not free trade. It is to reduce the unjust profits of monopolists and boss manufacturers and allow consumers to retain the rest. The man who asserts that to lower the tariff means free trade insults intelligence. We brand him as a falsifier. It is furtherest from thought to imperil capital or disturb enterprises The aim is to uphold wages and protect the rights of all.

This administration has rescued the public domain from would-be barons and cormorant corporations faithless to obligations, and reserved it for free homes for this and coming generations. There is no pilfering. There are no jobs under this Administration. Public office is a public trust. Integrity stands guard at every post of our vast empire.

While the President has been the medium through which has flowed the undying gratitude of the Republic for her soldiers, he has not hesitated to withhold approval from special legislation if strictest inquiry revealed a want of truth and justice.

Above all, sectional strife as never before is at an end, and sixty millions of freemen in the ties of brotherhood are prosperous and happy.

These are the achievements of this Administration. Under the same illustrious leader we are ready to meet our political opponents in high and honorable debate and stake our triumph on the intelligence, virtue and patriotism of the people. Adhering to the Constitution, its every line and letter, ever remembering that powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people, by the authority of the Democracy of New York backed by the Democracy of the entire Union, I give you a name entwined with victory. I nominate Grover Cleveland, of New York.

Delegates from Kentucky, Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, Michigan seconded the nomination, and, as no other name was presented to the convention, Grover Cleveland received the vote of every delegate, and was declared the Democratic nominee for President.

COMPLETING ITS WORK.

The platform adopted by the convention at its third days' session will be found elsewhere.

The remaining work, the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President, was completed at the session of the third day. M. F. Tarpey, of California, presented the name of Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio; Thomas M. Patterson, of Colorado, that of John C. Black, of Illinois, and Daniel W. Voorhees, of Indiana, that of Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana. The nomination of Mr. Thurman was seconded by the delegates from Connecticut, Missouri, New York, Nevada, New Jersey, Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and Montana, while speeches were made in favor of the nomination of Governor Gray by delegates from Georgia and Kentucky.

The first ballot showed 685 votes for Thurman, 104 for Gray and 32 for Black. Before the result was announced the names of Gray and Black were withdrawn, and Mr. Thurman was unanimously nominated as the candidate for Vice-President.

In addition to the regular platform, resolutions were adopted expressing sympathy with General Sheridan and of respect for the memory of Thomas A. Hendricks, Samuel J. Tilden, Winfield S. Hancock and George B. McClellan. After the usual resolution of thanks to the officers of the convention had been passed adjournment was had *sine die*.

CHAPTER III.

NOTIFICATION OF CANDIDATES.

SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AND THURMAN IN RESPONSE TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

On June 26, the committee, upon due notice, met at the Executive Mansion, in Washington, for the purpose of giving the President official notice of his nomination for President by the National Convention at St. Louis on June 6. The formal letter was read by Mr. Jacob, of Kentucky, to which the President responded in the following speech:

Mr. Collins and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I cannot but be profoundly impressed when I see about me the messengers of the national Democracy, bearing its summons to duty. The political party to which I owe allegiance both honors and commands me. It places in my hand the proud standard and bids me bear it high at the front in a battle which it wages bravely because conscious of right, confidently because its trust is in the people, and soberly because it comprehends the obligations which success imposes.

The message which you bring awakens within me the liveliest sense of personal gratitude and satisfaction, and the honor which you tender me is in itself so great that there might well be no room for any other sentiment. And yet I cannot rid myself of grave and serious thoughts when I remember that party supremacy is not alone involved in the conflict which presses upon us, but that we struggle to secure and save the cherished institutions, the welfare, and happiness of a nation of freemen.

Familiarity with the great office which I hold has but added to my apprehension of its sacred character and the consecration demanded of him who assumes its immense responsibilities. It is the repository of the people's will and power. Within its vision should be the protection and welfare of the humblest citizen, and with quick ear it should catch from the remotest corner of the land the plea of the people for justice and for right. For the sake of the people he who holds this office of theirs should resist every encroachment upon its legitimate functions, and for the sake of the integrity and usefulness of the office it should be kept near to the people and be administered in full sympathy with their wants and needs.

This occasion reminds me most vividly of the scene when, four years ago, I received a message from my party similar to that which you now deliver. With all that has passed since that day, I can truly say that the feeling of awe with which I heard the summons then is intensified many fold when it is repeated now. Four years ago I knew that our chief executive office, if not carefully guarded, might drift little by little away from the people, to whom it belonged, and become a perversion of all that it ought to be; but I did not know how much its moorings had already been loosened.

I knew four years ago how well devised were the principles of true Democracy for the successful operation of a government by the people and for the people; but I did not know how absolutely necessary their application then was for the restoration to the people of their safety and prosperity. I knew then that abuses and extravagances had crept into the management of public affairs; but I did not know their numerous forms, nor the tenacity of their grasp. I knew then something of the bitterness of partisan obstruction; but I did not know how bitter, how reckless and how shameless it could be. I knew, too, that the American people were patriotic and just; but I did not know how grandly they loved their country, nor how noble and generous they were.

I shall not dwell upon the acts and the policy of the Administration now drawing to its close. Its record is open to every citizen of the land. And yet I will not be denied the privilege of asserting at this time that in the exercise of the functions of the high trust confided to me I have yielded obedience only to the Constitution and the solemn obligation of my oath of office. I have done those things which, in the light of the understanding God has given me, seemed most conducive to the welfare of my countrymen and the promotion of good government. I would not if I could, for myself nor for you, avoid a single consequence of a fair interpretation of my course.

It but remains for me to say to you, and through you to the Democracy of the Nation, that I accept the nomination with which they have honored me, and that I will in due time signify such acceptance in the usual formal manner.

MR. THURMAN'S ACCEPTANCE.

On the 28th of June the committee presented its letter of notification of his nomination as Vice-President to Mr. Thurman, at Columbus, Ohio, and he made the following response:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I pray you to accept my very sincere thanks for the kind and courteous manner in which you have communicated to me the official information of my nomination by the St. Louis Convention. You know without saying it that I am profoundly grateful to the Convention and to the Democratic party for the honor conferred upon me, and the more so that it was wholly unsought and undesired by me; not that I undervalued a distinction which any man of our party, however eminent, might highly prize, but simply because I had ceased to be ambitious for public life.

But when I am told in so earnest and impressive a manner that I can still render service to the good cause to which I have ever been devoted—a cause to which I am bound by the ties of affection, by the dictates of judgment, by a sense of obligation for favors so often conferred upon me, and by a fervent hope that the party may long continue to be able to serve the republic, what can I under such circumstances do but yield my private wishes to the demand of those whose opinions I am bound to respect? Gentlemen, with an unfeigned diffidence in my ability to fulfil the expectations that led to my nomination, I yet feel it to be my duty to accept it and do all that it may be in my power to do to merit so marked a distinction.

Gentlemen, the country is blest by an able and honest administration of the general Government. We have a President who wisely, bravely, diligently, and patriotically discharges the duties of his high office. I fully believe that the best

interests of the country require his re-election, and the hope that I may be able to contribute somewhat to bring about the result is one of my motives for accepting a place on our ticket, and I also feel it my duty to labor for a reduction of taxes and to put a stop to that accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury that, in my judgment, is not only prejudicial to our financial welfare, but is in a high degree dangerous to honest and constitutional government.

I suppose, gentlemen, that I need say no more to-day. In due time, and in accordance with established usage, I will transmit to your chairman a written acceptance of my nomination with such observations upon public questions as may seem to me to be proper.

CHAPTER IV.

SKETCH OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

GROVER CLEVELAND, President of the United States, was born in Caldwell, Essex county, New Jersey, on March 18, 1837. The house in which he was born, a small two-story wooden building, is still standing. It was the parsonage of the Presbyterian Church, of which his father, Richard Cleveland, at the time was pastor.

The family is of New England origin, and for two centuries has contributed to the professions and to business, men who have reflected honor on the name. Aaron Cleveland, President CLEVELAND'S great grandfather, was born in Massachusetts, but subsequently moved to Philadelphia, where he became an intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin, at whose house he died. He left a large family of children, who in time married and settled in different parts of New England. A grandson was one of the small American force that fought the British at Bunker Hill. He served with gallantry throughout the Revolution, and was honorably discharged at its close as a Lieutenant in the Continental army. Another grandson, William Cleveland, a son of a second Aaron Cleveland, who was distinguished as a writer and a member of the Connecticut legislature, was GROVER CLEVELAND'S grandfather. William Cleveland was a silversmith in Norwich, Connecticut. He acquired by industry some property and sent his son, Richard Cleveland, the father of GROVER CLEVELAND, to Yale College, where he graduated in 1824. During a year spent in teaching at Baltimore, Maryland, after graduation, he met Miss Anne Neale, daughter of a Baltimore book publisher, of Irish birth. He was earning his own way in the world at the time and was unable to marry; but in three years he completed a course of preparation for the ministry, secured a church in Windham, Connecticut, and married Anne Neale. Subsequently he moved to Portsmouth, Va., where he preached for nearly two years, when he was summoned to Caldwell, N. J., where was born GROVER CLEVELAND. When he was three years old (1841) the family moved to Fayetteville, Onondago county, New York. Here GROVER CLEVELAND lived, until he was fourteen years old, the rugged, healthful life of a country boy. His frank, generous manner made him a favorite among his companions, and their respect was won by the good qualities in the germ which his manhood developed. He attended the district school of the village and was for a short time at the academy. His father, however, believed that boys should be taught to labor at an early age, and before he had completed the course of study at the academy he began to work in the village store at $50 for the first year and the promise of $100 for the second year. His work was well done, and the promised increase of pay was granted in the second year.

Meanwhile his father and family had moved to Clinton, the seat of Hamilton college, where his father acted as agent to the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, preaching in the churches of the vicinity. Hither GROVER came at his father's request shortly after the beginning of his second year at the Fayetteville

store, and resumed his studies at the Clinton Academy. After three years spent in this town, the Rev. Richard Cleveland was called to the village church of Holland Patent. He had preached here only a month when he was suddenly stricken down and died without an hour's warning. The death of the father left the family in straitened circumstances, as Richard Cleveland had spent all of his salary of $1,000 per year, which was not required for the necessary expenses of living upon the education of his children, of whom there were nine, GROVER being the fifth. GROVER was hoping to enter Hamilton College, but the death of his father made it necessary for him to earn his own livelihood. For the first year (1853-4) he acted as assistant teacher and bookkeeper in the institution for the Blind in New York city. In the winter of 1854 he returned to Holland Patent, where the generous people of that place, Fayetteville and Clinton had purchased a home for his mother, and in the following spring, borrowing twenty-five dollars he set out for the West to earn his living. Reaching Buffalo he paid a hasty visit to an uncle, Mr. Lewis F. Allen, a well-known stock farmer, living at Black Rock, a few miles distant. He communicated his plans to Mr. Allen, who discouraged the idea of the West and finally induced the enthusiastic boy of seventeen to remain with him and help him prepare a catalogue of blooded short-horn cattle, known as "Allen's American Herd Book," a publication familiar to all breeders of cattle. For this work young CLEVELAND was to receive fifty dollars, and his uncle further agreed to secure a position for him in a lawyer's office as a clerk or copyist. His ambition had turned toward the law ever since his days in the Clinton Academy, and it was partially in the hope of finding some opportunity to begin the study of the law that he had first decided to go West. After several unsuccessful efforts he secured a place with Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, one of the leading law firms in the county. He entered that office accordingly in August, 1855, and after serving a few months without pay was paid four dollars a week—an amount barely sufficient to meet the necessary expenses of his board in the family of a fellow student in Buffalo, with whom he took lodgings. Shortly afterward he took a small room in the attic of the Southern Hotel, then a favorite stopping place with drovers and farmers.

Life at this time with Grover Cleveland was a stern battle with the world. He took his breakfast by candle light with the drovers, and went at once to the office, where the whole day was spent in work and study. Usually he returned again at night to resume reading which had been interrupted by the duties of the day. In this manner the foundations of legal knowledge were laid deep and firm at the same time that habits of industry and close application were acquired. Gradually his employers came to recognize the ability, trustworthiness and capacity for hard work in their young employee, and by the time that he was admitted to the bar (1859) he stood high in their confidence. A year later he was made confidential and managing clerk, and in the course of three years more his salary had been raised to $1,000. In 1863 he was appointed Assistant District Attorney of Erie County in recognition of his abilities and his services to the Democratic party.

Since his first vote had been cast in 1858 he had been a staunch Democrat, and had enrolled himself among the young men of his ward to do duty at the polls on election day. It may be stated here that until he was chosen Governor he always made it his duty, rain or shine, to stand at the polls and give out ballots to Democratic voters. During the first year of his term as Assistant District Attorney, the Democrats desired especially to carry the Board of Supervisors. The old Second

Ward in which he lived was Republican ordinarily by 250 majority, but at the urgent request of the party Grover Cleveland consented to be the Democratic candidate for Supervisor, and came within thirteen votes of an election. The three years spent in the District Attorney's office were devoted to assiduous labor and the extension of his professional attainments. So vigorously was crime prosecuted and so efficiently did he administer the office that he was nominated for District Attorney in 1865, with one voice by the Democrats. The Republicans nominated Mr. Lyman K. Bass, a particular friend of Cleveland's, in order to divide the young men's vote then beginning to be a prominent factor in Buffalo politics. The election was closely contested, but Bass won by about 500 majority, although Cleveland polled more than the party vote in all the city wards. When he retired from the position of Assistant District Attorney, on January, 1866, he formed a law partnership with the late Isaac V. Vanderpoel, ex-State Treasurer, under the firm name of Vanderpoel & Cleveland. Here the bulk of the work devolved on Cleveland's shoulders, and he soon won a good standing at the bar of Erie County. In 1869 Mr. Cleveland formed a partnership with ex-Senator A. P. Laning and ex-Assistant United States District Attorney Oscar Folsom, under the firm name of Laning, Cleveland & Folsom. During these years he began to earn a moderate professional income; but the larger portion of it was sent to his mother and sisters at Holland Patent, to whose support he had contributed ever since 1860.

In 1870, at the urgent solicitation of the Democracy and against his own wishes, he consented to be the candidate for Sheriff. The election was closely contested, but Mr. Cleveland and the entire Democratic ticket was elected by a good majority.

At the expiration of his official term as Sheriff (January 1, 1874), Mr. Cleveland resumed the practice of the law, associating himself with the Hon. Lyman K. Bass, his former competitor, and Mr. Wilson S. Bissell. The firm was strong and popular, and soon commanded a large and lucrative practice. Ill-health forced the retirement of Mr. Bass in 1879, and the firm became Cleveland & Bissell. In 1881 Mr. George J. Sicard was added to the firm.

In the autumn election of 1881 the Democrats of Buffalo nominated Grover Cleveland for Mayor on a platform pledging the party to administrative reform and economy in the expenditures of the city. He was elected by a majority of over 3,500—the largest majority ever given a candidate for Mayor—and the Democratic city ticket was successful, although the Republicans carried Buffalo by over 1,000 majority for their State ticket. Grover Cleveland's administration as Mayor fully justified the confidence reposed in him by the people of Buffalo, evidenced by the great vote he received.

It was his courageous devotion to the interests of the people and his great executive abilities which, in the summer and fall of 1882, gave him prominence before the Democracy of the State as a candidate for Governor. The Democratic State Convention met at Syracuse, on September 22, 1882, and nominated Grover Cleveland for Governor on the third ballot. The campaign that followed was auspicious from the beginning, and terminated with a triumphant victory. Cleveland was elected Governor over Charles J. Folger, ex-Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals and at the time Secretary of the Treasury, by a majority of 192,000, by far the largest ever given in this State, and the largest ever given in any State in the Union. He was inaugurated on January 1, 1883.

Physically, he is of a large and powerful frame, deliberate and firm, but not slow in his motions. His manner and tone of voice are genial and agreeable. He is broad-minded and liberal in his habits of thought, and a man of conscience rather than a man of any sect or creed. All his surroundings and habits are those of Democratic simplicity.

Mr. Cleveland was chosen President at the election held Tuesday, November 8, 1884, receiving 219 electoral votes to 182 cast for James G. Blaine. He resigned the governorship of the State of New York upon the assembling of the Legislature in January, 1885.

He continued to reside in Albany until about the first of March following, when he went to Washington to prepare for his inauguration as President on March 4.

Since that time he has given close personal attention to the duties of his office, with occasional relief in the way of trips to different sections of the country. The most extensive of these was that to the West and South, during which he visited the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina and Virginia. He also made a brief visit to Florida and South Carolina upon another trip.

On June 2, 1886, the President was married in the White House to Miss Frances Folsom, of Buffalo, New York.

CHAPTER V.

ALLEN G. THURMAN.

ALLEN GRANBERY THURMAN was born on November 13, 1813, in Lynchburg, Va., of good descent on both sides of his family. His mother was a half-sister of William Allen, who became Governor of Ohio. His paternal grandfather, who was a Baptist minister, was a slaveholder by inheritance, but became conscientiously opposed to slavery, and resolved to free his negroes. He therefore removed to Ohio with them and his family, numbering three generations, when Allen G. Thurman was six years old.

A settlement was made in Chillicothe, where the boy's father at first taught school, and then engaged in woolen manufacture. The lad obtained his education at the Chillicothe Academy, where he was especially proficient in mathematics, and was graduated with high honors at the age of seventeen. He had also taken lessons in French from a poor French gentleman who, for a time, was an inmate of his father's house. After his graduation, his health, which had been delicate, was permanently invigorated by exercise in field sports, by his riding about the country as an assistant of the county tax assessor, and by outdoor work as a member of land surveying parties.

Then he studied law in the offices of his uncle, William Allen, and Judge Swayne, of Columbus, O. During his period of study in the State capital he read law chiefly at night, as in the daytime he was acting as the private secretary of Gov. Lucas, and the duties of the position included much work which would now be assigned to a number of clerks. In 1835 he was admitted to the bar, and began practice in Chillicothe as the partner of his uncle, who, becoming engrossed in politics, soon left the care of his law business entirely to the young man.

Mr. Thurman applied himself with great industry to his profession, in which he quickly attained distinction. The circuit in which he practised embraced four counties, and nearly all the long journeys which he made to attend court were performed on horseback. On account of his devotion to his legal work, he several times declined requests to become a candidate for the Legislature, although he had always taken interest in public affairs, and was an earnest Democrat. In 1839 he made a visit to Washington, where his uncle was then a Senator from Ohio. There he passed six weeks, and was introduced by Senator Allen to many prominent men, including John C. Calhoun, who received the young lawyer with marked cordiality.

He did not revisit Washington until 1842, when he went there to appear in a case before the United States Supreme Court. Three years afterwards, while he was absent from his Congressional district on professional business, its Democratic Convention nominated him for Congress without his solicitation or knowledge. Mr. Thurman was persuaded to accept the candidacy, and was elected after a personal canvass of the whole district, in which he frequently had public discussions with his Whig opponent

In the Twenty-ninth Congress he served on the Judiciary Committee, and delivered some able speeches on important questions. At the end of his term he declined a renomination, and resumed the practice of his profession. In 1851 he was elected, upon the Democratic ticket, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and from 1854 till 1856 he was the Chief Justice of that court. His services as a jurist largely enhanced his reputation with the bar and with the people of the State generally, but he declined a re election, as the meagre salary of the Judgeship was insufficient for proper support. Returning to the bar he found business pouring in upon him from all sides, and by his professional labors he gradually acquired a competence.

In 1867 he received the unanimous nomination of the Democratic State Convention for Governor of Ohio, and after a hotly contested campaign, in which he took an active part, was defeated by Rutherford B. Hayes. He had, however, cut down the Republican majority of 43,000 the year before to less than 8,000, and the Legislature elected was Democratic. In 1868 Mr. Thurman was chosen United States Senator from Ohio, succeeding Benjamin F. Wade, and he was re-elected in 1874. During his twelve years in the Senate he served on a number of the most important committees, and was recognized as one of the ablest leaders of the Democratic party. Much public attention was attracted by a number of his speeches in debate, including that on the Georgia Bill in 1869, the Geneva Award Bill, and the Pacific Railway Funding Bill. He served as a member of the Electoral Commission of 1876, and was appointed by President Garfield to the International Monetary Conference.

Mr. Thurman received votes for the nomination for President in the last three Democratic national conventions preceding the one just held. In the conventions of 1880 and 1884 his name was formally presented on behalf of Ohio. On account of his unblemished character for personal integrity, he has always had the respect of his political opponents, and he has long possessed exceptional popularity among large numbers of the Democratic party, particularly in the Western States. His special followers have admiringly termed him "the old Roman," and the trifling fact that he has always retained the old-fashioned bandana as a part of his personal equipment has caused them to adopt that handkerchief as their badge of allegiance.

Since his retirement from the Senate, Mr. Thurman has taken but little active part in political affairs. He has continued to practice law, appearing in court in some important cases, but has intimated that he had no desire to return to public life.

In James G. Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," that Republican leader speaks of Mr. Thurman as follows:

"His rank in the Senate was established from the day he took his seat, and was never lowered during the period of his service. He was an admirably disciplined debater, was fair in his method of statement, logical in his argument, honest in his conclusions. He had no tricks in discussion, no catch phrases to secure attention, but was always direct and manly. His mind was not preoccupied and engrossed with political contests or with affairs of state. He had natural and cultivated tastes outside of those fields. He was a discriminating reader, and enjoyed not only serious books, but inclined also to the lighter indulgence of romance and poetry. He was especially fond of the best French writers. He loved Molière and

Racine, and could quote with rare enjoyment the humorous scenes depicted by Balzac. He took pleasure in the drama, and was devoted to music. In Washington he could usually be found in the best seat of the theatre when a good play was to be presented or an opera was to be given. These tastes illustrate the genial side of his nature, and were a fitting complement to the stronger and sterner elements of the man. His retirement from the Senate was a serious loss to his party—a loss indeed to the body. He left behind him the respect of all with whom he had been associated during his twelve years of honorable service."

CHAPTER VI.

CLEVELAND ON THE TARIFF.

THE PRESIDENT'S RECORD IN FAVOR OF REDUCING REDUNDANT REVENUE BY REDUCING BURDENSOME TAXES.

A Policy Which He Has Consistently Urged at All Times, Both While He was a Candidate, and After He Became President.

I.

MESSAGE TO NEW YORK LEGISLATURE, JANUARY 1, 1884.

The State of New York largely represents within her borders the development of every interest which makes a nation great. Proud of her place as leader in the community of States, she fully appreciates her immediate relations to the prosperity of the country; and justly realizing the responsibility of her position, she recognizes, in her policy and her laws, as of first importance, the freedom of commerce from all unnecessary restrictions. Her citizens have assumed the burden of maintaining, at their own cost and free to commerce, the waterway which they have built and through which the products of the great West are transported to the seaboard. At the suggestion of danger she hastens to save her northern forests, and thus preserve to commerce her canals and vessel-laden rivers. The State has become responsible for a bureau of immigration, which cares for those who seek our shores from other lands, adding to the nation's population and hastening to the development of its vast domain; while at the country's gateway a quarantine, established by the State, protects the nation's health.

Surely this great Commonwealth, committed fully to the interests of commerce and all that adds to the country's prosperity, may well inquire how her efforts and sacrifices have been answered; and she, of all the States, may urge that the interests thus by her protected, should, by the greater Government administered for all, be fostered for the benefit of the American people.

Fifty years ago a most distinguished foreigner, who visited this country and studied its condition and prospects, wrote:

"When I contemplate the ardor with which the Americans prosecute commerce, the advantages which aid them and the success of their undertakings, I cannot help believing that they will one day become the first maritime power of the globe. They are bound to rule the seas as the Romans were to conquer the world. * * * The Americans themselves now transport to their own shores nine-tenths of the European produce which they consume, and they also bring three-fourths of the exports of the New World to the European consumers. The ships of the United States fill the docks of Havre and Liverpool, whilst the number of English and French vessels which are to be seen at New York is comparatively small."

We turn to the actual results reached since these words were written with disappointment.

In 1840 American vessels carried eighty-two and nine-tenths per cent. of all our exports and imports; in 1850, seventy two and five-tenths; in 1860, sixty-six and five-tenths; in 1870, thirty-five and six-tenths; in 1880, seventeen and four tenths; in 1882, fifteen and five-tenths.

The citizen of New York, looking beyond his State and all her efforts in the interest of commerce and national growth, will naturally inquire concerning the causes of this decadence of American shipping.

While he sternly demands of his own government the exact limitation of taxation by the needs of the State, he will challenge the policy that accumulates millions of useless and unnecessary surplus in the national treasury, which has been not less a tax because it was indirectly and surely added to the cost of the people's life.

Let us anticipate a time when care for the people's needs, as they actually arise, and the application of remedies, as wrongs appear, shall lead in the conduct of national affairs; and let us undertake the business of legislation with the full determination that these principles shall guide us in the performance of our duties as guardians of the interests of the State.

II.

SPEECH AT NEWARK, N. J., OCTOBER, 1884.

In common with all other citizens they should desire an honest and economical administration of public affairs. It is quite plain, too, that the people have a right to demand that no more money should be taken from them, directly or indirectly, for public uses than is necessary for this purpose.

Indeed, the right of the government to exact *tributs from the citizen is limited to its actual necessities, and every cent taken from the people beyond that required for their protection by the government is no better than robbery.* We surely must condemn, then, a system which takes from the pockets of the people millions of dollars not needed for the support of the government and which tends to the inauguration of corrupt schemes and extravagant expenditures. (Applause.)

The Democratic party has declared that all taxation shall be limited by the requirements of an economical government. This is plain and direct, and it distinctly recognizes the value of labor and its right to governmental care when it further declared that the necessary reduction in taxation and limitation thereof to the country's needs should be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without injuring the interests of our laboring population.

At this time, when the suffrages of the laboring men are so industriously sought, they should, by careful inquiry, discover the party pledged to the protection of their interests, and which recognizes in their labor something most valuable to the prosperity of the country and primarily entitled to its care and protection. An intelligent examination will lead them to the exercise of their privileges as citizens in furtherance of their interests and the welfare of their country. An unthinking performance of their duty at the ballot-box will result in their injury and betrayal.

III.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1885.

A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demands that our finances shall be established upon such a sound and sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests and make the wage of labor sure and steady; and that our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the people of unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and workingmen employed in American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the treasury to tempt extravagance and waste.

IV.

FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

In his first annual message to Congress, December, 1885, the President made the following recommendations on the reduction of useless taxes:

"The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the government justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. Our government is but the means, established by the will of a free people, by which certain principles are applied which they have adopted for their benefit and protection; and it is never better administered, and its true spirit is never better observed than when the people's taxation for its support is scrupulously limited to the actual necessity of expenditure, and distributed according to a just and equitable plan.

"The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue received by the government, and indirectly paid by the people from customs duties. The question of FREE TRADE *is not involved*, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the WISDOM OR EXPEDIENCY OF A PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

"*Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed. We should also deal with the subject in such manner as to protect the interests of American labor, which is the capital of our workingmen; its stability and proper remuneration furnish the most justifiable pretext for a protective policy.*

"Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. The amount of such reduction having been determined, the inquiry follows—where can it best be remitted, and what articles can best be released from duty in the interest of our citizens?

"I think the reduction should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessaries of life. We thus directly lessen the cost of living in every family of the land, and release to the people in every humble home a larger measure of the rewards of frugal industry."

V.

SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER, 1886.

In his second annual message, transmitted to Congress in December, 1886, the President treated the question at greater length, and laid down the principles upon which, in his opinion, the war taxes should be reduced:

The income of the Government, by its increased volume and through economies in its collection, is now more than ever in excess of public necessities. The application of the surplus to the payment of such portion of the public debt as is now at our option subject to extinguishment, if continued at the rate which has lately prevailed, would retire that class of indebtedness within less than one year from this date. Thus a continuation of our present revenue system would soon result in the receipt of an annual income much greater than necessary to meet Government expenses, with no indebtedness upon which it could be applied. We should then be confronted with a vast quantity of money, the circulating medium of the people, hoarded in the Treasury when it should be in their hands, or we should be drawn into *wasteful public extravagance* with all the *corrupting national demoralization* which follows in its train.

But it is not the simple existence of this surplus, and its threatened attendant evils, which furnish the strongest argument against our present scale of Federal taxation. Its worst phase is the exaction of such a surplus through a perversion of the relations between the people and their Government, and a dangerous departure from the rules which limit the right of Federal taxation.

The indirect manner in which these exactions are made, has a tendency to conceal their true character and their extent. But we have arrived at a stage of superfluous revenue which has aroused the people to a realization of the fact, that the amount raised professedly for the support of the Government, is paid by them as absolutely, if added to the price of the things which supply their daily wants, as if it was paid at fixed periods into the hand of the tax-gatherer.

Those who toil for daily wages are beginning to understand that capital, though sometimes vaunting its importance and clamoring for the protection and favor of the Government, is dull and sluggish, till, touched by the magical hand of labor, it springs into activity, furnishing an occasion for Federal taxation and gaining the value which enables it to bear its burden. And the laboring man is thoughtfully inquiring whether in these circumstances, and considering the tribute he constantly pays into the public Treasury as he supplies his daily wants, he receives his fair share of advantages.

There is also a suspicion abroad, that the surplus of our revenues indicates abnormal and exceptional business profits, which, under the system which produces such surplus, increase without corresponding benefit to the people at large, the vast accumulations of a few among our citizens whose fortunes, *rivaling the wealth of the most favored in anti-democratic nations, are not the natural growth of a steady, plain and industrious republic.*

HOW IT EFFECTS THE FARMER.

Our farmers too, and those engaged directly and indirectly in supplying the products of agriculture, see that day by day, and as often as the daily wants of their households recur, they are forced to pay excessive and needless taxation, while

their products struggle in foreign markets with the competition of nations, which by allowing a freer exchange of productions than we permit, enable their people to sell for prices which distress the American farmer. * * * A sentiment prevails that the leading-strings useful to a nation in its infancy, may well be, to a great extent, discarded in the present stage of American ingenuity, courage and fearless self-reliance. And for the privilege of indulging this sentiment with true American enthusiasm, our citizens are quite willing to forego an idle surplus in the public Treasury.

And all the people know that the average rate of Federal taxation upon imports is, to-day, in time of peace, but little less, while upon some articles of necessary consumption it is actually more, than was imposed by the grievous burden willingly borne, at a time when the Government needed millions to maintain by war the safety and integrity of the Union.

It has been the policy of the Government to collect the principal part of its revenues *by a tax upon imports; and no change in this policy is desirable.* But the present condition of affairs constrains our people to demand that, by a revision of our revenue laws, the receipts of the Government shall be reduced to the necessary expense of its economical administration; and this demand should be recognized and obeyed by the people's representatives in the legislative branch of the Government.

"In readjusting the burdens of Federal taxation, *a sound public policy requires that such of our citizens as have built up large and important industries under present conditions should not be suddenly, and to their injury, deprived of advantages to which they have adapted their business; but if the public good requires it, they should be content with such consideration as shall deal fairly and cautiously with their interests, while the just demand of the people for relief from needless taxation is honestly answered.*

"A reasonable and timely submission to such a demand should certainly be possible without disastrous shock to any interest; and a cheerful concession sometimes averts abrupt and heedless action, often the outgrowth of impatience and delayed justice.

PROTECTING THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

"Due regard should also be accorded, in any proposed readjustment, to THE INTERESTS OF AMERICAN LABOR SO FAR AS THEY ARE INVOLVED. *We congratulate ourselves that there is among us no laboring class, fixed within unyielding bounds and doomed under all conditions to the inexorable fate of daily toil. We recognize in labor a chief factor in the wealth of the Republic; and we treat those who have it in their keeping as citizens entitled to the most careful regard and thoughtful attention.* This regard and attention should be awarded them, not only because labor is the capital of our workingmen, justly entitled to its share of Government favor, but for the further and not less important reason that the laboring man, surrounded by his family in his humble home, as a consumer is vitally interested in all that cheapens the cost of living and enables him to bring within his domestic circle additional comforts and advantages.

This relation of the workingman to the revenue laws of the country, and the manner in which it palpably influences the question of wages, should not be forgotten in the justifiable prominence given to the proper maintenance of the *supply and*

protection of well-paid labor. And these considerations suggest such an arrangement of government revenues as shall reduce the expense of living, while it does not curtail the opportunity for work nor reduce the compensation of American labor, and injuriously affect its condition and the dignified place it holds in the estimation of our people.

But our farmers and agriculturists—those who from the soil produce the things consumed by all—are perhaps more directly and plainly concerned than any other of our citizens, in a just and careful system of Federal taxation. Those actually engaged in and more remotely connected with this kind of work, number nearly one-half of our population. None labor harder or more continuously than they. No enactments limit their hours of toil, and no interposition of the Government enhances to any great extent the value of their products. And yet for many of the necessaries and comforts of life which the most scrupulous economy enables them to bring into their homes, and for their implements of husbandry, they are obliged to pay a price largely increased by an unnatural profit which, by the action of the Government, is given to the more favored manufacturer.

"I recommend that, *keeping in view all these considerations*, the increasing and unnecessary surplus of national income annually accumulating, be released to the people, by an amendment to our revenue laws which shall cheapen the price of the necessaries of life and give freer entrance to such imported materials as by American labor may be manufactured into marketable commodities.

"Nothing can be accomplished, however, in the direction of this much-needed reform, unless the subject is approached *in a patriotic spirit of devotion to the interests of the entire country and with a willingness to yield something for the public good.*"

VI.

THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER, 1887.

DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO A PRESENTATION OF THE TARIFF QUESTION AND THE NECESSITY FOR REDUCTION OF RATES

To the Congress of the United States:

You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion, and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

This condition of our treasury is not altogether new; and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet, the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and wide-spread disaster.

It will not do to neglect this situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

THE SURPLUS AND THE SINKING FUND.

On the 30th day of June, 1885, the excess of revenues over public expenditures after complying with the annual requirement of the sinking-fund act, was $17,859,735.84; during the year ended June 30th, 1886, such excess amounted to $49,405,545.20; and during the year ended June 30th, 1887, it reached the sum of $55,567,849.54.

The annual contributions to the sinking-fund during the three years above specified, amounting in the aggregate to $138,058,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding three per cent. bonds of the Government. During the six months prior to June 30th, 1887, the surplus revenue had grown so large by repeated accummulations, and it was feared that the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people, would so affect the business of the country, the sum of $79,864,100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the three per cent. bonds still outstanding, and which were then payable at the option of the Government. The precarious condition of financial affairs among the people still needing relief, immediately after the 30th day of June, 1887, the remainder of the three per cent. bonds then outstanding, amounting with principal and interest to the sum of $18,877,500, were called in and applied to the sinking-fund contribution for the current fiscal year. Notwithstanding these operations of the Treasury Department representations of distress in business circles not only continued but increased, and absolute peril seemed at hand. In these circumstances the contribution to the sinking fund for the current fiscal year was at once completed by the expenditure of $27,684,283.55 in the purchase of Government bonds not yet due bearing four and four and a-half per cent. interest, the premium paid thereon averaging about twenty-four per cent. for the former and eight per cent. for the latter. In addition to this the interest accruing during the current year upon the outstanding bonded indebtedness of the Government was to some extent anticipated, and banks selected as depositories of public money were permitted to somewhat increase their deposits.

While the expedients thus employed, to release to the people the money lying idle in the Treasury, served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting on the 1st day of December to $55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of $113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the Treasury to $140,000,000.

There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from use of the people's circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from the same cause.

And while the functions of our National Treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interests, yet when, by a perversion of its purposes, it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the Government to restore in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

NO EXECUTIVE WAY OF GETTING RELIEF.

If such an emergency arises there now exists no clear and undoubted executive power of relief. Heretofore the redemption of three per cent. bonds, which were payable at the option of the Government, has afforded a means for the disbursement of the excess of our revenues; but these bonds have all been retired, and there are no bonds outstanding the payment of which we have the right to insist upon. The contribution to the sinking fund which furnishes the occasion for expenditure in the purchase of bonds has been already made for the current year, so that there is no outlet in that direction.

In the present state of legislation the only pretense of any existing executive power, to restore at this time, any part of our surplus revenues to the people by its expenditure, consists in the supposition that the Secretary of the Treasury may enter the market and purchase the bonds of the Government not yet due, at a rate of premium to be agreed upon. The only provision of law from which such a power could be derived is found in an appropriation bill passed a number of years ago, and it is subject to the suspicion that it was intended as temporary and limited in its application, instead of conferring a continuing discretion and authority. No condition ought to exist which would justify the grant of power to a single official, upon his judgment of its necessity, to withhold from or release to the business of the people, in an unusual manner, money held in the Treasury, and thus affect, at his will, the financial situation of the country; and if it is deemed wise to lodge in the Secretary of the Treasury the authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds, it should be plainly vested, and provided as far as possible, with such checks and limitations as will define this official's right and discretion, and at the same time relieve him from undue responsibility.

In considering the question of purchasing bonds as a means of restoring to circulation the surplus money accumulating in the Treasury, it should be borne in mind that premiums must of course be paid upon such purchase, that there may be a large part of these bonds held as investments which cannot be purchased at any price, and that combinations among holders who are willing to sell may unreasonably enhance the cost of such bonds to the Government.

It has been suggested that the present bonded debt might be refunded at a less rate of interest, and the difference between the old and new security paid in cash, thus finding use for the surplus in the Treasury. The success of this plan, it is apparent, must depend upon the volition of the holders of the present bonds; and it is not entirely certain that the inducement which must be offered them would result in more financial benefit to the Government than the purchase of bonds, while the latter proposition would reduce the principal of the debt by actual payment, instead of extending it.

The proposition to deposit the money held by the Government in banks throughout the country, for use by the people, is, it seems to me, exceedingly objectionable

in principle, as establishing too close a relationship between the operations of the Government Treasury and the business of the country, and too extensive a commingling of their money, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds. If this scheme should be adopted it should only be done as a temporary expedient to meet an urgent necessity. Legislative and executive effort should generally be in the opposite direction and should have a tendency to divorce, as much and as fast as can safely be done, the Treasury Department from private enterprise.

EXTRAVAGANT APPROPRIATIONS NOT TO BE THOUGHT OF.

Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, beside the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our Government.

I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as to the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce, caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since your last adjournment, which taxed to the utmost all the authority and expedients within executive control; and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the same alarming circumstances—a congested national treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

HOW THIS DANGEROUS SURPLUS IS RAISED.

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal-revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal-revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessaries; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported

articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers, to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

CUSTOMS REVENUE MUST REMAIN.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws, should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow citizens thus engaged, that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century's national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workingmen employed in manufactories, than are paid for what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our

development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

HOW OUR INDUSTRIES ARE DIVIDED.

By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,392,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries, 7,670,493 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service (2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers), while 1,810,256 are employed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those which it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,083 plasterers, and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff.

To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should, at all times, be scrupulously kept in view; and yet, with slight reflection, they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessaries of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

PROMOTE THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE WORKINGMAN.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the working man, nor the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employes, either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged, in a purchase for family use of an article which embraces his own labor, to return in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits, the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

The farmer and the agriculturist who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes, upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to

aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They, of course, are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woolen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households, must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesman.

THE SMALL WOOL GROWING INTEREST.

I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from twenty-five to fifty. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield is ten cents each pound if of the value of thirty cents or less, and twelve cents if of the value of more than thirty cents. If the liberal estimate of six pounds be allowed for each fleece, the duty thereon would be sixty or seventy-two cents, and this may be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer by reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep and thirty-six dollars that from the wool of fifty sheep; and at present values this addition would amount to about one third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it, until it reaches the consumer. When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws. In the mean time the day arrives when the farmer finds it necessary to purchase woolen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return in the way of increased prices, his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then perhaps lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture Thus in the end he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which, when he sold his wool seemed so profitable, an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep, the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such tariff, becomes a burden upon those with moderate means and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and that it constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman, and child in the land, reasons are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

WHO PAYS THE INCREASED PRICE.

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production, below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point, furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus where either of these conditions exist, a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the Government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and, at the same time, to emphasize a suggestion that in accomplishing this purpose, we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

THE INTEREST OF HOME MANUFACTURER.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be, with any degree of fairness, regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing co-operation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they cannot fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened self-interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessaries of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

RETENTION OF TAX ON RAW MATERIALS.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessaries; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product, as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve beside to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employes more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

HIGHER THAN PARTISANSHIP.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the most solemn manner, promised its correction; and neither as citizens or partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent

claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

THE PLAIN DUTY OF GOVERNMENT.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of Governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts. * * * But I am so much impressed with the paramount importance of the subject to which this communication has thus far been devoted, that I shall forego the addition of any other topic, and only urge upon your immediate consideration the "state of the Union" as shown in the present condition of our treasury and our general fiscal situation, upon which every element of our safety and prosperity depends.

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1887. GROVER CLEVELAND.

VII.

LETTER TO TAMMANY HALL CELEBRATION.

The President wrote the following letter in reply to the invitation to be present at the celebration of the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July, 1888:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 29, 1888.

The Hon. James A. Flack, Grand Sachem:

DEAR SIR: I regret that I am obliged to decline the courteous invitation which I have received to attend the celebration by the Tammany Society of the birthday of our republic on the fourth day of July next. The zeal and enthusiasm with which your society celebrates this day afford proof of its steadfast patriotism as well as its care for all that pertains to the advantage and prosperity of the people.

I cannot doubt that the renewal of a "love and devotion to a pure Jeffersonian Democratic form of Government," which you contemplate, will suggest the inquiry whether the people are receiving all the benefits which are due them under such a form of Government. These benefits are not fully enjoyed when our citizens are unnecessarily burdened, and their earnings and incomes are uselessly diminished under the pretext of Governmental support.

Our Government belongs to the people. They have decreed its purpose; and it is their clear right to demand that its cost shall be limited by frugality, and that its burden of expense shall be carefully limited by its actual needs. And yet a useless and dangerous surplus in the National Treasury tells no other tale but extortion on the part of the Government, and a perversion of the people's intention. In the midst of our impetuous enterprise and blind confidence in our destiny, it is time to pause and study our condition. It is no sooner appreciated than the conviction must follow that the tribute exacted from the people should be diminished.

The theories which cloud the subject, misleading honest men, and the appeals to selfish interests which deceive the understanding, make the reform, which should be easy, a difficult task. Although those who propose a remedy for present evils have always been the friends of American labor, and though they declare their purpose to further its interests in all their efforts, yet those who oppose reform attempt to disturb our workingmen by the cry that their wages and their employment are threatened.

They advocate a system which benefits certain classes of our citizens at the expense of every householder in the land—a system which breeds discontent, because it permits the duplication of wealth without corresponding additional recompense to labor, which prevents the opportunity to work by stifling production and limiting the area of our markets, and which enhances the cost of living beyond the laborers' hard-earned wages.

The attempt is made to divert the attention of the people from the evils of such a scheme of taxation, by branding those who seek to correct these evils as free-traders, and enemies of our workingmen and our industrial enterprises. This is so far from the truth that there should be no chance for such deception to succeed.

It behooves the American people, while they rejoice in the anniversary of the day when their free Government was declared, to also reason together and determine that they will not be deprived of the blessings and the benefits which their Government should afford. Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

SPEECHES, LETTERS AND MESSAGES

OF

GROVER CLEVELAND,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

1881-1888.

CHAPTER VII.

CLEVELAND'S SPEECHES, LETTERS AND MESSAGES.

FIRST IMPORTANT VETO AS MAYOR:

A STINGING REBUKE TO EXTRAVAGANCE IN THE EXPENDITURE OF PUBLIC MONEY CHARACTERISTIC OF THE MAN.

BUFFALO, *June* 26, 1882.

I return without my approval the resolution of your honorable body, passed at its last meeting, awarding the contracts for cleaning the paved streets and alleys of the city for the ensuing five years to —— at his bid of four hundred and twenty-two thousand and five hundred dollars.

The bid thus accepted by your honorable body is more than one hundred thousand dollars higher than that of another perfectly responsible party for the same work; and a worse and more suspicious feature in this transaction is that the bid now accepted is fifty thousand dollars more than that made by —— himself within a very few weeks, openly and publicly to your honorable body, for performing precisely the same services. This latter circumstance is to my mind the manifestation on the part of the contractor of a reliance upon the forbearance and generosity of your honorable body, which would be more creditable if it were less expensive to the taxpayers.

I am not aware that any excuse is offered for the acceptance of this proposal, thus increased, except the very flimsy one that the lower bidders cannot afford to do the work for the sums they name.

This extreme tenderness and consideration for those who desire to contract with the city, and this touching and paternal solicitude lest they should be improvidently led into a bad bargain is, I am sure, an exception to general business rules, and seems to have no place in this selfish, sordid world, except as found in the administration of municipal affairs.

The charter of your city requires that the Mayor, when he disapproves any resolution of your honorable body, shall return the same with his objections.

This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action of your honorable body now under consideration shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent from the same, because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people and to worse than squander the public money.

I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a willful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences, both in and about your honorable body, which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.

When cool judgment rules the hour, the people will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your honorable body. But clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceives and leads honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence.

If the scandal in connection with this street cleaning contract, which has so aroused our citizens, shall cause them to select and watch with more care those to whom they intrust their interests, and if it serves to make all of us who are charged with official duties more careful in their performance, it will not be an unmitigated evil.

We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people either in or out of your honorable body are against them and should be treated accordingly.

GROVER CLEVELAND,
Mayor.

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES.

I.

AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, IN THE SENATE CHAMBER AT ALBANY, JANUARY 1ST, 1883.

GOVERNOR CORNELL: I am profoundly grateful for your pleasant words and kind wishes for my success. You speak in full view of labors that are past and duty well performed, and no doubt you generously suppose that what you have safely encountered and overcome another may not fear to meet.

But I cannot be unmindful of the difficulties that beset the path upon which I enter, and I shall be quite content if, when the end is reached, I may, like you, look back upon an official career honorable to myself and useful to the people of the State.

I cannot forbear at this time to also express my appreciation of the hearty kindness and consideration with which you have at other times sought to make easier my performance of official duty.

Fellow-Citizens: You have assembled to-day to witness the retirement of an officer tried and trusted, from the highest place in the State, and the assumption of its duties by one yet to be tried. This ceremony, simple and unostentatious, as becomes the spirit of our institutions, is yet of vast importance to you and all the people of this great commonwealth. The interests now transferred to new hands are yours; and the duties here newly assumed should be performed for your bene-

fit and your good. This you have the right to demand and enforce by the means placed in your hands, which you well know how to use; and if the public servant should always know that he is jealously watched by the people, he surely would be none the less faithful to his trust.

This vigilance on the part of the citizen, and an active interest and participation in political concerns, are the safeguards of his rights; but sluggish indifference to political privileges invites the machinations of those who wait to betray the people's trust. Thus when the conduct of public affairs receives your attention, you not only perform your duty as citizens, but protect your own best interest. While this is true, and while those whom you put in place should be held to strict account, their opportunity for usefulness should not be impaired, nor their efforts for good thwarted by unfounded and querulous complaint and cavil.

Let us together, but in our different places, take part in the regulation and administration of the government of our State, and thus become not only the keepers of our own interests, but contributors to the progress and prosperity which will await us.

I enter upon the discharge of the duties of the office to which my fellow-citizens have called me with a profound sense of responsibility; but my hope is in the guidance of a kind Providence, which I believe will aid an honest design and the forbearance of a just people, which, I trust, will recognize a patriotic endeavor.

II.

AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, DELIVERED AT THE EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL, IN WASHINGTON, MARCH 4, 1885.

Fellow-Citizens: In the presence of this vast assemblage of my countrymen I am about to supplement and seal by the oath which I shall take the manifestation of the will of a great and free people. In the exercise of their power and right of self-government they have committed to one of their fellow-citizens a supreme and sacred trust; and he here consecrates himself to their service.

This impressive ceremony adds little to the solemn sense of responsibility with which I contemplate the duty I owe to all the people of the land. Nothing can relieve me from anxiety lest by any act of mine their interests may suffer, and nothing is needed to strengthen my resolution to engage every faculty and effort in the promotion of their welfare.

Amid the din of party strife the people's choice was made; but its attendant circumstances have demonstrated anew the strength and safety of a government by the people. In each succeeding year it more clearly appears that our democratic principle needs no apology, and that in its fearless and faithful application is to be found the surest guarantee of good government.

But the best results in the operation of a government, wherein every citizen has a share, largely depend upon a proper limitation of purely partisan zeal and effort, and a correct appreciation of the time when the heat of the partisan should be merged in the patriotism of the citizen.

To-day the executive branch of the government is transferred to new keeping. But this is still the government of all the people, and it should be none the less an

object of their affectionate solicitude. At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat, and the exultation of partisan triumph should be supplanted by an ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will, and a sober, conscientious concern for the general weal. Moreover, if, from this hour, we cheerfully and honestly abandon all sectional prejudice and distrust, and determine, with manly confidence in one another, to work out harmoniously the achievements of our national destiny, we shall deserve to realize all the benefits which our happy form of government can bestow.

On this auspicious occasion we may well renew the pledge of our devotion to the Constitution, which, launched by the founders of the Republic and consecrated by their prayers and patriotic devotion, has for almost a century borne the hopes and the aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace, and through the shock of foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes.

By the Father of his Country our Constitution was commended for adoption as "the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession." In that same spirit it should be administered, in order to promote the lasting welfare of the country, and to secure the full measure of its priceless benefits to us and to those who will succeed to the blessings of our national life. The large variety of diverse and competing interests subject to Federal control, persistently seeking the recognition of their claims, need give us no fear that "the greatest good to the greatest number," will fail to be accomplished if in the halls of national legislation that spirit of amity and mutual concession shall prevail in which the Constitution had its birth. If this involves the surrender or postponement of private interests and the abandonment of local advantages, compensation will be found in the assurance that thus the common interest is subserved and the general welfare advanced.

In the discharge of my official duty I shall endeavor to be guided by a just and unrestrained construction of the Constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the State or to the people, and by a cautious appreciation of those functions which, by the Constitution and laws, have been especially assigned to the executive branch of the Government.

But he who takes the oath to-day to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States only assumes the solemn obligation which every patriotic citizen, on the farm, in the workshop, in the busy marts of trade, and everywhere, should share with him. The Constitution which prescribes his oath, my countrymen, is yours; the Government you have chosen him to administer for a time is yours; the suffrage which executes the will of freemen is yours; the laws and the entire scheme of our civil rule, from the town meeting to the State capitals and the National Capital, is yours. Your every voter, as surely as your Chief Magistrate, under the same high sanction, though in a different sphere, exercises a public trust. Nor is this all. Every citizen owes to the country a vigilant watch and close scrutiny of its public servants, and a fair and reasonable estimate of their fidelity and usefulness. Thus is the people's will impressed upon the whole framework of our civil polity—municipal, State, and Federal—and this is the price of our liberty and the inspiration of our faith in the Republic.

It is the duty of those serving the people in public place to closely limit public expenditures to the actual needs of the Government economically administered,

because this bounds the right of the Government to exact tribute from the earnings of labor or the property of the citizen, and because public extravagance begets extravagance among the people. We should never be ashamed of the simplicity and prudential economies which are best suited to the operation of a republican form of government and most compatible with the mission of the American people. Those who are selected for a limited time to manage public affairs are still of the people, and may do much by their example to encourage, consistently with the dignity of their official functions, that plain way of life which among their fellow-citizens aids integrity and promotes thrift and prosperity.

The genius of our institutions, the needs of our people in their home life, and the attention which is demanded for the settlement and development of the resources of our vast territory, dictate the scrupulous avoidance of any departure from that foreign policy commended by the history, the traditions, and the prosperity of our Republic. It is the policy of independence, favored by our position and defended by our known love of justice and by our power. It is the policy of peace suitable to our interests. It is the policy of neutrality, rejecting any share in foreign broils and ambitions upon other continents, and repelling their intrusion here. It is the policy of Monroe and of Washington and Jefferson—"Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliance with none."

A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demand that our finances shall be established upon such a sound and sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests and make the wage of labor sure and steady; and that our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the people of unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and workingmen employed in American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury to tempt extravagance and waste.

Care for the property of the nation and for the needs of future settlers require that the public domain should be protected from purloining schemes and unlawful occupation.

The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated as wards of the Government, and their education and civilization promoted, with a view to their ultimate citizenship; and that polygamy in the Territories, destructive of the family relation and offensive to the moral sense of the civilized world, shall be repressed.

The laws should be rigidly enforced which prohibit the immigration of a servile class to compete with American labor, with no intention of acquiring citizenship, and bringing with them and retaining habits and customs repugnant to our civilization.

The people demand reform in the administration of the Government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end civil service reform should be in good faith enforced. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employes who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards. And those who worthily seek public employment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognized instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.

In the administration of a government pledged to do equal and exact justice to all men there should be no pretext for anxiety touching the protection of the freedmen in their rights, or their security in the enjoyment of their privileges under the Constitution and its amendments. All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded to them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable, except as it suggests the necessity for their improvement. The fact that they are citizens entitles them to all the rights due to that relation and charges them with all its duties, obligations, and responsibilities.

These topics, and the constant and ever-varying wants of an active and enterprising population, may well receive the attention and the patriotic endeavor of all who make and execute the Federal law. Our duties are practical, and call for industrious application, an intelligent perception of the claims of public office, and, above all, a firm determination, by united action, to secure to all the people of the land the full benefits of the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man. And let us not trust to human effort alone; but humbly acknowledging the power and goodness of Almighty God, who presides over the destiny of nations, and who has at all times been revealed in our country's history, let us invoke His aid and His blessing upon our labors.

POLITICAL LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

I.

ADDRESS ACCEPTING NOMINATION FOR MAYOR OF BUFFALO, 1881.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I am informed that you have bestowed upon me the nomination for the office of Mayor. * * * I hoped that your choice might fall upon some other and more worthy member of the city Democracy, for personal and private considerations have made the question of acceptance on my part a difficult one.

But because I am a Democrat and because I think no one has a right at this time of all others to consult his own inclinations as against the call of his party and fellow-citizens, and hoping that I may be of use to you in your efforts to inaugurate a better rule of municipal affairs, I accept the nomination tendered to me. * * *

I am assured that the result of the campaign upon which we enter to-day will demonstrate that the citizens of Buffalo will not tolerate the man or the party who has been unfaithful to public trusts. I say these things to a convention of Democrats, because I know that the grand old party is honest, and they cannot be unwelcome to you. Let us then in all sincerity promise the people an improvement in our municipal affairs; and if the opportunity is offered to us, as it surely will be, let us faithfully keep that promise.

By this means, and by this means alone, can our success rest upon a firm foundation and our party ascendency be permanently assured. Our opponents will wage a bitter and determined warfare; but with united and hearty effort we shall achieve a victory for our entire ticket. And at this day, and with my record before you, I trust it is unnecessary for me to pledge to you my most earnest endeavors to

bring about this result; and if elected to the position for which you have nominated me, I shall do my whole duty to the party; but none the less, I hope, to the citizens of Buffalo.

II.

LETTER ACCEPTING NOMINATION AS GOVERNOR.

BUFFALO, N. Y., October 7, 1882.

DEAR SIR:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me of my nomination for Governor by the Democratic State Convention, lately held at the city of Syracuse.

I accept the nomination thus tendered to me, and trust that, while I am gratefully sensible of the honor conferred, I am also properly impressed with the responsibilities which it invites.

The platform of principles adopted by the convention meets with my hearty approval. The doctrines therein enunciated are so distinctly and explicitly stated that their amplification seems scarcely necessary. If elected to the office for which I have been nominated, I shall endeavor to impress them upon my administration and make them the policy of the State.

Our citizens for the most part attach themselves to one or the other of the great political parties; and under ordinary circumstances they support the nominees of the party to which they profess fealty.

It is quite apparent that under such circumstances the primary election or caucus should be surrounded by such safeguards as will secure absolutely free and uncontrolled action. Here the people themselves are supposed to speak; here they put their hands to the machinery of government, and in this place should be found the manifestations of the popular will.

When by fraud, intimidation or any other questionable practice the voice of the people is here smothered, a direct blow is aimed at a most precious right, and one which the law should be swift to protect.

If the primary election is uncontaminated and fairly conducted, those there chosen to represent the people will go forth with the impress of the peoples' will upon them, and the benefits and purposes of a truly representative government will be attained.

Public officers are the servants and agents of the people to execute laws which the people have made, and within the limits of a constitution which they have established.

Hence the interference of officials of any degree, and whether state or federal, for the purpose of thwarting or controlling the popular wish, should not be tolerated.

Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand, here as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished, and, it seems to me, the cause of civil service reform materially aided.

The system of levying assessments for partisan purposes on those holding office or place cannot be too strongly condemned. Through the thin disguise of voluntary contributions, this is seen to be naked extortion, reducing the compensation which should be honestly earned and swelling a fund used to debauch the people and defeat the popular will.

I am unalterably opposed to the interference by the Legislature with the government of municipalities. I believe in the intelligence of the people when left to an honest freedom in their choice, and that when the citizens of any section of the State have determined upon the details of a local government, they should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same. The doctrine of home rule, as I understand it, lies at the foundation of republican institutions, and cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes, and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere they should be protected; but when by combination or by the exercise of unwarranted power, they oppress the people, the same authority which created should restrain them and protect the rights of the citizen. The law lately passed for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations, should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effectuate its objects and with a due regard for the interest involved.

The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman.

We have so lately had a demonstration of the value of our citizen soldiery in time of peril, that it seems to me no argument is necessary to prove that it should be maintained in a state of efficiency, so that its usefulness shall not be impaired.

Certain amendments to the constitution of our State, involving the management of our canals, are to be passed upon at the coming election. This subject affects divers interests, and of course gives rise to opposite opinions. It is in the hands of the sovereign people for final settlement; and as the question is thus removed from State legislation, any statement of my opinion in regard to it, at this time, would, I think, be out of place. I am confident that the people will intelligently examine the merits of the subject, and determine where the preponderance of interest lies.

The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls, or to secure legislation, is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed, a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed, and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is willful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations, which they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that

party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

The importance of wise statesmanship in the management of public affairs cannot, I think, be overestimated. I am convinced, however, that the perplexities and the mystery often surrounding the administration of State concerns grow, in a great measure, out of an attempt to serve partisan ends rather than the welfare of the citizen.

We may, I think, reduce to quite simple elements the duty which public servants owe, by constantly bearing in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend, for their benefit, the money drawn from them by taxation.

I am profoundly conscious that the management of the divers interests of a great State is not an easy matter, but I believe, if undertaken in the proper spirit, all its real difficulties will yield to watchfulness and care.

Yours respectfully, GROVER CLEVELAND.

III.

SERENADE SPEECH IN ALBANY, JULY 10, 1884, AFTER NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors.

On this occasion, I am, of course, aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen, and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted.

The American people are about to exercise, in its highest sense, their power of right and sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representatives of political parties, and demand of them an account of their stewardship.

Parties may be so long in power, and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters. But the time comes, as certainly as death, when the people weigh them in the balance.

The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted.

We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party, which for nearly twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation, the full benefits to which they are entitled—of a pure, just and economical rule—and we believe that the ascendency of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better government, and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people.

To reach the sober thought of the nation, and to dislodge an enemy intrenched behind spoils and patronage, involve a struggle, which, if we under-estimate, we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts.

Let us, then, enter upon the campaign, now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready, with solid front, to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people.

IV.

RESPONSE TO NOTIFICATION OF NOMINATION AT ALBANY, JULY 29, 1884.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the convention, lately held by the Democracy of the nation.

And yet when, as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land, of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to entrust to it the administration of their government, and when I consider, under the influence of the stern reality which present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position.

Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not at this moment congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me.

Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which, more than all others, gives to the action of my party in convention assembled, its most sober and serious aspect.

The party and its representatives which ask to be entrusted at the hands of the people, with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety, should only ask it with the full appreciation of the trust, and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well.

I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith because I believe if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the people.

If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong, because we are true to ourselves, and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek, by their suffrages, to compass their release from party tyranny where their should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people's interests.

These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause; and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefit of a pure and honest administration of national affairs.

No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort, or urge us to continuous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in

this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed.

I have thus called to mind some simple truths; and trite though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time.

I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime, I gladly greet you all as co-workers in a noble cause.

V.

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE AS PRESIDENT.

ALBANY, N. Y., August 18, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your communication, dated July 28, 1884, informing me of my nomination to the office of President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention, lately assembled at Chicago. I accept the nomination with a grateful appreciation of the supreme honor conferred and a solemn sense of the responsibility which, in its acceptance, I assume. I have carefully considered the platform adopted by the Convention and cordially approve the same. So plain a statement of Democratic faith, and upon the principles which that party appeals to the suffrages of the people, needs no supplement or explanation.

It should be remembered that the office of President is essentially executive in its nature. The laws enacted by the legislative branch of the Government the Chief Executive is bound faithfully to enforce. And when the wisdom of the political party which selects one of its members as a nominee for that office has outlined its policy and declared its principles, it seems to me that nothing in the character of the office or the necessities of the case requires more from the candidate accepting such nomination than the suggestion of certain well-known truths so absolutely vital to the safety and welfare of the nation that they cannot be too often recalled or too seriously enforced.

We proudly call ours a government by the people. It is not such when a class is tolerated which arrogates to itself the management of public affairs, seeking to control the people instead of representing them. Parties are the necessary outgrowth of our institutions; but a government is not by the people when one party fastens its control upon the country and perpetuates its power by cajoling and betraying the people instead of serving them. A government is not by the people when a result which should represent the intelligent will of free and thinking men is or can be determined by the shameless corruption of their suffrages.

When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of one of their number to assume for a time a public trust instead of his dedication to the profession of politics; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of

this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

A true American sentiment recognizes the dignity of labor and the fact that honor lies in honest toil. Contented labor is an element of national prosperity. Ability to work constitutes the capital and the wage of labor the income of a vast number of our population, and this interest should be jealously protected. Our workingmen are not asking unreasonable indulgence, but as intelligent and manly citizens they seek the same consideration which those demand who have other interests at stake. They should receive their full share of the care and attention of those who make and execute the laws, to the end that the wants and needs of the employers and employed shall alike be subserved and the prosperity of the country, the common heritage of both, be advanced. As related to this subject, while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our government and add to our citizen population, yet as a means of protection to our workingmen a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come or are brought to our land, do not intend to become Americans, but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor.

In a letter accepting the nomination to the office of Governor, nearly two years ago, I made the following statement, to which I have steadily adhered:

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

A proper regard for the welfare of the workingman being inseparably connected with the integrity of our institutions, none of our citizens are more interested than they in guarding against any corrupting influences which seek to pervert the beneficent purposes of our government, and none should be more watchful of the artful machinations of those who allure them to self-inflicted injury.

In a free country the curtailment of the absolute rights of the individual should only be such as is essential to the peace and good order of the community. The limit between the proper subjects of governmental control and those which can be more fittingly left to the moral sense and self-imposed restraint of the citizen should be carefully kept in view. Thus laws unnecessarily interfering with the habits and customs of any of our people which are not offensive to the moral sentiments of the civilized world, and which are consistent with good citizenship and the public welfare, are unwise and vexatious.

The commerce of a nation, to a great extent, determines its supremacy. Cheap and easy transportation should therefore be liberally fostered. Within the limits of the Constitution, the general Government should so improve and protect its natural waterways as will enable the producers of the country to reach a profitable market.

The people pay the wages of the public employes, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty

of those intrusted with the management of their affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it; the unseemly scramble for place under Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease, and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places, instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

I believe that the public temper is such that the voters of the land are prepared to support the party which gives the best promise of administering the government in the honest, simple and plain manner which is consistent with its character and purposes. They have learned that mystery and concealment in the management of their affairs cover tricks and betrayal. The statesmanship they require consists in honesty and frugality, a prompt response to the needs of the people as they arise, and a vigilant protection of all their varied interests. If I should be called to the Chief Magistracy of the nation by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, I will assume the duties of that high office with a solemn determination to dedicate every effort to the country's good, and with an humble reliance upon the favor and support of the Supreme Being, who, I believe, will always bless honest human endeavor in the conscientious discharge of public duty.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

LETTERS AND ADDRESSES TO RELIGIOUS BODIES.

I.

ADDRESS AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE Y. M. C. A. BUILDING IN BUFFALO, SEPTEMBER 7, 1882.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I desireto express the sincere pleasure and gratification I experience in joining with you in the exercises of this afternoon. An event is here marked which I deem a most important one, and one well worthy of the attention of all good citizens. We this day bring into a prominent place an institution which it seems to me cannot fail to impress itself upon our future with the best results.

Perhaps a majority of our citizens have heard of the Young Men's Christian Association; and perchance the name has suggested in an indefinite way certain efforts to do good and to aid generally in the spread of religious teaching. I venture to say, however, that a comparatively small part of our community have really known the full extent of the work of this Association; and many have thought of it as an institution well enough in its way—a proper enough outlet for a superabundance of religious enthusiasm—doing, of course, no harm, and perhaps very little good. Some have aided it by their contributions from a sense of Christian duty, but more have passed by on the other side.

We have been too much in the habit of regarding institutions of this kind as entirely disconnected from any considerations of municipal growth or prosperity, and have too often considered splendid structures, active trade, increasing commerce, and growing manufactures as the only things worthy of our care as public spirited citizens. A moment's reflection reminds us that this is wrong. The citizen is a better business man if he is a Christian gentleman, and surely business is not the less prosperous and successful if conducted on Christian principles. This is an extremely practical, and perhaps not a very elevated, view to take of the purposes and benefits of the Young Men's Christian Association. But I assert that if it did no more than to impress some religious principles upon the business of our city, it would be worthy of generous support. And when we consider the difference, as a member of the community, between the young men who, under the influence of such an association, has learned his duty to his fellows and to the State, and that one, who, subject to no moral restraint, yields to temptation and thus becomes vicious and criminal, the importance of an institution in our midst which leads our youth and young men in the way of morality and good citizenship, must be freely admitted.

I have thus only referred to this association as in some manner connected with our substantial prosperity. There is a higher theme connected with this subject which touches the welfare, temporal and spiritual, of the objects of its care. Upon this I will not dwell. I cannot, however, pass on without invoking the fullest measure of honor and consideration due to the self-sacrificing and disinterested efforts of the men—and women, too—who have labored amid trials and discouragements to firmly plant this Association in our midst upon sure foundation. We all hope and expect that our city has entered upon a course of unprecedented prosperity and growth. But to my mind not all the signs about us point more surely to real greatness than the event which we here celebrate.

Good and pure government lies at the foundation of the wealth and progress of every community.

As the chief executive of this proud city, I congratulate all my fellow-citizens that to day we lay the foundation stone of an edifice which shall be a beautiful adornment, and, what is more important, shall inclose within its walls such earnest Christian endeavors as must make easier all our efforts to administer, safely and honestly, a good municipal government. I commend the Young Men's Christian Association to the cheerful and generous support of every citizen, and trust that long after the men who have wrought so well in establishing these foundations shall have surrendered lives well spent, this building shall stand a monument of well directed, pious labor, to shed its benign influence on generations yet to come.

II

RECEPTION TO CARDINAL GIBBONS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, January 26, 1887.

John I. Rogers:

My Dear Sir—I have received from you, as one of the Committee of the Catholic Club of Philadelphia, an invitation to attend a banquet to be given by the Club, on Tuesday evening, February 8th, in honor of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons. The thoughtfulness which prompted this invitation is gratefully appreciated; and I

regret that my public duties here will prevent its acceptance. I should be glad to join in the contemplated expression of respect to be tendered to the distinguished head of the Catholic Church in the United States, whose personal acquaintance I very much enjoy, and who is so worthily entitled to the esteem of all his fellow-citizens.

I thank you for the admirable letter which accompanied my invitation, in which you announce as one of the doctrines of your Club "that a good and exemplary Catholic must *ex necessitate rei* be a good and exemplary citizen," and that "the teachings of both human and Divine law thus merging in the one word, duty, form the only union of Church and State that a civil and religious government can recognize."

I know you will permit me, as a Protestant, to supplement this noble sentiment by the expression of my conviction that the same influence and result follow a sincere and consistent devotion to the teachings of every religious creed which is based upon Divine sanction.

A wholesome religious faith thus inures to the perpetuity, the safety and the prosperity of our Republic, by exacting the due observance of civil law, the preservation of public order and a proper regard for the rights of all; and thus are its adherents better fitted for good citizenship and confirmed in a sure and steadfast patriotism. It seems to me, too, that the conception of duty to the State which is derived from religious precept involves a sense of personal responsibility, which is of the greatest value in the operation of the government by the people. It will be a fortunate day for our country when every citizen feels that he has an ever present duty to perform to the State which he cannot escape from or neglect without being false to his religious as well as his civil allegiance.

Wishing for your Club the utmost success in its efforts to bring about this result, I am yours sincerely,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

III.

LAYING THE Y. M. C. A. BUILDING CORNER-STONE, KANSAS CITY, MO., OCTOBER 13, 1887.

In the busy activities of our daily life we are apt to neglect instrumentalities which are quietly but effectually doing most important service in molding our national character. Among these, and challenging but little notice compared with their valuable results, are the Young Men's Christian Associations scattered throughout our country. All will admit the supreme importance of that honesty and fixed principle which rests upon Christian motives and purposes, and all will acknowledge the sad and increasing temptations which beset our young men and lure them to their distruction.

To save these young men, often times deprived of the restraints of home, from degradation and ruin, and to fit them for usefulness and honor, these associations have entered the field of Christian effort and are pushing their noble work. When it is considered that the subject of their efforts are to be the active men for good or evil in the next generation, mere worldly prudence dictates that these associations should be aided and encouraged.

Their increase and flourishing condition reflect the highest honor upon the good men who have devoted themselves to this work, and demonstrate that the American

people are not entirely lacking in appreciation of its value. Twenty years ago, but one of these associations owned a building, and that was valued at only $11,000. To-day more than one hundred such buildings, valued at more than $5,000,000, beautify the different cities of our land and beckon our young men to lives of usefulness.

I am especially pleased to be able to participate to-day in laying the corner-stone of another of these edifices in this active and growing city; and I trust that the encouragement given the Young Men's Christian Association located here may be commensurate with its assured usefulness, and in keeping with the generosity and intelligence which characterize the people of Kansas City.

IV.

TO THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, DECEMBER, 1887.

Mr. President—I am glad to meet so large a delegation from the Evangelical Alliance of the United States. I understand the purpose of this Alliance to be the application of Christian rules of conduct to the problems and exigencies of social and political life.

Such a movement cannot fail to produce the most valuable results. All must admit that the reception of the teachings of Christianity results in the purest patriotism, in the most scrupulous fidelity to public trust, and in the best type of citizenship. Those who manage the affairs of government are by this means reminded that the law of God demands that they should be courageously true to the interests of the people, and that the Ruler of the Universe will require of them a strict account of their stewardship. The people, too, are thus taught that their happiness and welfare will be best promoted by a conscientious regard for the interest of a common brotherhood, and that the success of a government by the people depends upon the morality, the justice and the honesty of the people.

I am especially pleased to know that your efforts are not cramped and limited by denominational lines, and that your credentials are found in a broad Christian fellowship. Manifestly, if you seek to teach your countrymen toleration you yourselves must be tolerant; if you would teach them liberality for the opinions of each other you yourselves must be liberal; and if you would teach them unselfish patriotism you yourselves must be unselfish and patriotic. There is enough of work in the field you have entered, to enlist the hearty co-operation of all who believe in the value and efficacy of Christian teaching and practice.

Your noble mission, if undertaken in a broad and generous spirit, will surely arrest the attention and respectful consideration of your fellow-citizens; and your endeavors, consecrated by benevolence and patriotic love, must exert a powerful influence in the enlightenment and improvement of our people, in illustrating the strength and stability of our institutions, and in advancing the prosperity and greatness of our beloved land.

V.

REMARKS BEFORE THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLIES AT PHILADELPHIA, MAY 23, 1888.

I am very much gratified by the opportunity here afforded me to meet the representatives of the Presbyterian Church.

Surely a man never should lose his interest in the welfare of the Church in which he was reared; and yet I will not find fault with any of you who deem it a sad confession made when I acknowledge that I must recall the days now long past to find my closest relation to the grand and noble denomination which you represent. I say this because those of us who inherit fealty to our Church as I did begin early to learn those things which make us Presbyterians all the days of our lives; and thus it is that the rigors of our early teaching, by which we are grounded in our lasting allegiance, are especially vivid, and perhaps the best remembered. The attendance upon church service three times each Sunday and upon Sabbath school during the noon intermission may be irksome enough to a boy of ten or twelve years of age to be well fixed in his memory; but I have never known a man who regretted these things in the years of his maturity. The shorter catechism, though thoroughly studied and learned, was not, perhaps, at the time perfectly understood, and yet in the stern labors and duties of after life those are not apt to be the worst citizens who were early taught "what is the chief end of man."

Speaking of these things and in the presence of those here assembled, the most tender thoughts crowd upon my mind—all connected with Presbyterianism and its teachings. There are present with me now memories of a kind and affectionate father, consecrated to the cause, and called to his rest and his reward in the midday of his usefulness; a sacred recollection of the prayers and pious love of a sainted mother, and a family circle hallowed and sanctified by the spirit of Presbyterianism.

I certainly cannot but express the wish and hope that the Presbyterian Church will always be at the front in every movement which promises the temporal as well as the spiritual advancement of mankind. In the turmoil and the bustle of every-day life few men are foolish enough to ignore the practical value to our people and our country of the church organizations established among us and the advantage of Christian example and teachings.

The field is vast and the work sufficient to engage the efforts of every sect and denomination; but I am inclined to believe that the Church which is most tolerant and conservative, without loss of spiritual strength, will soonest find the way to the hearts and affections of the people. While we may be pardoned for insisting that our denomination is the best, we may, I think, safely concede much that is good to all other Churches that seek to make men better.

I am here to greet the delegates of two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church. One is called "North" and the other "South." The subject is too deep and intricate for me, but I cannot help wondering why this should be. These words, so far as they denote separation and estrangement, should be obsolete. In the counsels of the nation and in the business of the country they no longer mean reproach and antagonism. Even the soldiers who fought for the North and for the South are restored to fraternity and unity. This fraternity and unity is taught and enjoined by our Church. When shall she herself be united with all the added strength and usefulness that harmony and union ensure?

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATIONS AS PRESIDENT.

I.

ANNUAL PROCLAMATION, 1885.

The American people have always abundant cause to be thankful to Almighty God, whose watchful care and guiding hand have been manifested in every stage of their national life—guarding and protecting them in time of peril, and safely leading them in the hour of darkness and of danger.

It is fitting and proper that a nation thus favored, should on one day in every year, for that purpose especially appointed, publicly acknowledge the goodness of God, and return thanks to Him for all His gracious gifts.

Therefore I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate and set apart Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of November, instant, as a day of public Thanksgiving and prayer; and do invoke the observance of the same by all the people of the land.

On that day let all secular business be suspended; and let the people assemble in their usual places of worship, and with prayer and songs of praise, devoutly testify their gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift for all that He has done for us in the year that has passed; for our preservation as a united nation and for our deliverance from the shock and danger of political convulsion; for the blessings of peace and for our safety and quiet while wars and rumors of wars have agitated and afflicted other nations of the earth; for our security against the scourge of pestilence, which in other lands has claimed its dead by thousands and filled the streets with mourners; for plenteous crops which reward the labor of the husbandman and increase our nation's wealth, and for the contentment throughout our borders which follows in the train of prosperity and abundance.

And let there also be on the day thus set apart, a reunion of families, sanctified and chastened by tender memories and associations; and let the social intercourse of friends, with pleasant reminiscence renew the ties of affection and strengthen the bonds of kindly feeling.

And let us by no means forget while we give thanks and enjoy the comforts which have crowned our lives, that truly grateful hearts are inclined to deeds of charity; and that a kind and thoughtful remembrance of the poor, will double the pleasures of our condition, and render our praise and thanksgiving more acceptable in the sight of the Lord.

Done at the City of Washington, this second day of November, one
[L. S.] thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, and of the Independence of the United States, the one hundred and tenth.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

By the President.

T. F. BAYARD, *Secretary of State.*

II.

ANNUAL PROCLAMATION, 1886.

It has long been the custom of the people of the United States, on a day in each year especially set apart for that purpose by their Chief Executive, to acknowledge the goodness and mercy of God, and to invoke His continued care and protection.

In observance of such custom, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, do hereby designate and set apart Thursday, the 25th day of November instant, to be observed and kept as a day of Thanksgiving and Prayer.

On that day let all our people forego their accustomed employments, and assemble in their usual places of worship, to give thanks to the Ruler of the Universe for our continued enjoyment of the blessings of a free government, for a renewal of business prosperity throughout our land, for the return which has rewarded the labor of those who till the soil, and for our progress as a people in all that makes a nation great.

And while we contemplate the infinite power of God in earthquake, flood and storm, let the grateful hearts of those who have been shielded from harm through His mercy, be turned in sympathy and kindness toward those who have suffered through His visitations.

Let us also in the midst of our thanksgiving remember the poor and needy with cheerful gifts and alms, so that our service may, by deeds of charity, be made acceptable in the sight of the Lord.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eleventh.

[SEAL]

GROVER CLEVELAND.

By the President.

T. F. BAYARD, *Secretary of State.*

III.

ANNUAL PROCLAMATION, 1887.

The goodness and the mercy of God which have followed the American people during all the days of the past year claim their grateful recognition and humble acknowledgment. By His omnipotent power He has protected us from war and pestilence, and from every national calamity; by His gracious favor the earth has yielded a generous return to the labor of the husbandman, and every path of honest toil has led to comfort and contentment; by His loving kindness the hearts of our people have been replenished with fraternal sentiment and patriotic endeavor, and by His unerring guidance we have been directed in the way of national prosperity.

To the end that we may, with one accord, testify our gratitude for all these blessings, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, do hereby designate and set apart Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of November next, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by all the people of the land.

On that day let all secular work and employment be suspended, and let our people assemble in their accustomed places of worship and with prayer and songs of praise give thanks to our Heavenly Father for all that He has done for us, while we humbly implore the forgiveness of our sins and a continuance of His mercy.

Let families and kindred be reunited on that day, and let their hearts, filled with kindly cheer and affectionate reminiscence, be turned in thankfulness to the source of all their pleasures and the Giver of all that makes the day glad and joyous.

And in the midst of our worship and our happiness let us remember the poor, the needy and the unfortunate, and by our gifts of charity and ready benevolence let us increase the number of those who with grateful hearts shall join in our thanksgiving.

In witness whereof I have set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this twenty-fifth day of October,
[SEAL.] in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twelfth.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

By the President.

T. F. BAYARD, *Secretary of State.*

TO COMMERCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

I.

AT THE OSWEGATCHIE FAIR, OGDENSBURG, N. Y., OCTOBER 5, 1888.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—When I received the invitation of the president of this fair to be with you to-day, I could hardly see my way to accept, because I find that the duties of the office to which I have been called are of such a nature that I can scarcely do all that crowds upon me with quite constant attention. * *

Broad fields, well tilled, not only secure comfort and an income to the farmer, but build up the commerce of the State and easily supply the wants of the population. None of these things result except by labor. This is the magic wand whose touch creates wealth and a great State. So all of us who work are, in our several ways, engaged in building to a higher reach and nobler proportions the fabric of a proud commonwealth. Those who make and execute the laws, join with those who toil from day to day with their hands in their several occupations, all alike engaged in building up and protecting the State.

The institution of fairs such as this must, it seems to me, have a wholesome and beneficial effect. In addition to the competition engendered, which spurs to more effort and better methods, the opportunity is afforded to profit by the experience of others. The State has shown an appreciation of the value of experiment in agriculture, by establishing and maintaining, at considerable expense, a farm for the express purpose of devising and proving the value of new plans and operations in farming. The results are freely offered to all; and thus the farmer may gain a

knowledge of methods which will render his labor more profitable without the risk of loss in the time which he himself might spend in experiment. I have no doubt that the soil of the State of New York is tilled well and intelligently. And still I suppose much of our farming might be improved by a closer regard to successful experiment, and by learning the lessons of approved science as applied to agriculture. I do not fear, however, that the farmers of New York will stop short of the highest excellence. The people of this State are not given to that.

While I, in this manner, urge you to claim from the soil all it has to yield, by the aid of intelligent efforts in its cultivation, I cannot refrain from reminding you that, as citizens, you have something else to do. You have the responsibility of citizenship upon you, and you should see to it that you do your duty to the State, not only by increasing its wealth by the cultivation and improvement of the soil, but by an intelligent selection of those who shall act for you in the enactment and execution of your laws. Weeds and thistles, if allowed in your fields, defeat your toil and efforts. So abuses in the administration of your government lead to the dishonor of your State, choke and thwart the wishes of the people and waste their substance.

I have heard it said that a farm or business never does better than when it is managed by its owner.

So it is with your government. It accomplishes its purposes and operates well only when it is managed by the people and for the people. It was designed and constructed to be used in just this way. None of you would attempt to turn the soil of a field without putting a strong hand on the plow. A plow was constructed to be thus operated, and it can do its work in no other way. The machinery of the government will not do its work unless the strong, steady hands of the people are put upon it. This is not done when the people say that politics is a disgraceful game, and should be left untouched by those having private concerns and business which engages their attention. This neglect serves to give over the most important interests to those who care but little for their protection, and who are willing to betray their trust for their own advantage.

Manifestly, in this matter, the people can only act through agents of their selection. But that selection should be freely and intelligently made by the careful exercise of their suffrages.

I have said this duty should not be neglected. A careless or mistaken performance may be as fatal as neglect.

All cannot personally know the applicants for office; but by careful inquiry their characters for fair dealing and honesty, and the manner in which they have fulfilled the ordinary duties of life, may be discovered as well as the ability they have shown in the management of their own affairs. Do their neighbors and those who know them well trust them, and are they willing to put in their hands important interests? Are their personal habits and their personal and private relations good, and pure and clean?

I believe that in the selection of those who shall act for the people in the government no better rule can be adopted than the one suggested by these inquiries.

If they are answered satisfactorily, the people will probably conclude that they have found the men they wish to put in public places, even though they lack a knowledge of the arts and wiles which tricksters used to deceive and mislead.

Be diligent then in your business, and willing and anxious to improve and expand it. This you owe to yourselves, to your families, and to the public. Be also diligent and careful in the performance of your political duty. This you owe none the less to yourselves and to the State.

With every obligation thus discharged, your welfare and prosperity will be secured, and you may congratulate yourselves upon the honorable part you bear in the support and maintenance of a free and beneficent government.

II.

AT THE AGRICULTURAL FAIR, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, OCTOBER 12, 1886.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF VIRGINIA: While I thank you most sincerely for your kind reception and recognize in its heartiness the hospitality for which the people of Virginia have always been distinguished, I am fully aware that your demonstration of welcome is tendered not to an individual, but to an incumbent of an office which crowns the Government of the United States. The State of Virginia, the mother of Presidents, seven of whose sons have filled that high office, to-day greets a President who for the first time meets Virginians upon Virginia soil.

I congratulate myself that my first introduction to the people of Virginia occurs at a time when they are surrounded by the exhibits of the productiveness and prosperity of their State. Whatever there may be in honor in her history, and however much of pride there may be in her traditions, her true greatness is here exemplified. In our sisterhood of States the leading and most commanding place must be gained and kept by that commonwealth which, by the labor and intelligence of her citizens, can produce the most of those things which meet the necessities and desires of mankind.

But the full advantage of that which may be yielded to a State by the toil and ingenuity of her people is not measured alone by the money value of the products. The efforts and the struggles of her farmers and her artisans not only create new values in the field of agriculture and in the arts and manufactures, but they at the same time produce rugged, self-reliant and independent men, and cultivate that product which, more than all others, ennobles a State—a patriotic, earnest American citizenship.

This will flourish in every part of the American domain. Neither drouth nor rain can injure it, for it takes root in true hearts, enriched by love of country. There are no new varieties in this production. It must be the same wherever seen, and its quality is neither sound nor genuine unless it grows to deck and beautify an entire and united nation, nor unless it supports and sustains the institutions and the Government founded to protect American liberty and happiness.

The present Administration of the Government is pledged to return for such husbandry not only promises, but actual tenders of fairness and justice, with equal protection and a full participation in national achievements. If in the past we have been estranged and the cultivation of American citizenship has been interrupted, your enthusiastic welcome of to-day demonstrates that there is an end to such estrangement, and that the time of suspicion and fear is succeeded by an era of faith and confidence.

In such a kindly atmosphere and beneath such cheering skies I greet the people of Virginia as co-laborers in the field where grows the love of our united country.

God grant that in the years to come Virginia—the old Dominion, the mother of Presidents, she who looked on the nation at its birth—may not only increase her trophies of growth in agriculture and manufactures, but that she may be among the first of all the States in the cultivation of true American citizenship.

III.

AT THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE, PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 16, 1887.

I am glad I have an opportunity to meet so large a representation of the business men of Philadelphia. It is well that we should not entirely forget in the midst of our centennial jubilee that the aim and purpose of good government tend, after all, to the advancement of the material interests of the people and the increase of their trade and commerce. The thought has sometimes occurred to me that in the hurry and rush of business there might well be infused a little more patriotism than we are wont to see, and a little more recognition of the fact that a wholesome political sentiment is closely related not only to the general good, but to the general success of business. Of course our citizens engaged in business are quick to see the bearing of any policy which the Government may adopt, as it affects their personal success and their accumulation. But I would like to see that broad and patriotic sentiment among them which can see beyond their peculiar personal interests, and which can recognize that the advancement of the entire country is an object for which they may well strive, even sometimes to the diminution of their constantly-increasing profits.

Must we always look for the political opinions of our business men precisely where they suppose their immediate pecuniary advantage is found? I know how vain it is to hope for the eradication of a selfish motive in all the affairs of life; but I am reminded that we celebrate to-day the triumph of patriotism over selfishness. Will any one say that the concessions of the Constitution were not well made, or that we are not to-day in the full enjoyment of the blessings resulting from a due regard for all the conflicting interests represented by the different States which were united a hundred years ago?

I believe the complete benefits promised to the people by our form of government can only be secured by an exercise of the same spirit of toleration for each other's rights and interests in which it had its birth. This spirit will prevail when the business men of the country cultivate political thought; when they cease to eschew participation in political action, and when such thought and action are guided by better motives than purely selfish and exclusive benefit.

I am of the opinion that there is no place in the country where such a condition can be so properly and successfully maintained as here, among the enlightened and enterprising business men of Philadelphia.

IV.

BEFORE THE MILWAUKEE MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER 7, 1887.

I feel like thanking you for remembering on this occasion the President of the United States; for I am sure you but intend a respectful recognition of the dignity and importance of the high office I, for the time being, hold in trust for you and for the American people.

It is a high office because it represents the sovereignty of a free and mighty people. It is full of solemn responsibility and duty, because it embodies in a greater degree than any other office on earth the suffrage and the trust of such a people. As an American citizen, chosen from the mass of his fellow-countrymen to assume for a time this responsibility and this duty, I acknowledge with patriotic satisfaction your tribute to the office which belongs to us all.

And because it belongs to all the people the obligation is manifest on their part to maintain a constant and continuous watchfulness and interest concerning its care and operation. Their duty is not entirely done when they have exercised their suffrage and indicated their choice of the incumbent. Nor is their duty performed by settling down to bitter, malignant and senseless abuse of all that is done or attempted to be done by the incumbent selected. The acts of an administration should not be approved as a matter of course, and for no better reason than that it represents a political party; but more unpatriotic than all others are those who, having neither party discontent nor fair ground of criticism to excuse or justify their conduct, rail because of personal disappointment; who misrepresent for sensational purposes, and who profess to see swift destruction in the rejection of their plans of governmental management.

After all we need have no fear that the American people will permit this high office of president to suffer. There is a patriotic sentiment abroad which, in the midst of all party feeling and of party disappointment, will assert itself and will insist that the office which stands for the people's will shall, in all its vigor, minister to their prosperity and welfare.

V.

NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 4, 1887.

Messrs. Henry Hentz, Charles Watrous and others, Committee:

Gentlemen—I have received your invitations to attend the annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York on the evening of the 15th instant. It would certainly give me great pleasure to be present on that occasion and meet those who, to a great extent, have in charge the important business interests represented in your association. I am sure, too, that I should derive profit as well as pleasure from such a meeting.

Those charged by the people with the management of their government cannot fail to enhance their usefulness by a familiarity with business conditions and intimacy with business men, since good government has no more important mission than the stimulation and protection of the activities of the country.

This relation between governments and business suggests the thought that the members of such associations as yours owe to themselves and to all the people of the land a thoughtful discharge of their political obligations, guided by their practical knowledge of affairs to the end that there may be impressed upon the administration of our government a business character and tendency free from the diversion of passion, and unmoved by sudden gusts of excitement.

But the most wholesome purpose of their political action will not be accomplished by an insistance upon their exclusive claims and selfish benefits, regardless

of the welfare of the people at large. Inter-dependence is so fully an element in our national existence that a patriotic and generous heed to the general good sense will best subserve every particular interest.

I regret that my official duties and engagements prevent the acceptance of your courteous invitation, and, expressing the hope that the banquet may be a most enjoyable and interesting occasion to those present,

I am, very truly, yours,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

VI.

"THOUGH THE PEOPLE SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT, THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT SUPPORT THE PEOPLE."

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I return without my approval House bill number ten thousand two hundred and three, entitled "An act to enable the Commissioner of Agriculture to make a special distribution of seeds in the drought-stricken counties of Texas, and making an appropriation therefor."

It is represented that a long-continued and extensive drought has existed in certain portions of the State of Texas, resulting in a failure of crops and consequent distress and destitution.

Though there has been some difference in statements concerning the extent of the people's needs in the localities thus affected, there seems to be no doubt that there has existed a condition calling for relief; and I am willing to believe that, notwithstanding the aid already furnished, a donation of seed-grain to the farmers located in this region, to enable them to put in new crops, would serve to avert a continuance or return of an unfortunate blight.

And yet I feel obliged to withhold my approval of the plan as proposed by this bill. to indulge a benevolent and charitable sentiment through the appropriation of public funds for that purpose.

I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution; and I do not believe that the power and duty of the General Government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering which is in no manner properly related to the public service or benefit. A prevalent tendency to disregard the limited mission of this power and duty should, I think, be steadfastly resisted, to the end that the lesson should be constantly enforced that though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people.

The friendliness and charity of our countrymen can always be relied upon to relieve their fellow-citizens in misfortune. This has been repeatedly and quite lately demonstrated. Federal aid in such cases encourages the expectation of paternal care on the part of the Government and weakens the sturdiness of our national character, while it prevents the indulgence among our people of that kindly sentiment and conduct which strengthen the bonds of a common brotherhood.

It is within my personal knowledge that individual aid has to some extent already been extended to the sufferers mentioned in this bill. The failure of the proposed appropriation of ten thousand dollars additional to meet their remaining wants will not necessarily result in continued distress if the emergency is fully made known to the people of the country.

It is here suggested that the Commissioner of Agriculture is annually directed to expend a large sum of money for the purchase, propagation and distribution of seeds and other things of this description, two-thirds of which are upon the request of Senators, Representatives and Delegates in Congress, supplied to them for distribution among their constituents.

The appropriation of the current year for this purpose is one hundred thousand dollars, and it will probably be no less in the appropriation for the ensuing year. I understand that a large quantity of grain is furnished for such distribution, and it is supposed that this free apportionment among their neighbors is a privilege which may be waived by our Senators and Representatives.

If sufficient of them should request the Commissioner of Agriculture to send their shares of the grain thus allowed them to the suffering farmers of Texas, they might be enabled to sow their crops, the constituents for whom in theory this grain is intended could well bear the temporary deprivation, and the donors would experience the satisfaction attending deeds of charity.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, February 16, 1887.

BEFORE PATRIOTIC MEETINGS AND SOCIETIES.

I.

IN PRESENTING THE LECTURER, REV. FATHER SHEEHY, AT ST. STEPHEN'S HALL, BUFFALO, DECEMBER 5, 1881.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I desire to acknowledge the honor you have conferred upon me by this call to the chair. My greatest regret is that I know so little of the conditions that have given birth to the Land League. I know in a general way that it is designed to secure to Ireland those just and natural rights to which Irishmen are entitled. I understand, also, that these are to be obtained by peaceful measures and without doing violence to any just law of the land. This should meet with the support and countenance of every man who enjoys the privilege of American citizenship and lives under American laws. Our sympathy is drawn out by a bond of common manhood. We are here to-night to welcome an apostle of this cause, one who can, from personal experience, recount the scenes of that troubled isle; who can tell us the risks that are taken and the pains that are suffered by those who lead the van in this great movement. I congratulate you upon having Father Sheehy with you to-night, and I will not delay the pleasure of his presentation to you.

II.

ADDRESS IN ST. JAMES'S HALL, BUFFALO, N. Y., WHEN PRESIDING AT A MASS MEETING TO PROTEST AGAINST THE TREATMENT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IMPRISONED ABROAD, APRIL 9, 1882.

FELLOW CITIZENS—This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen.

From the earliest civilization to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages, and entitled to the full protection of the State. The defense and protection of personal rights of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened government.

And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this —the best and freest of them all; for here the people who are to be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we chose those who for the time being shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

And this protection adheres to us in all lands and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great, strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native born American citizen enjoys his birthright. But when, in the westward march of empire, this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the old world, and invited hither its immigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow-citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

> Hewed the dark old woods away,
> And gave the virgin fields to day;

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of justice and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other State, potentate and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We have accepted their fealty and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

And what should be given them in return? Manifestly, good faith and every dictate of honor demand that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions.

It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that "all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of persons and property which is accorded to native-born citizens," to voice the policy of our nation.

In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization.

At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England.

We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatever those laws may be they shall, in the interests of human freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination or trial, is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned. Ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute.

We have met here to-night to consider this subject and to inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government.

The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship boldly demanded: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?"

III.

AT THE ANNUAL SAENGERFEST IN BUFFALO, JULY 16, 1888.

I have come to join my fellow-townsmen and their visitors in the exercises which inaugurate a festival of music and of song, and a season of social enjoyments.

It may be safely said, I think, that no one who has called this his home, and who has enjoyed a residence in this beautiful city, and has learned the kindness of its people, ever forgets these things, or fails to experience a satisfaction in whatever adds to the prestige of the city, and the pride and enjoyment of its inhabitants.

And thus it is that I am here to-night, at my home, claiming, as an old citizen of Buffalo, my full share of the pleasure which Buffalonians appropriate to themselves on this occasion.

I am glad that our State has within its borders a city containing sufficient German enterprise and enough of the German love of music, to secure to itself the honor and distinction of being selected as the place where this national festival is held.

I desire to feel free, to-night, from official responsibilities and restraint, and as a private citizen, to join in welcoming our guests to my home; but I will not forbear, as the executive of the great State of New York, and on behalf of all its people, to extend to those here assembled from other States a hearty greeting.

At this moment the reflection is uppermost in my mind that we owe much to the German element among our people. Their thrift and industry have added immensely to our growth and prosperity. The sad and solemn victims of American overwork may learn of them that labor may be well done, and at the same time recreation and social enjoyment have their place in a busy life. They have also brought to us their music and their song, which have done much to elevate, refine and improve, and to demonstrate that nature's language is as sweet as when the morning stars sang together.

I am inclined to think that a music loving people are not apt to be a bad people; and it may well be hoped that occasions like this will tend to make the love and cultivation of music more universal in our land.

We hear, sometimes, of the assimilation of the people of different nationalities, who have made their home upon American soil. As this process goes on, let the German's love of music be carefully included to the end that the best elements of human nature may be improved and cultivated and American life be made more joyous and happy.

I must not detain you longer; better things await you.

To the stranger guest, I pledge a cordial hospitality at the hands of the Germans of Buffalo. I know the warmth of heart and the kindliness of disposition of those having you in charge, and no other guaranty is needed.

To my fellow townsmen, who have labored thus far so faithfully in preparation for this occasion, I cannot forbear saying your most difficult and delicate work will not be done until your guests depart, declaring the twenty-third the most successful and enjoyable Sængerfest upon the list, and confessing that the most cordial and hospitable entertainers are the Germans of Buffalo.

IV.

AT THE DINNER OF THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 17, 1887—CENTENNIAL OF THE CONSTITUTION.

I should hardly think my participation in the centennial celebration was satisfactory if I had not the opportunity of meeting the representatives of the society which, through its antiquity and associations, bears close relation to the events of the time we commemorate. That you celebrate this occasion is a reminder of the fact, that in the troublous and perilous days of our country, those whose names stood upon your roll of membership nobly fought for the cause of free government and for the homes which they had found upon our soil.

No society or corporation, I am sure, has in its charter or its traditions and history, a better or more valuable certificate of its patriotic worth and character than you have, and which is found in the words of Washington, who in 1782 declared of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, of which this association is the successor, that it "has always been noted for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are engaged." These are priceless words, and they render most fitting the part which the members of the Hibernian Society are to-day assuming.

I notice upon a letter which I have received from your Secretary that one object of your society is stated to be "for the relief of emigrants from Ireland," and this leads me to reflect how nearly allied love of country is to a kindly humanity, and how naturally such a benevolent purpose of this society, as the assistance and relief of your stranger and needy emigrants, follows the patriotism in which it had its origin.

Long may the Hibernian Society live and prosper, and long may its benevolent and humane work be prosecuted. And when another centennial of the Constitution is celebrated, may those who shall then form its membership be as fully inspired with the patriotism of its history and traditions, and as ready to join in the general felicitation, as the men I see about me here.

SPEECHES AT CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

I.

EXTRACT FROM THE ORATION OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, AT THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF HARVARD COLLEGE, NOVEMBER 9, 1886.

"*Brethren of the Alumni:* It now becomes my duty to welcome in your name guests who have come, some of them so far, to share our congratulations and hopes to-day. I cannot name them all and give to each his fitting phrase. Thrice welcome to all. There is one name which it would be indecorous not to make an exception of. You all know that I can mean only the President of our country. His presence is a signal honor to us all; to us all, I may say, a personal gratification.

"We have no politics here, but the sons of Harvard all belong to a party which admires courage, strength of purpose and fidelity to duty, and which respects, wherever he be found, the *justum et tenacem propositi virum*, who knows how to withstand the *civium ardor prava jubentium*. He has left the helm of state to be with us here, and so long as it is intrusted to his hands we are sure that, should the storm come, he will say with Seneca's pilot: 'O, Neptune, you may save me if you will, you may sink me if you will, but whatever happens I shall keep my rudder true.'"

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S ADDRESS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I find myself to-day in a company to which I am much unused, and when I see the alumni of the oldest college in the land surrounding in their right of sonship, the maternal board at which I am but an invited guest, the reflection that for me there exists no alma mater gives rise to a feeling of regret, which is tempered only by the cordiality of your welcome and your reassuring kindness.

If the fact is recalled that only twelve of my twenty-one predecessors in office had the advantage of a collegiate or university education, a proof is presented of the democratic sense of our people, rather than an argument against the supreme value of the best and most liberal education in high public positions. There certainly can be no sufficient reason for any space or distance between the walks of a most classical education and the way that leads to a political place. Any disinclination on the part of the most learned and cultured of our citizens to mingle in public affairs, and the consequent abandonment of political activity to those who have but little regard for student and scholar in politics, are not favorable conditions under a government such as ours, and if they have existed to a damaging extent, very recent events appear to indicate that the education and conservatism of the land are to be hereafter more plainly heard in the expression of the popular will.

Surely the splendid destiny which awaits a patriotic effort in behalf of our country will be sooner reached if the best of our thinkers and educated men shall deem it a solemn duty of citizenship to actively and practically engage in political affairs, and if the force and power of their thought and learning shall be willingly or unwillingly acknowledged in party management.

If I am to speak of the President of the United States I desire to mention as the most pleasant and characteristic feature of our system of government the nearness of the people to their President and other high officials. A close view

afforded our citizens of the acts and conduct of those to whom they have intrusted their interests serves as a regulator and check upon temptation and pressure in office, and is a constant reminder that diligence and faithfulness are the measure of public duty, and such a relation between President and people ought to leave but little room in popular judgment and conscience for unjust and false accusations and for malicious slanders invented for the purpose of undermining the people's trust and confidence in the administration of their government.

No public officer should desire to check the utmost freedom of criticism as to all official acts, but every right-thinking man must concede that the President of the United States should not be put beyond the protection which American love of fair play and decency accords to every American citizen. This trait of our national character would not encourage, if their extent and tendency were fully appreciated, the silly, mean, and cowardly lies that every day are found in the columns of certain newspapers, which violate every instinct of American manliness and in ghoulish glee desecrates every sacred relation of private life.

There is nothing in the highest office that the American people can confer which necessarily makes their President altogether selfish, scheming and untrustworthy. On the contrary, the solemn duties which confront him tend to a sober sense of responsibility; the trust of the American people and an appreciation of their mission among the nations of the earth should make him a patriotic man, and the tales of distress which reach him from the humble and lowly and needy and afflicted in every corner of the land cannot fail to quicken within him every kind impulse and tender sensibility.

After all, it comes to this: The people of the United States have one and all a sacred mission to perform, and your President, not more surely than any other citizen who loves his country, must assume part of the responsibility of the demonstration to the world of the success of popular government. No man can hide his talent in a napkin, and escape the condemnation which his slothfulness deserves, or evade the stern sentence which his faithlessness invites.

Be assured, my friends, that the privilege of this day, so full of improvement, and the enjoyments of this hour, so full of pleasure and cheerful encouragements, will never be forgotten; and in parting with you now let me express my earnest hope that Harvard's alumni may always honor the venerable institution which has honored them, and that no man who forgets and neglects his duty to American citizenship will find his alma mater here.

II.

AT CLINTON, NEW YORK, JULY 13, 1887.

I am by no means certain of my standing here among those who celebrate the centennial of Clinton's existence as a village. My recollections of the place reach backward but about thirty-six years, and my residence here covered a very brief period. But these recollections are fresh and distinct to-day, and pleasant too, though not entirely free from sombre coloring.

It was here in the school, at the foot of College Hill, that I began my preparation for college life and enjoyed the anticipation of a collegiate education. We had two teachers in our school. One became afterwards a judge in Chicago, and

the other passed through the legal profession to the ministry, and within the last two years was living farther West. I read a little Latin with two other boys in the class. I think I floundered through four books of the Æneid. The other boys had nice large modern editions of Virgil, with big print and plenty of notes to help one over the hard places. Mine was a little old-fashioned copy which my father used before me, with no notes, and which was only translated by hard knocks. I believe I have forgiven those other boys for their persistent refusal to allow me the use of the notes in their books. At any rate, they do not seem to have been overtaken by any dire retribution, for one of them is now a rich and prosperous lawyer in Buffalo, and the other is a professor in your college and the orator of to-day's celebration. The struggles with ten lines of Virgil which at first made up my daily task, are amusing as remembered now; but with them I am also forced to remember that instead of being the beginning of the higher education for which I honestly longed, they occurred near the end of my school advantages. This suggests a disappointment which no lapse of time can alleviate and a deprivation I have sadly felt with every passing year.

I remember Benoni Butler and his store. I don't know whether he was an habitual poet or not, but I heard him recite one poem of his own manufacture which embodied an account of a travel to or from Clinton in the early days. I can recall but two lines of this poem, as follows:

> "Paris Hill next came in sight;
> And there we tarried over night."

I remember the next-door neighbors, Doctors Bissell and Scollard—and good, kind neighbors they were, too—not your cross, crabbed kind who could not bear to see a boy about. It always seemed to me that they drove very fine horses; and for that reason I thought they must be extremely rich.

I don't know that I should indulge further recollections that must seem very little like centennial history; but I want to establish as well as I can my right to be here. I might speak of the college faculty, who cast such a pleasing though sober shade of dignity over the place, and who, with other educated and substantial citizens, made up the best of social life. I was a boy then, and slightly felt the atmosphere of this condition; but, notwithstanding, I believe I absorbed a lasting appreciation of the intelligence and refinement which made this a delightful home.

I know that you will bear with me, my friends, if I yield to the impulse which the mention of home creates, and speak of my own home here, and how through the memories which cluster about it I may claim a tender relationship to your village. Here it was that our family circle entire, parents and children, lived day after day in loving and affectionate converse; and here, for the last time, we met around the family altar and thanked God that our household was unbroken by death or separation. We never met together in any other home after leaving this, and Death followed closely our departure. And thus it is, that as with advancing years I survey the havoc Death has made, and the thoughts of my early home more sacred, the remembrance of this pleasant spot, so related, is revived and chastened.

I can only add my thanks for the privilege of being with you to-day, and wish for the village of Clinton in the future a continuation and increase of the blessings of the past.

III.

RESPONSE TO TOAST, "THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES," AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VILLAGE OF CLINTON, N. Y., JULY 13, 1887.

I am inclined to content myself on this occasion, with an acknowledgment on behalf of the people of the United States, of the compliment which you have paid to the office which represents their sovereignty. But such an acknowledgment suggests an idea which I cannot refrain from dwelling upon for a moment.

That the office of President of the United States does represent the sovereignty of sixty millions of free people, is to my mind a statement full of solemnity; for this sovereignty I conceive to be the working out or enforcement of the divine right of man to govern himself and a manifestation of God's plan concerning the human race.

Though the struggles of political parties to secure the incumbency of this office and the questionable methods sometimes resorted to for its possession may not be in keeping with this idea, and though the deceit practised to mislead the people in their choice, and its too frequent influence on their suffrage may surprise us, these things should never lead us astray in our estimate of this exalted position and its value and dignity.

And though your fellow-citizen, who may be chosen to perform for a time the duties of this highest place should be badly selected, and though the best attainable results may not be reached by his administration, yet the exacting watchfulness of the people, freed from the disturbing turmoil of partisan excitement, ought to prevent mischance to the office which represents their sovereignty, and should reduce to a minimum the danger of harm to the State.

I by no means underestimate the importance of the utmost care and circumspection in the selection of the incumbent. On the contrary, I believe there is no obligation of citizenship that demands more thought and conscientious deliberation than this. But I am speaking of the citizen's duty to the office and its selected incumbent.

This duty is only performed when, in the interest of the entire people, the full exercise of the powers of the Chief Magistracy is insisted on, and when, for the people's safety, a due regard for the limitations placed upon the office is exacted. These things should be enforced by the manifestation of a calm and enlightened public opinion. But this should not be simulated by the mad clamor of disappointed interest, which, without regard for the general good, or allowance for the exercise of official judgment, would degrade the office by forcing compliance with selfish demands.

If your President should not be of the people and one of your fellow-citizens, he would be utterly unfit for the position, incapable of understanding the people's wants and careless of their desires. That he is one of the people implies that he is subject to human frailty and error. But he should be permitted to claim but little toleration for mistakes; the generosity of his fellow-citizens should alone decree how far good intentions should excuse his shortcomings.

Watch well, then, this high office, the most precious possession of American citizenship. Demand for it the most complete devotion on the part of him to whose

custody it may be intrusted, and protect it not less vigilantly against unworthy assaults from without.

Thus will you perform a sacred duty to yourselves and to those who may follow you in the enjoyment of the freest institutions which Heaven has ever vouchsafed to man.

IV.

AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION, PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 17, 1887.

I deem it a very great honor and pleasure to participate in these impressive exercises.

Every American citizen should on this centennial day rejoice in his citizenship.

He will not find the cause of his rejoicing in the antiquity of his country,—for among the nations of the earth his stands with the youngest. He will not find it in the glitter and the pomp that bedeck a monarch and dazzle abject and servile subjects,—for in his country the people themselves are rulers. He will not find it in the story of bloody foreign conquests,—for his Government has been content to care for its own domain and people.

He should rejoice because the work of framing our Constitution was completed one hundred years ago to-day, and also because when completed it established a free Government. He should rejoice because this Constitution and Government have survived so long, and also because they have survived with so many blessings and have demonstrated so fully the strength and value of popular rule. He should rejoice in the wondrous growth and achievements of the past one hundred years, and also in the glorious promise of the Constitution through centuries to come.

We shall fail to be duly thankful for all that was done for us one hundred years ago, unless we realize the difficulties of the work then in hand, and the dangers avoided in the task of forming "a more perfect union" between disjointed and inharmonious States, with interests and opinions radically diverse and stubbornly maintained.

The perplexities of the convention which undertook the labor of preparing our Constitution are apparent in these earnest words of one of the most illustrious of its members:

"The small progress we have made after four or five weeks of close attendance and continued reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question—several of the last producing as many noes as yeas—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. In this situation of this Assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not heretofore once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understandings?'

And this wise man, proposing to his fellows that the aid and blessing of God should be invoked in their extremity, declared:

"I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of the truth that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow can not fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial, local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and by-word down to future ages; and, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war, and conquest."

In the face of all discouragements, the fathers of the Republic labored on for four long, weary months, in alternate hope and fear, but always with rugged resolve, never faltering in a sturdy endeavor sanctified by a prophetic sense of the value to posterity of their success, and always with unflinching faith in the principles which make the foundation of a government by the people.

At last their task was done. It is related that upon the back of the chair occupied by Washington as the president of the Convention a sun was painted, and that as the delegates were signing the completed Constitution one of them said: "I have often and often, in the course of the session, and in the solicitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

We stand to-day on the spot where this rising sun emerged from political night and darkness; and in its own bright medium light we mark its glorious way. Clouds have sometimes obscured its rays, and dreadful storms have made us fear; but God has held it in its course, and through its life-giving warmth has performed His latest miracle in the creation of this wondrous land and people.

As we look down the past century to the origin of our Constitution, as we contemplate its trials and its triumphs, as we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national peril and every national need, how devoutly should we confess, with Franklin, "God governs in the affairs of men;" and how solemn should be the reflection that to our hands is committed this ark of the people's covenant, and that ours is the duty to shield it from impious hands. We receive it sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past; and in all the future years it will be found sufficient if the American people are true to their sacred trust.

Another centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant that they may find it unimpaired; and as we rejoice in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived a hundred years ago, so may others who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and in our jealous love for constitutional liberty.

V.

RESPONSE TO THE TOAST, "THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES," AT THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES OF PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 17, 1887, DURING THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

On such a day as this, and in the atmosphere that now surrounds him, I feel that the President of the United States should be thoughtfully modest and humble. The great office he occupies stands to-day in the presence of its maker; and it is especially fitting for this servant of the people and creature of the Constitution, amid the impressive scenes of this centennial occasion, by a rigid self-examination to be assured concerning his loyalty and obedience to the law of his existence. He will find that the rules prescribed for his guidance require for the performance of his duty, not the intellect or attainments which would raise him far above the feeling and sentiment of the plain people of the land, but rather such a knowledge of their condition, and sympathy with their wants and needs as will bring him near to them. And though he may be almost appalled by the weight of his responsibility and the solemnity of his situation, he cannot fail to find comfort and encouragement in the success of the fathers of the Constitution wrought from their simple, patriotic devotion to the rights and interests of the people. Surely he may hope that, if reverently invoked, the spirit which gave the Constitution life will be sufficient for its successful operation and the accomplishment of its beneficial purposes.

Because they are brought nearest to the events and scenes which marked the birth of American institutions, the people of Philadelphia should of all our citizens be more imbued with sentiments of the broadest patriotism. The first Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention met here, and Philadelphia still has in her keeping, Carpenter's Hall, Independence Hall and its bell, and the grave of Franklin.

As I look about me and see here represented the societies that express so largely the culture of Philadelphia, its love of art, its devotion to science, its regard for the broadest knowledge, and its studious care for historical research—societies some of which antedate the Constitution—I feel that I am in a notable company. To you is given the duty of preserving and protecting for your city, for all your fellow-countrymen, and for mankind, the traditions and the incidents related to the establishment of the freest and best government ever vouchsafed to man. It is a sacred trust, and as time leads our Government further and further from the date of its birth, may you solemnly remember that a nation exacts of you that these traditions and incidents shall never be tarnished nor neglected, but that, brightly burnished, they may always be held aloft, fastening the gaze of a patriotic people and keeping alive their love and reverence for the Constitution.

AT THE UNVEILING OF MONUMENTS AND STATUES.

I.

UNVEILING OF THE BARTHOLDI STATUE AT NEW YORK, OCTOBER 28, 1886.

The people of the United States accept with gratitude from their brethren of the French Republic the grand and completed work of art we here inaugurate.

This token of the affection and consideration of the people of France demonstrates the kinship of republics, and conveys to us the assurance that in our efforts to commend to mankind the excellence of a government resting upon popular will, we still have beyond the American continent, a steadfast ally.

We are not here to-day to bow before the representation of a fierce and warlike god, filled with wrath and vengeance, but we joyously contemplate instead, our own deity keeping watch and ward before the open gates of America, and greater than all that have been celebrated in ancient song. Instead of grasping in her hand thunderbolts of terror and of death, she holds aloft the light which illumines the way to man's enfranchisement.

We will not forget that liberty has here made her home; nor shall her chosen altar be neglected. Willing votaries will constantly keep alive its fires, and these shall gleam upon the shores of our sister republic in the East. Reflected thence and joined with answering rays, a stream of light shall pierce the darkness of ignorance and man's oppression, until liberty enlightens the world.

II.

UNVEILING OF THE GARFIELD STATUE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 12, 1887.

Fellow Citizens:

In performance of the duty assigned to me on this occasion, I hereby accept, on behalf of the people of the United States, this completed and beautiful statue.

Amid the interchange of fraternal greetings between the survivors of the Army of the Cumberland and their former foes upon the battle-field, and while the Union General and the people's President awaited burial, the common grief of these magnanimous soldiers and mourning citizens found expression in the determination to erect this tribute to American greatness; and thus to-day in its symmetry and beauty, it presents a sign of animosities forgotten, an emblem of a brotherhood redeemed, and a token of a nation restored.

Monuments and statues multiply throughout the land, fittingly illustrative of the love and affection of our grateful people and commemorating brave and patriotic sacrifices in war, fame in peaceful pursuits, or honor in public station.

But from this day forth, there shall stand at our seat of Government this statue of a distinguished citizen, who in his life and services combined all these things and more, which challenge admiration in American character—loving tenderness in every domestic relation, bravery on the field of battle, fame and distinction in our halls of legislation, and the highest honor and dignity in the Chief Magistracy of the nation.

This stately effigy shall not fail to teach every beholder that the source of American greatness is confined to no condition, nor dependent alone for its growth and development upon favorable surroundings. The genius of our national life beckons to usefulness and honor those in every sphere, and offers the highest preferment to manly ambition and sturdy, honest effort chastened and consecrated by patriotic hopes and aspirations. As long as this statue stands, let it be proudly remembered that to every American citizen the way is open to fame and station, until he—

"Moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a People's hope,
The centre of a World's desire."

Nor can we forget that it also teaches our people a sad and distressing lesson; and the thoughtful citizen who views its fair proportions cannot fail to recall the tragedy of a death which brought grief and mourning to every household in the land. But while American citizenship stands aghast and affrighted that murder and assasination should lurk in the midst of a free people and strike down the head of their Government, a fearless search and the discovery of the origin and hiding-place of these hateful and unnatural things, should be followed by a solemn resolve to purge forever from our political methods and from the operation of our Government, the perversions and misconceptions which give birth to passionate and bloody thoughts.

If from this hour our admiration for the bravery and nobility of American manhood and our faith in the possibilities and opportunities of American citizenship be renewed, if our appreciation of the blessing of a restored Union and love for our Government be strengthened, and if our watchfulness against the dangers of a mad chase after partisan spoils be quickened, the dedication of this statue to the people of the United States will not be in vain.

LETTERS TO SOLDIERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

I.

LETTER WRITTEN TO THE REUNION OF UNION AND EX-CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS AT GETTYSBURG, JULY 2, 1887.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, June 24, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your invitation to attend, as a guest of the Philadelphia Brigade, a re-union of ex-Confederate soldiers of Pickett's Division who survived their terrible charge at Gettysburg, and those of the Union Army still living, by whom it was heroically resisted.

The fraternal meeting of these soldiers upon the battle-field where twenty-four years ago, in deadly affray, they fiercely sought each other's lives, where they saw their comrades fall, and where all their thoughts were of vengeance and destruction, will illustrate the generous impulse of brave men and their honest desire for peace and reconciliation.

The friendly assaults there to be made will be resistless, because inspired by American chivalry; and its results will be glorious, because conquered hearts will be its trophies of success. Thereafter this battle-field will be consecrated by a victory which shall presage the end of the bitterness of strife, the exposure of the insincerity which conceals hatred by professions of kindness, the condemnation of frenzied appeals to passion for unworthy purposes, and the beating down of all that stands in the way of the destiny of our united country.

While those who fought and who have so much to forgive lead in the pleasant ways of peace, how wicked appear the traffic in sectional hate and the betrayal of patriotic sentiment.

It surely cannot be wrong to desire the settled quiet which lights for our entire country the path to prosperity and greatness; nor need the lessons of the war be forgotten and its results jeopardized in the wish for that genuine fraternity which ensures national pride and glory.

I should be very glad to accept your invitation and be with you at that interesting reunion, but other arrangements already made and my official duties here will prevent my doing so.

Hoping that the occasion will be as successful and useful as its promoters can desire,

I am, yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

MR. JOHN W. FRAZIER,
Secretary, &c.

II.

TO MAYOR FRANCIS, OF ST. LOUIS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 4, 1887.

Hon. David R. Francis, Mayor and Chairman.

MY DEAR SIR:

When I received the extremely cordial and gratifying invitation from the citizens of St. Louis, tendered by a number of her representative men, to visit that city during the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, I had been contemplating for some time the acceptance of an invitation from that organization to the same effect, and had considered the pleasure which it would afford me, if it should be possible, to meet not only members of the Grand Army, but the people of St. Louis and other cities in the West which the occasion would give me an opportunity to visit. The exactions of my public duties I felt to be so uncertain, however, that, when first confronted by the delegation of which you were the head, I expected to do no more at that time than to promise the consideration of the double invitation tendered me, and express the pleasure it would give me to accept the same thereafter, if possible. But the cordiality and sincerity of your presentation, reinforced by the heartiness of the good people who surrounded you, so impressed me that I could not resist the feeling which prompted me to assure you on the spot that I would be with you and the Grand Army of the Republic at the time designated, if nothing happened in the meantime to absolutely prevent my leaving Washington.

Immediately upon the public announcement of this conclusion, expressions emanating from certain important members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and increasing in volume and virulence, constrained me to review my acceptance of these invitations.

The expressions referred to go to the extent of declaring that I would be an unwelcome guest at the time and place of the national encampment. This statement is based, as well as I can judge, upon certain official acts of mine, involving important public interests, done under the restraints and obligations of my oath of office, which do not appear to accord with the wishes of some members of the Grand Army of the Republic.

I refuse to believe that this organization, founded upon patriotic ideas, composed very largely of men entitled to lasting honor and consideration, and whose crowning glory it should be that they are American citizens as well as veteran soldiers, deems it a part of its mission to compass any object or purpose by attempting to intimidate the executive or coerce those charged with making and executing the laws. And yet the expressions to which I have referred indicate such a prevalence of unfriendly feeling and such a menace to an occasion which should be harmonious, peaceful and cordial, that they cannot be ignored.

I beg you to understand that I am not conscious of any act of mine which should make me fear to meet the Grand Army of the Republic, or any other assemblage of my fellow-citizens. The account of my official stewardship is always ready for presentation to my countrymen.

I should not be frank if I failed to confess, while disclaiming all resentment, that I have been hurt by the unworthy and wanton attacks upon me growing out of this matter, and the reckless manner in which my actions and motives have been misrepresented both publicly and privately, for which, however, the Grand Army of the Republic, as a body, is by no means responsible.

The threats of personal violence and harm in case I undertook the trip in question, which scores of misguided, unbalanced men under the stimulation of excited feeling have made, are not even considered.

Rather than abandon my visit to the West and disappoint your citizens, I might, if I alone were concerned, submit to the insults to which it is quite openly asserted I would be helplessly subjected if present at the encampment; but I should bear with me there the people's highest office, the dignity of which I must protect; and I believe that neither the Grand Army of the Republic as an organization, nor anything like a majority of its members, would ever encourage any scandalous attacks upon it.

If, however, among the membership of this body there are some, as certainly seems to be the case, determined to denounce me and my official acts at the national encampment, I believe they should be permitted to do so unrestrained by my presence as a guest of their organization, or as a guest of the hospitable city in which their meeting is held.

A number of Grand Army posts have signified their intention, I am informed, to remain away from the encampment in case I visit the city at that time. Without considering the merits of such an excuse, I feel that I ought not to be the cause of such non-attendance. The time and place of the encampment were fixed long before my invitations were received. Those desiring to participate in its proceedings

should be first regarded, and nothing should be permitted to interfere with their intentions.

Another consideration of more importance than all others remains to be noticed. The fact was referred to by you when you verbally presented the invitation of the citizens of St. Louis, that the coming encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic would be the first held in a Southern State. I suppose this fact was mentioned as a pleasing indication of the fraternal feeling fast gaining ground throughout the entire land and hailed by every patriotic citizen as an earnest that the Union has really and in fact been saved in sentiment and spirit with all the benefits it vouchsafes to a united people.

I cannot rid myself of the belief that the least discord on this propitious occasion might retard the progress of the sentiment of the common brotherhood which the Grand Army of the Republic has so good an opportunity to increase and foster. I certainly ought not to be the cause of such discord in any event or upon any pretext.

It seems to me that you and the citizens of St. Louis are entitled to this unreserved statement of the conditions which have constrained me to forego my contemplated visit, and to withdraw my acceptance of your invitation. My presence in your city at the time you have indicated can be of but little moment compared with the importance of a cordial and harmonious entertainment of your other guests.

I assure you that I abandon my plan without the least personal feeling, except regret, constrained thereto by a sense of duty, actuated by a desire to save any embarrassment to the people of St. Louis or their expected guests, and with a heart full of grateful appreciation of the sincere and unaffected kindness of your citizens.

Hoping the encampment may be an occasion of much usefulness and that its proceedings may illustrate the highest patriotism of American citizenship, I am yours, very sincerely,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

ESTIMATES OF PUBLIC MEN.

I.

THE CHARACTER OF ANDREW JACKSON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 4, 1886.

To Hon. Allen G. Thurman, Chairman, &c.

MY DEAR SIR: I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of an invitation to be present at the annual re-union of the Jackson Club, of the city of Columbus, on the evening of the 8th inst.

My official duties here will prevent my acceptance of the invitation so kindly tendered, but I beg to assure the Club that the objects and purposes of the re-union, which are expressed in the note of the committee, meet with my cordial and sincere approval.

I should be most pleased to be one of those who, on that occasion, will congratulate the friends of good government on the success of the Democratic party,

for I believe that the application of the true and pure principles of that political faith must result in the welfare of the country.

It is also proposed, I learn, to consult together as to the manner in which the accomplishment of "the greatest good to our people" can best be aided and assisted. No higher or more sacred mission was ever intrusted to a party organization, and I am convinced that it will be honestly and faithfully performed by a close sympathy with the people in their wants and needs, by a patriotic endeavor to quicken their love and devotion for American institutions, and by an earnest effort to enlarge their apprehensions and realizations of the benefits which the wise and unselfish administration of a free government will secure to them.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

II.

A TRIBUTE TO SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, 1888.

William A. Furey, Esq., Chairman, etc.

MY DEAR SIR: I acknowledge with sincere thanks the invitation extended to me on behalf of the Kings County Democratic Club to attend a banquet to be given in the City of Brooklyn on the 9th instant, in commemoration of the birthday of Samuel J. Tilden.

I indulge with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction the belief that this invitation is not a mere formal compliment tendered to me in fulfillment of customary propriety, but that it is an additional evidence of the genuine kindness of the people and my political friends of Brooklyn and Kings County, which has more than once during my public life been heartily manifested.

Entertaining this belief, I know that its expression will make it unnecessary for me to assure you that I would gladly accept your invitation if it were possible. I am not only certain that at your banquet I should be among true and steadfast friends, but that the occasion and its prevailing spirit cannot fail to inspire every participant with new strength and increased patriotism and courage.

The birthday of Samuel J. Tilden is fittingly celebrated by the Democracy of Kings County, for he found there in all his efforts to reform the public service and to reinstate his party in the confidence of the American people firm and staunch friends, never wavering in their willing and effective support. Let these friends now remind all their fellow-citizens of the patriotic and useful career of their honored and trusted leader, and let every one professing his political faith proclaim the value of his teachings. He taught the limitation of Federal power under the Constitution, the absolute necessity of public economy, the safety of a sound currency, honesty in public place, the responsibility of public servants to the people, care for those who toil with their hands, a proper limitation of corporate privileges and a reform in the Civil Service.

His was true Democracy. It led him to meet boldly every public issue as it rose. With his conception of political duty he thought it never too early and never too late to give battle to vicious doctrines and corrupt practices. He believed that

pure and sound Democracy flourished and grew in open, bold and honest championship of the interests of the people, and that it but feebly lived upon deceit, false pretenses and fear.

And he was right. His success proved him right, and proved, too, that the American people appreciate a courageous struggle in their defense.

I should certainly join you in recalling the virtues and achievements of this illustrious Democrat on the anniversary of his birth, if in the arrangement of the social events connected with my official life an important one had not been appointed to take place on the evening of your banquet. This necessarily detains me here.

Hoping that your celebration will be very successful and full of profitable enjoyment, I am yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

III.

THE CAREER OF HENRY WARD BEECHER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 22, 1888.

My Dear Mrs. Beecher:

I have been asked to furnish a contribution to a proposed memorial of your late husband.

While I am by no means certain that anything I might prepare would be worthy of a place among the eloquent and beautiful tributes which are sure to be presented, this request spurs to action my desire and intention to express to you more fully than I have yet done, my sympathy in your affliction and my appreciation of my own and the country's loss in the death of Mr. Beecher.

More than thirty years ago I repeatedly enjoyed the opportunity of hearing him in his own pulpit. His warm utterances, and the earnest interest he displayed in the practical things related to useful living, the hopes he inspired, and the manner in which he relieved the precepts of Christianity from gloom and cheerlessness, made me feel that, though a stranger, he was my friend. Many years afterward we came to know each other; and since that time my belief in his friendship, based upon acquaintance and personal contact, has been to me a source of the greatest satisfaction.

His goodness and kindness of heart, so far as they were manifested, in his personal life and in his home, are sacred to you and to your grief; but so far as they gave color and direction to his teachings and opinions, they are proper subjects for gratitude and congratulation on the part of every American citizen. They caused him to take the side of the common people in every discussion. He loved his fellows in their homes; he rejoiced in their contentment and comfort, and sympathized with them in their daily hardships and trials. As their champion he advocated in all things the utmost regulated and wholesome liberty and freedom. His sublime faith in the success of popular government led him to trust the people, and to treat their errors and misconceptions with generous toleration. An honorable pride in American citizenship, when guided by the teachings of religion, he believed to be a sure guaranty of a splendid national destiny. I never met him without gaining something from his broad views and wise reflections.

Your personal affliction in his death stands alone, in its magnitude and depth. But thousands wish that their sense of loss might temper your grief, and that they, by showing your sorrow, might lighten it.

Such kindly assurances and your realization of the high and sacred mission accomplished in your husband's useful life, furnish all this world can supply of comfort! but your faith and piety will not fail to lead you to a higher and better source of consolation. Yours very sincerely,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

IV.

TRIBUTE TO GENERAL P. H. SHERIDAN, AUGUST 6, 1888.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 6, 1888.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

It becomes my painful duty to announce to the Congress and to the people of the United States the death of Philip H. Sheridan, general of the army, which occrreud at a late hour last night at his summer home, in the State of Massachusetts.

The death of this valiant soldier and patriotic son of the Republic, though his long illness has been regarded with anxiety, has nevertheless shocked the country and caused universal grief.

He had established for himself a stronghold in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen, who soon caught the true meaning and purpose of his soldierly devotion and heroic temper.

His intrepid courage, his steadfast patriotism and the generosity of his nature inspired with peculiar warmth the admiration of all the people.

Above his grave affection for the man and pride in his achievements will struggle for mastery, and too much honor cannot be accorded to one who was so richly endowed with all the qualities which make his death a national loss.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

CHAPTER VIII.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

CONSISTENT RECORD OF GROVER CLEVELAND ON THIS QUESTION DURING HIS WHOLE PUBLIC CAREER.

Speeches, Letters and Official Messages in which He Has Uniformly Advocated a Reformed Civil Service.

I.

FROM THE LETTER ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, OCTOBER 7, 1882.

Public officers are the servants and agents of the people to execute laws which the people have made, and within the limits of a Constitution which they have established. Hence the interference of officials of any degree, and whether state or federal, for the purpose of thwarting or controlling the popular, wish should not be tolerated.

Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand, here as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished, and, it seems to me, the cause of civil service reform materially aided.

The system of levying assessments for partisan purposes on those holding office or place cannot be too strongly condemned. Through the thin disguise of voluntary contributions, this is seen to be naked extortion, reducing the compensation which should be honestly earned and swelling a fund used to debauch the people and defeat the popular will

II

FROM FIRST MESSAGE TO NEW YORK LEGISLATURE, JANUARY, 1883.

It is submitted that the appointment of subordinates in the several State departments, and their tenure of office or employment, should be based upon fitness and efficiency, and that this principle should be embodied in legislative enactment, to the end that the policy of the State may conform to the reasonable public demand on that subject.

III.

FROM SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE TO NEW YORK LEGISLATURE, JANUARY, 1884.

New York, then, leads in the inauguration of a comprehensive State system of civil service. The principle of selecting the subordinate employes of the State on the ground of capacity and fitness, ascertained according to fixed and impartial rules, without regard to political predelictions and with reasonable assurance of retention and promotion in case of meritorious service, is now the established policy of the State. The children of our citizens are educated and trained in schools maintained at common expense, and the people as a whole have a right to demand the selection for the public service of those whose natural aptitudes have been improved by the educational facilities furnished by the State. The application to the public service of the same rule which prevails in ordinary business, of employing those whose knowledge and training best fit them for the duties at hand, without regard to other considerations, must elevate and improve the civil service and eradicate from it many evils from which it has long suffered. Not the least gratifying of the results which this system promises to accomplish, is relief to public men from the annoyance of importunity in the strife for appointments to public places.

IV.

FROM THE LETTER ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AUGUST 18, 1884.

The people pay the wages of the public employes, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those entrusted with the management of their affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it; the unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease; and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places, instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

V.

LETTER FROM GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, ESQ.

ASHFIELD, MASS., October 20, 1884.

THE HONORABLE GROVER CLEVELAND.

Dear Sir:—There are many Republicans who, for ample and satisfactory reasons, are unable to support the Republican candidate for the presidency, and as the surest way of preventing what seem to them the national misfortune of his election, many of them, of whom I am one, propose to vote for the Democratic candidate as the especial representative of incorruptible official fidelity and as a public officer who has proved both his convictions and his courage upon the subject of administrative reform. There are those, how-

ever, who while regarding the election of the Republican candidate as an event greatly to be deprecated, are yet apprehensive that his defeat might involve the removal of upright and experienced officers in the civil service, whose positions are in no sense political, who are not "party workers," who discharge their public duties honestly, efficiently and satisfactorily, but who are not included within the civil service rules.

Undoubtedly owing to defective and vicious methods of appointment, there are many persons in the civil service who might well be replaced by more efficient and faithful incumbents. But the removal of such capable and honest non-political officers as I have mentioned, except for reasons connected with the proper discharge of their duties, would be viewed by patriotic men of all parties, who are thoroughly alive to the disgrace and danger of regarding a national election as a mere struggle for spoils, with profound regret and apprehension. This is a point not specifically treated in your letter of acceptance, although it seems to me to be implied. Your sympathy with the principles and purposes of the reform act of January 16, 1883, which was passed by the co-operation of both parties and with the universal public approval, is well known. Your fidelity to those principles has been shown by your official action in promoting the reformed system in New York, and the rules laid down in your letter of acceptance of the Presidential nomination that "the selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service," is a rule equally applicable to the selection and retention of such officers as I have mentioned, whose duties are wholly non-political and properly performed.

Am I wrong, then, in believing that you would regard such officers as protected by the highest considerations of the public welfare, by your convictions in regard to the true conditions of an efficient public service, and by the spirit and intent of the reform act, from arbitrary dismissal for party or political reasons? I do not think that those who have been especially interested in this reform and who have had personal occasion to know your views, feel that any assurance from you upon this point is necessary. But they are constantly beset with apprehensive inquiries, and if they could be enabled to speak upon the point both publicly and privately in a tone of positive knowledge, it would be of the utmost service in encouraging the doubtful and the hesitating.

The confidence that a change of administration could be effected in this country without the grave disorder that must result from the proscription in the civil service, which for fifty years has followed such a change, and which, from the immense increase of the civil service, would now be very much more extensive and disastrous than ever before, would produce the utmost public satisfaction as promising a new era of good feeling in the fulfillment of the desire of the wisest men in both parties, and a return to the sound and patriotic practice of the earlier administrations.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

REPLY OF GOVERNOR CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, ALBANY,
October 24th, 1884.

HON. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

Dear Sir: While my letter of acceptance, in that part devoted to Civil Service Reform, has verbal reference to subordinates in public affairs, I am of the opinion that there are other officials of a non-political character, to whom retention in place during the term for which they were appointed, the same considerations should apply. I am, of course, a Democrat, attached to the principles of that party, and if elected I desire to remain true to that organization. But I do not think partisan zeal should lead to "arbitrary dismissal for party or political reasons" of officials of the class above referred to, who have attended strictly to their

public duty, and have not engaged in party service, and who have not allowed themselves to be used as partisan instruments, or made themselves obnoxious to the people they should serve, by the use of their offices to secure party ends.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

VI.

LETTER FROM GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, ESQ., AND OTHERS.

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE,
NEW YORK, December 20, 1884.

The Honorable GROVER CLEVELAND:

SIR:—We have the honor to address you on behalf of the National Civil Service Reform League, an association composed of citizens of all parties, whose sole purpose is indicated by its name, and which, as an association, takes no part whatever in party controversy. The vast increase in the number of persons engaged in the civil service and the grave mischiefs and dangers arising from the general proscription in the service which for half a century has followed a change of party control of the National Administration, have produced so profound an impression upon the public mind that the first effective steps toward reform were taken with the co-operation of both parties in the passage of the Reform Act of January 16, 1883. The abuses which that act seeks to correct, however, are so strongly entrenched in the traditions and usages of both parties, that there is naturally widespread anxiety lest the party change in the National Executive effected by the late election should show them to be insuperable.

But believing, as we do, that the reformed system cannot be held to be securely established until it has safely passed the ordeal of such a party change, and recalling with satisfaction your public expressions favorable to reform, and your official acts as the Chief Executive of the State of New York, we confidently commend this cause to your patriotic care in the exercise of the great power with which the American people have entrusted you.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, President.
WILLIAM POTTS, Secretary.

JOHN JAY,
MOORFIELD STOREY,
J. HALL PLEASANTS,
W. U. MONTGOMERY,
EVERETT P. WHEELER,
FREDERICK CROMWELL,
MORRILL WYMAN, JR.,
CARL SCHURZ,
SILAS W. BURT,
A. R. MACDONOUGH,
WM. CARY SAWYER,
WILLIAM W. AIKIN,
Executive Committee.

REPLY OF GROVER CLEVELAND, PRESIDENT-ELECT.

ALBANY, Dec. 25, 1884.

HON. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, PRESIDENT, ETC.

Dear Sir:—Your communication dated December 20th, addressed to me on behalf of the National Civil Service Reform League, has been received.

That a practical reform in the Civil Service is demanded, is abundantly established by the fact that a statute, referred to in your communication, to secure such a result, has been passed in Congress with the assent of both political parties; and by the further fact that a sentiment is generally prevalent among patriotic people calling for the fair and honest enforcement of the law which has been thus enacted. I regard myself pledged to this, because my conception of true Demo-

cratic faith and public duty, requires that this and all other statutes, should be in good faith, and without evasion enforced, and because in many utterances made prior to my election as President, approved by the party to which I belong and which I have no disposition to disclaim, I have in effect promised the people that this should be done.

I am not unmindful of the fact to which you refer, that many of our citizens fear that the recent party change in the National Executive may demonstrate that the abuses which have grown up in the Civil Service are ineradicable. I know that they are deeply rooted, and that the spoils system has been supposed to be intimately related to success in the maintenance of party organization; and I am not sure that all those who profess to be the friends of this reform, will stand firmly among its advocates, when they find it obstructing their way to patronage and place.

But fully appreciating the trust committed to my charge, no such consideration shall cause a relaxation on my part of an earnest effort to enforce this law.

There is a class of government positions which are not within the letter of the Civil Service statute, but which are so disconnected with the policy of an administration, that the removal therefrom of present incumbents, in my opinion, should not be made during the terms for which they were appointed, solely on partisan grounds, and for the purpose of putting in their places those who are in political accord with the appointing power.

But many now holding such positions have forfeited all just claim to retention, because they have used their places for party purposes, in disregard of their duty to the people, and because instead of being decent public servants, they have proved themselves offensive partisans, and unscrupulous manipulators of local party management.

The lessons of the past should be unlearned; and such officials, as well as their successors, should be taught that efficiency, fitness and devotion to public duty are the conditions of their continuance in public place, and that the quiet and unobtrusive exercise of individual rights, is the reasonable measure of their party service.

If I were addressing none but party friends, I should deem it entirely proper to remind them that though the coming administration is to be Democratic, a due regard for the people's interest does not permit faithful party work to be always rewarded by appointment to office; and to say to them that while Democrats may expect all proper consideration, selections for office not embraced within the Civil Service rules, will be based upon sufficient inquiry as to fitness, instituted by those charged with that duty, rather than upon persistent importunity or self-solicited recommendations, on behalf of candidates for appointment.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

VII.

FROM INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS PRESIDENT MARCH 4, 1885.

The people demand reform in the administration of the Government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end civil service reform should be in good faith enforced. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employes who hold their places solely

as the reward of partisan service and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards. And those who worthily seek public employment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognized instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.

VIII.

FROM FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 8, 1885.

I am inclined to think that there is no sentiment more general in the minds of the people of our country, than a conviction of the correctness of the principle upon which the law enforcing civil-service reform is based. In its present condition the law regulates only a part of the subordinate public positions throughout the country.

It applies the test of fitness to applicants for these places by means of a competitive examination, and gives large discretion to the Commissioners as to the character of the examination and many other matters connected with its execution. Thus the rules and regulations adopted by the Commission have much to do with the practical usefulness of the statute and with the results of its application.

The people may well trust the Commission to execute the law with perfect fairness and with as little irritation as is possible. But, of course, no relaxation of the principle which underlies it, and no weakening of the safeguards which surround it can be expected. Experience in its administration will probably suggest amendment of the methods of its execution, but I venture to hope that we shall never again be remitted to the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service. Doubts may well be entertained whether our Government could survive the strain of a continuance of this system, which upon every change of administration inspires an immense army of claimants for office to lay siege to the patronage of Government, engrossing the time of public officers with their importunities, spreading abroad the contagion of their disappointment, and filling the air with the tumult of their discontent.

The allurements of an immense number of offices and places, exhibited to the voters of the land, and the promise of their bestowal in recognition of partisan activity, debauch the suffrage and rob political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character. The evil would increase with the multiplication of offices consequent upon our extension, and the mania for office-holding, growing from its indulgence, would pervade our population so generally that patriotic purpose, the support of principle, the desire for the public good, and solicitude for the Nation's welfare, would be nearly banished from the activity of our party contests and cause them to degenerate into ignoble, selfish, and disgraceful struggles for the possession of office and public place.

Civil-service reform enforced by law came none too soon to check the progress of demoralization.

One of its effects, not enough regarded, is the freedom it brings to the political action of those conservative and sober men who, in fear of the confusion and risk attending an arbitrary and sudden change in all the public offices with a change of party rule, cast their ballots against such a chance.

Parties seem to be necessary, and will long continue to exist; nor can it be now denied that there are legitimate advantages, not disconnected with office-holding,

which follow party supremacy. While partisanship continues bitter and pronounced, and supplies so much of motive to sentiment and action, it is not fair to hold public officials, in charge of important trusts, responsible for the best results in the performance of their duties, and yet insist that they shall rely, in confidential and important places, upon the work of those not only opposed to them in political affiliation, but so steeped in partisan prejudice and rancor that they have no loyalty to their chiefs and no desire for their success. Civil-service reform does not exact this, nor does it require that those in subordinate positions who fail in yielding their best service, or who are incompetent, should be retained simply because they are in place. The whining of a clerk discharged for indolence or incompetency, who, though he gained his place by the worst possible operation of spoil system, suddenly discovers that he is entitled to protection under the sanction of civil-service reform, represents an idea no less absurd than the clamor of the applicant who claims the vacant position as his compensation for the most questionable party work.

The civil-service law does not prevent the discharge of the indolent or incompetent clerk, but it does prevent supplying his place with the unfit party worker. Thus, in both these phases, is seen benefit to the public service. And the people who desire good government having secured this statute, will not relinquish its benefits without protest. Nor are they unmindful of the fact that its full advantages can only be gained through the complete good faith of those having its execution in charge. And this they will insist upon.

IX.

ORDER TO THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 14, 1886.

I deem this a proper time to especially warn all subordinates in the several departments and all office-holders under the general Government, against the use of their official positions in attempts to control political movements in their localities.

Office-holders are the agents of the people, not their masters. Not only is their time and labor due to the government, but they should scrupulously avoid in their political action as well as in the discharge of their official duty offending by a display of obtrusive partisanship, their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials.

They should also constantly remember that their party friends from whom they have received preferment, have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs. They have no right as office-holders to dictate the political action of their party associates, or to throttle freedom of action within party lines, by methods and practices which pervert every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization.

The influence of Federal office-holders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings and nominating conventions. The use by these officials of their positions to compass their selection as delegates to political conventions is indecent and unfair; and proper regard for the proprieties and requirements of official place will also prevent their assuming the active conduct of political campaigns.

Individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges; but their privileges are not enlarged nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity, by office-holding.

A just discrimination in this regard between the things a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used, is easy in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those entrusted with official place, and a consideration of the necessity under our form of Government, of political action free from official coercion.

You are requested to communicate the substance of these views to those for whose guidance they are intended.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

X.

FROM SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 6, 1886.

The continued operation of the law relating to our civil service has added the most convincing proofs of its necessity and usefulness. It is a fact worthy of note that every public officer who has a just idea of his duty to the people, testifies to the value of this reform. Its staunchest friends are found among those who understand it best, and its warmest supporters are those who are restrained and protected by its requirements.

The meaning of such restraint and protection is not appreciated by those who want places under the Government, regardless of merit and efficiency, nor by those who insist that the selection for such places should rest upon a proper credential showing active partisan work. They mean to public officers, if not their lives, the only opportunity afforded them to attend to public business. and they mean to the good people of the country the better performance of the work of their Government.

It is exceedingly strange that the scope and nature of this reform are so little understood, and that so many things not included within its plan are called by its name. When cavil yields more fully to examination the system will have large additions to the number of its friends.

Our civil service reform may be imperfect in some of its details; it may be misunderstood and opposed; it may not always be faithfully applied; its designs may sometimes miscarry through mistake or willful intent; it may sometimes tremble under the assaults of its enemies or languish under the misguided zeal of impracticable friends; but if the people of this country ever submit to the banishment of its underlying principle from the operation of their Government, they will abandon the surest guarantee of safety and success of American institutions.

I invoke for this reform the cheerful and ungrudging support of the Congress.

XI.

REPUBLICAN EXTENSION OF THE SERVICE AFTER THE ELECTION OF 1884.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 21, 1888.

TO THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION:

Gentlemen—I desire to make a suggestion regarding Sub-division C, General Rule 3, of the amended Civil Service Rules promulgated February 2, 1888. It provides for the promotion of an employe, in a department, who is below or outside of the classified service to a place within said classified service in the same department upon the request of the appointing officer upon the recommendation of the Commission and the approval of the President after a non-competitive examination, in case such person has served continuously for two years in the place from which it is proposed to promote him, and "because of his faithfulness and efficiency in the position occupied by him," and "because of his qualifications for the place to which the appointing officer desires his promotion."

It has occurred to me that this provision must be executed with caution to avoid the application of it to cases not intended and the undue relaxation of the general purposes and restrictions of the civil service law.

Non-competitive examinations are the exceptions to the plan of the act, and the rules permitting the same should be strictly construed. The cases arising under the exception above recited should be very few, and when presented they should precisely meet all the requirements specified and should be supported by facts which will develop the basis and reason of the application of the appointing officer and which will commend them to the judgment of the Commission and the President. The sole purpose of the provision is to benefit the public service, and it should never be permitted to operate as an evasion of the main feature of the law, which is competitive examinations.

As these cases will first be presented to the Commission for recommendation, I have to request that you will formulate a plan by which their merits can be tested. This will naturally involve a statement of all the facts deemed necessary for the determination of such applications, including the kind of work which has been done by the person proposed for promotion, and the considerations upon which the allegations of the faithfulness, efficiency and qualifications mentioned in the rule are predicated.

What has already been written naturally suggests another very important subject to which I will invite your attention.

The desirability of the rule which I have commented upon would be nearly, if not entirely, removed, and other difficulties which now embarrass the execution of the civil service law would be obviated if there was a better and uniform classification of the employes in the different departments. The importance of this is entirely obvious. The present imperfect classifications, hastily made, apparently with but little care for uniformity, and promulgated after the last Presidential election and prior to the installation of the present Administration, should not have been permitted to continue to this time.

It appears that in the War Department the employes were divided on the 19th day of November 1884, into eight classes and sub-classes, embracing those earning annual salaries from $900 to $2,000.

The Navy Department was classified November, 22, 1884, and its employes were divided into seven classes and sub classes, embracing those who received annual salaries from $720 to $1.800.

In the Interior Department the classification was made on the 6th day of December, 1884. It consists of eight classes and sub-classes, and embraces employes receiving annual salaries from $720 to $2,000.

On the second day of January, 1885, a classification of the employes in the Treasury Department was made, consisting of six classes and sub-classes, including those earning annual salaries from $900 to $1,800.

In the Postoffice Department the employes were classified on February, 6, 1885, into nine classes and sub-classes, embracing persons earning annual salaries from $720 to $2,000.

On the 12th of December, 1884, the Bureau of Agriculture was classified in a manner different from all the other departments, and presenting features peculiar to itself.

It seems that the only classification in the Department of State and the Department of Justice is that provided for by Section 163 of the Revised Statutes, which directs that the employes in the several departments shall be divided into four classes. It appears that no more definite classification has been made in these departments.

I wish the Commission would revise these classifications and submit to me a plan which will as far as possible make them uniform, and which will especially remedy the present condition which permits persons to enter a grade in the service in the one department without any examination, which in another department can only be entered after passing such examination. This, I think, should be done by extending the limits of the classified service rather than by contracting them.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

XII.

SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES PRESENTED.

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the second section of chapter 27 of the laws of 1883, entitled "An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," I herewith transmit the fourth report of the United States Civil Service Commission, covering the period between the 16th day of January, 1886, and the 1st day of July, 1887.

While this report has especial reference to the operations of the commission during the period above mentioned, it contains, with its acompanying appendices, much valuable information concerning the inception of civil service reform and its growth and progress, which can not fail to be interesting and instructive to all who desire improvement in administrative methods.

During the time covered by the report 15,852 persons were examined for admission in the classified civil service of the Government in all its branches, of whom 10,746 passed the examination and 5,106 failed. Of those who passed the

examination, 2,977 were applicants for admission to the departmental service at Washington, 2 547 were examined for admission to the customs service, and 5,223 for admission to the postal service. During the same period 547 appointments were made from the eligible lists to the departmental service, 641 to the customs service, and 3,254 to the postal service.

Concerning separations from the classified service, the report only informs us of such as have occurred among the employes in the public service who had been appointed from eligible lists under civil-service rules. When these rules took effect they did not apply to the persons then in the service, comprising a full complement of employes who obtained their positions independently of the new law. The commission has no record of the separations in this numerous class, and the discrepancy apparent in the report between the number of appointments made in the respective branches of the service from the lists of the commission and the small number of separations mentioned is to a great extent accounted for by vacancies of which no report was made to the commission, occurring among those who held their places without examination and certification, which vacancies were filled by appointment from the eligible lists.

In the departmental service there occurred between the 16th day of January, 1886, and the 30th day of June, 1887, among the employes appointed from the eligible lists under civil service rules, seventeen removals, thirty-six resignations, and five deaths. This does not include fourteen separations in grade of special examiners, four by removal, five by resignation, and five by death.

In the classified customs and postal service the number of separations among those who received absolute appointments under civil service rules are given for the period between the 1st day of January, 1886, and the 30th day of June, 1887. It appears that such separations in the customs service for the time mentioned embraced twenty-one removals, five deaths, and eighteen resignations, and in the postal service two hundred and fifty-six removals, twenty-three deaths, and four hundred and sixty-nine resignations.

More than a year has passed since the expiration of the period covered by the report of the commission. Within the time which has thus elapsed many important changes have taken place in furtherance of a reform in our civil service. The rules and regulations governing the execution of the law upon the subject have been completely remodeled in such manner as to render the enforcement of the statute more effective and greatly increase its usefulness.

Among other things, the scope of the examinations prescribed for those who seek to enter the classified service has been better defined and made more practical, the number of names to be certified from the eligible lists to the appointing officers from which a selection is made has been reduced from four to three, the maximum limitation of the age of persons seeking entrance to the classified service to forty-five has been changed, and reasonable provision has been made for the transfer of employes from one Department to another in proper cases. A plan has also been devised providing for the examination of applicants for promotion in the service, which, when in full operation, will eliminate all chance of favoritism in the advancement of employes, by making promotion a reward of merit and faithful discharge of duty.

Until within a few weeks there was no uniform classification of employes in the different Executive Departments of the Government. As a result of this condition,

in some of the Departments positions could be obtained without civil-service examination because they were not within the classification of such Department, while in other Departments an examination and certification were necessary to obtain positions of the same grade, because such positions were embraced in the classifications applicable to those Departments.

The exception of laborers, watchmen, and messengers from examination and classification gave opportunity, in the absence of any rule guarding against it, for the employment, free from civil-service restrictions, of persons under these designations who were immediately detailed to do clerical work.

All this has been obviated by the application to all the Departments of an extended and uniform classification embracing grades of employes not heretofore included, and by the adoption of a rule prohibiting the detail of laborers, watchmen, or messengers to clerical duty.

The path of civil-service reform has not at all times been pleasant nor easy. The scope and purpose of the reform have been much misapprehended; and this has not only given rise to strong opposition, but has led to its invocation by its friends to compass objects not in the least related to it. Thus partisans of the patronage system have naturally condemned it. Those who do not understand its meaning either mistrust it, or when disappointed because in its present stage it is not applied to every real or imaginary ill, accuse those charged with its enforcement with faithless to civil service reform.

Its importance has frequently been underestimated; and the support of good men has thus been lost by their lack of interest in its success. Besides all these difficulties, those responsible for the administration of the Government in its executive branches have been and still are often annoyed and irritated by the disloyalty to the service and the insolence of employes who remain in place as the beneficiaries, and the relics and reminders of the vicious system of appointment which civil-service reform was intended to displace.

And yet these are but the incidents of an advance movement, which is radical and far-reaching. The people are, notwithstanding, to be congratulated upon the progress which has been made, and upon the firm, practical, and sensible foundation upon which this reform now rests.

With a continuation of the intelligent fidelity which has hitherto characterized the work of the commission, with a continuation and increase of the favor and liberality which have lately been evinced by the Congress in the proper equipment of the commission for its work, with a firm but conservative and reasonable support of the reform by all its friends, and with the disappearance of opposition which must inevitably follow its better understanding, the execution of the civil-service law cannot fail to ultimately answer the hopes in which it has its origin.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *July* 21, 1888.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONDITION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

THE DEPTH OF DEGRADATION WHICH THE SERVICE HAD REACHED UNDER REPUBLICAN RULE.

In the Fourth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission, just sent to Congress by the President, the condition which the civil service of the United States had reached after a quarter of a century of Republican domination is strongly and graphically depicted. This Commission is composed of members selected from both parties, and its members have made a careful study of the serious evils which had grown up under the long rule of the Republican party. The Commission thus describes the state of affairs which existed before the civil service law took effect:

EMPLOYED WITHOUT AUTHORITY OF LAW.

Before the enactment of the civil service act the condition of the executive civil service in the departments at Washington and in the customs and postal services was deplorable. In the Department of the Treasury 3,400 persons were at one time employed, less than 1,600 of them under authority of law. Of these 3,400 employes 1,700 were put on and off the rolls at the pleasure of the secretary, who paid them out of funds that had not by law been appropriated for the payment of such employes.

At that time, of a force of 958 persons employed in the bureau of engraving and printing, 539, with annual salaries amounting to $390,000, were, upon an investigation of that bureau, found to be superfluous. For years the force in some branches of that bureau had been twice and even three times as great as the work required. In one division there was a sort of platform, built underneath the iron roof, about seven feet above the floor, to accommodate the superfluous employes. In another division twenty messengers were employed to do the work of one. The committee that made this investigation reported that "patronage," what is known as the "spoils system," was responsible for this condition, and declared that this system had cost the people millions of dollars in that branch of the service alone.

So great was the importunity for place under the old system of appointments that when $1,600 and $1,800 places became vacant the salaries thereof would be allowed to lapse, to accumulate, so that these accumulations might be divided among the applicants for place on whose behalf patronage-mongers were incessant in importunity. In place of one $1,800 clerk three would be employed at $600 each; would be employed, according to the peculiarly expressive language of the patronage-purveyors, "on the lapse." "In one case," said a person of reliability and accurate information, testifying before the Senate committee on civil service reform and retrenchment, "thirty-five persons were put on the 'lapse fund' of the treasurer's office for eight days at the end of a fiscal year to sop up some money which was in danger of being saved and returned to the treasury."

THE CONDITION OF CUSTOM HOUSES AND POSTOFFICES.

Unnecessary employes abounded in every department, in every customs office, and in almost every postoffice. Dismissals were made for no other purpose than to supply with places the proteges of importunate solicitors for spoils. One collector at the port of New York removed on an average one of his employes every third day to make a vacancy to

be filled by some member of the same party who had "worked to a purpose," not against the common political enemy but for his patron, who had succeeded in being appointed over some other member of his own party.

Another collector at that port, the successor of the one above referred to, removed 880 of his 908 subordinates at the average rate of three in every four days. The successor of this collector removed, within eighteen months, 510 of his 892 subordinates, and his successor made removals at the rate of three every five days. In its first report the commission said:

It was the expectation of such spoils which gave each candidate for collector the party strength which secured his confirmation. Thus, during a period of five years in succession, collectors, all belonging to one party, for the purpose of patronage, made removals at a single office of members of their own party more frequently than at the rate of one every day. In 1,565 secular days 1,678 such removals were made.

A condition of affairs as deplorable existed in the postal service.

On all sides, in every branch of the civil-service, subordinate places were used in the interest of the leaders of the factions of a party, who by assessments, which were disguised in the form of solicitations for money, suggestions that money ought to be contributed, and other methods of this kind, extorted from public employes funds which were used for political purposes, legitimate and otherwise. Even members of Congress of national reputation signed circular letters addressed to subordinate civil servants of the Government requesting contributions to be paid to them, as members of a political committee; doing this in utter disregard of the spirit of a provision of the Revised Statutes declaring it to be unlawful, an offense punishable by fine and dismissal from office, for any officer in the public service to solicit or receive money from any other officer in such service!

The public conscience had peen perverted by the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils; and the people were not shocked when they beheld public offices bestowed, as a reward for partisan services, upon persons at once unworthy and incompetent. Senator Hoar, in his speech on the Belknap impeachment trial, forcefully stated the condition of the public mind at that time when he said:

ITS CONDITION AS DESCRIBED BY A REPUBLICAN LEADER.

"I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in office, that the true way by which power should be gained in this republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge."

The evidence is abundant that under the patronage system of appointments * * * appointments were not, in fact, made by the President, or by the heads of the departments in whom Congress has vested authority to appoint subordinate officers. Nearly all such appointments were really made by members of the legislative branch of the Government, or by other influential politicians; and were not made upon any tests of fitness whatever.

In proof of this assertion it may be mentioned that before the civil-service act became a law the secretary of one of the most important departments of the Government once stated that there were seventeen clerks under his authority for whom he could find no employment; that he did need one competent clerk of a higher grade, and that if an appropriation were made for that one clerk, at the proper amount and according to the gradations of the service, and the appropriation for the seventeen were left out, he could, without impairing the efficiency of his department, leave the seventeen clerks off the role; but if the appropriation for the seventeen clerks were continued, the personal, social, and political pressure was so great that he would be obliged to employ and pay them, though he could find no employment for them.

Under a system of the evils of which this is but a specimen, could the head of any department, or even the President, act independently, and in fairness be held responsible for his administration of the public affairs committed to his charge? It had come to pass that the chief labor of the President and of the heads of departments, customs offices, and post-offices was rewarding the personal friends and punishing the personal foes of the leaders of the dominant faction of the dominant party. These, with all their retainers, appeared to the appointing officers, from the President down, in the first hours of power, and were always thereafter with them, requiring their attention in the consideration of demands for places.

WHEN ABUSES REACHED THEIR FULLEST DEVELOPMENT.

In 1882 these abuses reached their culmination in the efforts of Jay Hubbell of Michigan, Representative Henderson of Iowa, Senator Hale of Maine, and other prominent Senators and Representatives who were members of the Republican Congressional Committee, to extort money from the employes of the government. This was so open and shameless that men of standing in the party in both the Senate and the House joined Senator Pendleton in his effort to devise some method for correcting these evils. The result of this was the civil service law, which took effect nominally July 16, 1883, but was not put into force with anything like honesty or uniformity until after the Presidential election of 1884, when even Mr. Chandler, the Secretary of the Navy, whom nobody ever accused of thinking of a reform of any kind, joined his fellows on November 25, 1884, in extending the rules in his department, under an antedate letter of November 22, 1884. There was such wild haste to enforce and extend the civil service rules, in order to cover a larger number of employes, that the Department of Agriculture, not previously included in the classified service, was on December 11, 1884, put under the rules upon a telephonic message from the outgoing President.*

A law had been passed in 1876 prohibiting the levying of assessments upon the employes of the Federal Government. It was proposed to make this law more stringent under the Pendleton bill, which was pending in the Senate during the Congressional campaign of 1882. It was during this period that the Republican Congressional Committee issued its campaign text book for the year, and on page 111 of that publication the efforts of a Democratic Congress to introduce a reform in the service are thus referred to, with "scare" heads of the most exciting kind:

THE ASSESSMENT LAW A CONFEDERATE BRIGADIER CONSPIRACY.

"The Law of 1876, prohibiting Political Assessments—Some facts in the History of its Passage. Law of 1876, *passed by the Confederate Brigadiers—Part of the machinery to wrest the National Government from the hands of the majority.*"

"The law respecting political assessments referred to by Mr. Pendleton in the Senate and by George William Curtis in his circular, was passed in 1876. *It was passed by the* CONFEDERATE BRIGADIERS. *It was passed as a part of the machinery by which they proposed to wrest the National Government from the hands of the majority. By it, all they proposed was to defeat or cripple the organization of the Republican party by defeating all* VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS, NOT ASSESSMENTS, *in its support. This is absolutely notorious.*"

In the same document, on page 103, the position of the Republican party and some of its leading men is further enlarged upon, with some reckless use of bold face headings and excited style, as follows:

"General Garfield Favored Contributions for Partisan Purposes—His Letter to Chairman Hubbell during the last Presidential Election asking 'How are the Departments generally doing.'"

"General James A. Garfield is often quoted by the so-called Civil-Service Reformers as opposed to or reprobating political contributions for partisan purposes. The question is a characteristic fraud of the bogus reformer. To arbitrary or compulsory assessments, Gen. Garfield was no doubt opposed, *as are Jay A. Hubbell and D. B. Henderson—as indeed are all.*

*For the exact dates of the extension of the Civil Service, up and down, in the different departments see the letter of the President to the Civil Service Commission under date of March 21, 1888. By this extension hundreds of clerks in the departments were put into the classified service for no other purpose than to maintain the henchmen of the Republican party in office and to embarrass the incoming Democratic administration.

Republicans. But the General was too sensible a man, too experienced, practical and just to oppose or reprobate voluntary contributions, or requests from responsible organs of the party for contributions, in support of the cause he so ably sustained. Were there any doubt in the matter the following letter from General Garfield during the late Presidential election, when he was himself a candidate, would authoritatively settle it:

"MENTOR, OHIO, August 23, '80.

My Dear Hubbell:

"Yours of the 19th instant is received. Please say to Brady I hope he will give us all the assistance possible. I think he can help effectively. *Please tell me how the departments are generally doing.*

As ever yours,

J. A. GARFIELD."

HON. JAY A. HUBBELL.

This will show that some of the Senators and Representatives who are now posing as enthusiastic civil reformers, were able, only six years ago, to see nothing in it except a conspiracy on the part of the so called "Confederate Brigadiers" to keep the noble old Republican party from levying blackmail upon the employes of the Federal Government. There was no intention on their part to correct these abuses, and it was only a strong public opinion in opposition to these practices which induced any of them to yield anything of their supposed party advantages.

HOW IT WAS DONE IN FORMER DAYS.

In order to further show the disgraceful condition of things under the Republican management, some blackmail letters sent to employes of the Government in 1878 and in later campaigns. These are only specimens of the open, shameless prostitution of the public service to partisan robbery which had been going on for more than twenty-five years. It was the law to pervert this which Mr. Hubbell and his friends denounced a "confederate conspiracy."

Circulars of various dates will show the policy pursued so long as the Republican party was in power. In 1878 the Secretary of the Senate acted as the Dick Turpin and called out the "stand and deliver" to all government employes, male and female, as is shown in the following:

NO OBJECTION IN ANY OFFICIAL QUARTER.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE REPUBLICAN
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, 1878,
1319 F STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 27, 1878.

SIR—This committee, charged with laboring for the success of the Republican cause in the coming campaign for the election of members of Congress, call with confidence upon you, as a Republican, for such a contribution in money as you may feel willing to make, hoping that it may not be less than $16.

The committee deem it proper, in thus appealing to Republicans generally, to inform those who happen to be in Federal employ that there will be no objection in any official quarter to such voluntary contribution

The importance of the pending struggle cannot easily be exaggerated. That the Senate is to be Democratic after the 4th of March, 1879, is very nearly a certainty. In view of this, the election of a Democratic House of Representatives would precipitate upon the country dangerous agitations, which would inevitably add to present distresses. Foremost among their schemes the opposition already announce their intention to attempt the revolutionary expulsion of the President from his office. * * * * * *

Please make prompt and favorable response to this letter, and remit at once, by draft or postal money order, to "Sidney F. Austin, Esq., treasurer, &c., German-American National Bank, Washington, D. C."

By order of the Committee.

GEO. C. GORHAM, *Secretary.*

In about six weeks such clerks and employes as had not responded to the notification contained in the first circular to call at Captain Gorham's office and settle, were reminded that the Republican party expected and insisted that every man should pay his assessment, by the receipt of Circular No. 2, as follows:

WALK UP AND SETTLE.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE REPUBLICAN
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11, 1878.

DEAR SIR—Since sending you circular under date of May 27, we have ascertained that the rules of your department render difficult your absence during office hours, and that you are unable to call at the bank where contributions are received. We have, therefore, arranged with the treasurer, Mr. Austin, to attend at the German-American National Bank from 4 to 5 o'clock P. M., to receive contributions from those in your department who have not already responded. If more convenient, the amount can be transmitted by mail to Sidney F. Austin, Treasurer Congressional Republican Committee, as above.

Respectfully Yours,

GEO. C. GORHAM, *Secretary.*

There were still delinquents, even after the second circular was sent, and such were once more called upon for their money by the following circular:

BLACKMAIL CALLED A DEBT OF HONOR.

MR. ———, DEAR SIR—There appears to be due upon your subscription to our campaign fund the sum of ——— dollars. We have regarded your subscription as a debt of honor, voluntarily incurred by you, and relying upon its payment, have taken it into the account in the conduct of our work. We earnestly request immediate payment, and Mr. N. B. Fugitt will be in attendance at these headquarters daily from 10 o'clock A. M. till 6 o'clock P. M. to receive and receipt for such moneys.

Respectfully,

GEO. C. GORHAM, *Secretary.*

These circulars, Mr. Gorham said, were sent to Mr. Hayes, and were substantially approved by him. This last circular was without date; but Mr. Gorham testified that it was issued some time in August.

"MY DEAR HUBBELL'S" WAY OF DOING IT.

The following was the first letter sent out by the Republican Congressional Committee in 1882:

[Jay A. Hubbell, chairman; D. B. Henderson, secretary; Executive Committee, Hon. W. B. Allison, Hon. Eugene Hale, Hon. Nelson W. Aldrich, Hon. Frank Hiscock, Hon. George M. Robeson, Hon. Wm. McKinley, Jr., Hon. George R Davis, Hon. Horatio G. Fisher, Hon. Horace F. Page, Hon. W. H. Calkins, Hon. Thomas Ryan, Hon. William D. Washburn, Hon. L. C. Houk, Hon. R. T. Van Horn, Hon. Orlando Hubbs.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, 1882.
520 THIRTEENTH STREET, NORTHWEST,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 15, 1882.

SIR: This committee is organized for the protection of the interests of the Republican party in each of the Congressional districts of the Union. In order that it may prepare, print and circulate suitable documents illustrating the issues which distinguish the Republican party from any other and may meet all proper expenses incident to the campaign, the committee feels authorized to apply to all citizens whose principles or interests are involved in the struggle. Under the circumstances in which the country finds itself placed, the committee believes that you will esteem it both a privilege and a pleasure to make to its funds a contribution, which it is hoped may not be less than $———. The committee is authorized to state that such voluntary contributions from persons employed in the service of the United States will not be objected to in any official quarter.

The labors of the committee will affect the result of the Presidential election in 1884 as well as the Congressional struggle; and it may therefore reasonably hope to have the sympathy and assistance of all who look with dread upon the possibility of the restoration of the Democratic party to the control of the Government.

Please make prompt and favorable response to this letter by bank-check or draft or postal money order, payable to the order of JAY A. HUBBELL, acting treasurer, P. O. lock-box 589, Washington, D. C.

By order of the Committee.

D. B. HENDERSON, Secretary.

IMPROVING IN THE HIGHWAYMAN'S ART.

The second letter had the true highwayman ring, and was more in harmony with the characteristics of the stalwart leaders. It was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 15, 1882.

SIR: Your failure to respond to the circular of May 15, 1882, sent to you by this committee, is noted with surprise. It is hoped that the only reason for such failure is that the matter escaped your attention owing to press of other cares.

Great political battles cannot be won in this way. This committee cannot hope to succeed in the pending struggle if those most directly benefited by success are unwilling or neglect to aid in a substantial manner.

We are on the skirmish line of 1884, with a conflict before us, this fall, of great moment to the Republic, and you must know that a repulse now is full of danger to the next Presidential campaign.

Unless you think that our grand old party ought not to succeed, help it now in its struggle to build up a new South, in which there shall be, as in the North, a free ballot and a fair count, and to maintain such hold in the North as shall insure good government to the country.

It is hoped that by return mail you will send a *voluntary contribution equal to two per cent. of your annual compensation, as a substantial proof of your earnest desire for the success of the Republican party this fall*, transmitting by draft or postal money order, payable to the order of JAY A. HUBBELL, acting treasurer, postoffice lock-box 589, Washington, D. C.

HOW IT WAS DONE IN 1884.

Even in 1884, long after the leaders of the party had begun to play the dodge of being civil service reformers, the following circular was sent to Federal office-holders:

1421 NEW YORK AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C., August 1, 1884.

The undersigned have been requested by the Republican National Committee to act as Finance Committee for the District of Columbia in the collection of funds to be used by said National Committee in the present political campaign. We have agreed to act, and have organized by the selection of A. M. Clapp as chairman, W. H. Lowdermilk as secretary, and Green B. Raum as treasurer. On and after this date we will be prepared to receive and receipt for such sums as persons may wish to contribute to the campaign fund of the Republican party.

The rooms of the Committee, 1421 New York Avenue, will be open daily from 8.30 A. M. to 9 P. M.

A. M. CLAPP, Chairman. GREEN B. RAUM, Treasurer.
W. A. LOWDERMILK, Secretary. DR. E. A. ADAMS.
R. T. GREENER.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE'S WAY.

The following letter sent to the clerks in the Departments at Washington, the first one accompanying the above letter, is evidence of their attempt to circumvent the law:

B. F. JONES, Pennsylvania, *Chairman*. SAMUEL FESSENDEN, Connecticut, *Secretary*.

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
NO. 242 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, August 8, 1884.

[DICTATED LETTER.]

Dear Sir: The pending Presidential campaign is of unusual importance to the country. Every Republican is deeply interested in its result. The National Committee, on behalf of the Republican party, desires to make it justly vigorous and effective, and success certain in November. Funds are required, however, to meet the lawful and proper expenses of the campaign; and, to provide the same, the Committee finds itself dependent upon the liberality of Republicans to make such voluntary contributions as their means will permit, and as they feel inclined to give. You are, therefore, respectfully invited to send, as soon as you conveniently may, by draft on New York or postal money order to the order of B. F. Jones, Chairman Republican National Committee, No. 242 Fifth Avenue, New York City, such sum as you may desire to contribute for the objects before mentioned. A receipt for the same will be sent by return mail. * * * * * * * * *

Respectfully, B. F. JONES, Chairman.

FEDERAL OFFICE HOLDERS NOT IN POLITICS.

President Cleveland, in July, 1886, issued an Executive order forbidding Federal officials from taking part in politics. He has enforced it from the beginning, as shown by the following correspondence:

U. S. PENSION AGENCY, KNOXVILLE, TENN., August 4, 1886.

J. C. Black, Commissioner of Pensions, etc.:

DEAR SIR: For the past few months there has been a preliminary campaign in Tennessee for the nomination for Governor. My name has been mentioned in that connection, but obedient to the wish and requirement of the President, I have never left my office a day, nor have I taken any active part for myself in the campaign. Nevertheless, I feel confident that I will be nominated. I desire to know if, in your judgment, it would be improper for me to go to Nashville to the convention. I am not a delegate, but if I am nominated I would like to be there. If it is in any way contrary to the wishes of the President I will not go. Please reply by telegram, as I will have to start Monday, the 9th instant, if I go. The convention meets on the 11th. Very respectfully,

ROBERT L. TAYLOR.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT, PENSION OFFICE, WASHINGTON, Aug. 8, 1886.

Col. Robert L. Taylor, U. S. Pension Agent, etc.:

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter I have the honor to inform you that in pursuance to the instructions of the honorable Secretary of the Interior, it is better for you not to attend the nominating convention. While no doubt exists as to your good faith in your proposed action, your presence at the convention will place you and the Administration, if not in a false position, in one subject to misconstruction. Respectfully, etc.,

W. E. MCLEAN, Acting Commissioner.

AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION THIS YEAR.

While the National Democratic Convention was in session at St. Louis this year the following letter appeared in the New York *Times* under date of June 6. It presents an instructive comparison of the "good old times," with the methods of the present administration:

To the Editor of the New York Times:

That civil service reform has made some advance under the present administration is clearly proved when one takes the trouble, as I have just done, to compare the present National Convention at St. Louis with the Republican Convention at Chicago in 1884. Four years ago the Chicago gathering was the convention by the party in power. According to the official organ of the Republican Party in this city there were present at the Chicago Convention "considerably over 100 delegates who are [were] Federal officials, and there is [was] a much larger number of officials here [there] who are [were] not delegates." Among the "over 200 Federal office holders" present were the Collector of the Port of New York, the First Assistant Postmaster-General, the United States District Attorney for the Troy district, the Collector of the Port of Buffalo, the Register of the Treasury, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The First Assistant Postmaster-General was the avowed leader of the forces seeking a renomination of the President. Now compare this with the St. Louis Convention, which is the administration convention this year, and what do we see? From the most reliable newspaper accounts there are at the outside only a few Federal officials in attendance, and among them not a single one of the importance of the officials mentioned above. I do not know of a single Federal office holder from this city who is there.

When has there been a National Convention of the party in power as free from the presence of Federal officials as the present gathering at St. Louis?

I believe the friends of civil service reform have reasons for rejoicing over the advance that the reform has made since 1884.

THE IMPROVEMENT UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

In marked contrast with the serious abuses of the public service under the old Republican rule, as shown by the extract from the report of the Civil Service Commission, already quoted, is the condition in which the same commission find it now. They say in the same report:

Under the civil-servic act many of these abuses have been corrected. This is shown by the fact that although there has been, since the enactment of the law, a change of political parties in the administration of the government, there has not been, either in the departments or at the port of New York, as many dismissals in any given time as occurred before the passage of the act. And there has not been since the change of parties any dismissals in any branch of the classified service avowedly for partisan reasons.

The notable fact may be stated that a collector at the port of New York, appointed after March 4, 1885, was compelled to resign his office when it became evident that removals excessive in number were being made by him apparently with reference to partisan considerations, and the customs business of that port was not being conducted on business

principles. Attention may also be called to the fact that a postmaster at Baltimore, appointed after March 4, 1885, resigned his office, and was condemned, because he had violated the civil service rules by making appointments to and removals from the classified service of his office for partisan reasons.

THE OFFICE BROKER'S OCCUPATION GONE.

Since the passage of the act no appointments have been or could have been made "on the lapse." The place-purveyor's occupation is gone in so far as it relates to those parts of the service that are operated upon by this law. He can no longer demand a place for the party henchman who has no adequate qualifications for the public service, and, as a general rule, no person can now be appointed until after his qualifications have been tested, not by theoretic, hair-splitting tests unnecessary to the ascertainment of his fitness for the employment sought, but by examinations practical in their character. The demoralizing methods of the patronage system of appointments have been replaced, within the classified service, by the better methods of the law, under which the demands of common justice are complied with, that, in so far as practicable, all citizens duly qualified shall be allowed equal opportunity, on grounds of personal fitness, for securing appointment and employment in the subordinate civil-service.

And even outside the classified service the effects of the law are apparent. The wisdom of making dismissals from unclassified subordinate places for partisan reasons is now challenged by the better sentiment of the country. The political assessor no longer does his work in an openmanner. He is not now a familiar presence in the departments, the custom-houses, and the postoffices. He has become a skulker in his work, and pursues his vocation as if it were dishonorable. Senators and representatives no longer organize themselves into assessing committees, for the purpose of making requests for money for political purposes, requests to which potency was formerly given by the implied threat that non-compliance would result in dismissal, and which were therefore, in effect, imperative demands for money upon the employes of the government, who were thus compelled by fear of loss of employment to "stand and deliver."

CHAPTER X.

THE CONTEST WITH THE SENATE.

HOW THE PRESIDENT RESENTED DICTATION FROM THE SENATE—A PLUCKY AND SUCCESSFUL ASSERTION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE EXECUTIVE.

The controversy between the President of the United States and the United States Senate, during the first year of his term, became familiar to the entire country, and its result fully vindicated the wisdom, the ability and the courage of President Cleveland.

Exercising the power which the Constitution and the laws of the country expressly invest in him, the President of the United States, from the time of his inauguration on the 4th of March, 1885, to January 5th, 1886, inclusive, suspended from office and sent to the Senate as their successors the names of six hundred and forty-three officials. These included Chief Justices and Associate Justices of Territories, United States District Attorneys and Marshals, Collectors of Internal Revenue, Melters and Refiners, Assayers in the Mint, Collectors of Customs, Appraisers of Merchandise, Surveyors of Customs, Consuls, Surveyors-General, Receivers of Public Money, Registers of the Land Office, Indian Inspectors, Agents, and 298 Presidential Postmasters.

The Republican majority in the Senate, usurping the functions of the Executive, asserted their privilege to put the Chief Executive of the country on the witness stand, and cross-examine him concerning his discharge of the duties pertaining to the Chief Executive. The Republican Senate undertook, upon this pretext, to throw its majority as an obstruction in the way of the selection by the President, under the laws and the Constitution, of agents of his own choice to succeed those he found in office on his inauguration. The Senate passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Attorney-General of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed to transmit to the Senate copies of all documents and papers that have been filed in the Department of Justice since the 1st day of January, A. D. 1885, in relation to the management and conduct of the office of district attorney of the United States of the southern district of Alabama.

The Attorney-General made the following reply:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
January 28, 1886.

The President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States:

I acknowledge the receipt of a resolution of the Senate adopted on the 25th instant, in executive session, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Attorney-General of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed to transmit to the Senate copies of all documents and papers that have been filed in the Department of Justice since the 1st day of January, A. D. 1885, in relation to the management and conduct of the office of district attorney of the United States of the southern district of Alabama."

In response to the said resolution the President of the United States directs me to say that the papers which were in this Department relating to the fitness of John D. Burnett, recently nominated to said office, having been sent to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, and the papers and documents which are mentioned in the said resolution, and still remaining in the custody of this Department, having exclusive reference to the suspension by the President of George M. Duskin, the late incumbent of the office of district attorney of the United States for the southern district of Alabama, it is not considered that the public interest will be promoted by a compliance with said resolution and the transmission of the papers and documents therein mentioned to the Senate in executive session.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. H. GARLAND,
Attorney-General.

WHY THE SENATE ABANDONED THE CONTEST.

As the result of this correspondence and upon the report of the Attorney-General to comply with the demands of the Senate, that body passed the following resolutions reported by the majority members of the committee on judiciary:

Resolved, That the foregoing report of the Committee on the Judiciary be agreed to and adopted.

Resolved, That the Senate hereby expresses its condemnation of the refusal of the Attorney-General, under whatever influence, to send to the Senate copies of papers called for by its resolution of the 25th of January, and set forth in the report of the committee on judiciary, as in violation of his official duty and subversive of the fundamental principles of the Government and of a good administration thereof.

Resolved, That it is, under these circumstances, the duty of the Senate to refuse its advice and consent to proposed removals of officers, the documents and papers in reference to the supposed official or personal misconduct of whom are withheld by the Executive or any head of a department when deemed necessary by the Senate and called for in considering the matter.

These resolutions were passed by a strict party vote in the Senate. The Republicans were not able to maintain their whole strength on the third resolution, which passed by a majority of one in a Senate with a Republican majority of eight. However, this action on the part of the Senate simply covered a hasty and ignominious retreat, for from that time on the false issue made by Edmunds, Hoar and others, was abandoned by the Republicans of the Senate, and the President was completely vindicated in his assertion and maintenance of the prerogatives of his office.

Nothing was ever heard of the resolutions after the country had had time and opportunity to understand the merits of the question as set forth in the following message of the President:

THE PRESIDENT TO THE SENATE.

To the Senate of the United States:

Ever since the beginning of the present session of the Senate, the different heads of the Departments attached to the Executive branch of the Government have been plied with various requests and demands from committees of the Senate, from members of such committees, and at last from the Senate itself, requiring the transmission of reasons for the suspension of certain officials during the recess of that body, or for the papers touching the conduct of such officials, or for all papers and documents relating to such suspensions, or for all documents and papers filed in such Departments in relation to the management and conduct of the offices held by such suspended officials.

The different terms from time to time adopted in making these requests and demands, the order in which they succeeded each other, and the fact that when made by the Senate

the resolution for that purpose was passed in executive session, have led to a presumption, the correctness of which will, I suppose, be candidly admitted, that from first to last the information thus sought and the papers thus demanded were desired for use by the Senate and its committees in considering the propriety of the suspensions referred to.

Though these suspensions are my executive acts, based upon considerations addressed to me alone, and for which I am wholly responsible, I have had no invitation from the Senate to state the position which I have felt constrained to assume in relation to the same, or to interpret for myself my acts and my motives in the premises.

In this condition of affairs, I have forborne addressing the Senate upon the subject, lest I might be accused of thrusting myself unbidden upon the attention of that body.

THE ISSUE SUCCINCTLY STATED.

But the report of the committee on the Judiciary of the Senate, lately presented and published, which censures the Attorney-General of the United States for his refusal to transmit certain papers relating to a suspension from office, and which also, if I correctly interpret it, evinces a misapprehension of the position of the Executive upon the question of such suspensions, will, I hope, justify this communication.

This report is predicated upon a resolution of the Senate directed to the Attorney-General and his reply to the same. This resolution was adopted in executive session devoted entirely to business connected with the consideration of nominations for office. It required the Attorney-General "to transmit to the Senate copies of all documents and papers that have been filed in the Department of Justice since the 1st day of January, 1885, in relation to the management and conduct of the office of district attorney of the United States of the southern district of Alabama."

The incumbent of this office on the 1st day of January, 1885, and until the 17th day of July ensuing, was George M. Duskin, who, on the day last mentioned, was suspended by an Executive order, and John D. Burnett designated to perform the duties of said office. At the time of the passage of the resolution above referred to, the nomination of Burnett for said office was pending before the Senate, and all the papers relating to said nomination were before that body for its inspection and information.

In reply to this resolution, the Attorney-General, after referring to the fact that the papers relating to the nomination of Burnett had already been sent to the Senate, stated that he was directed by the President to say that "the papers and documents which are mentioned in said resolution and still remaining in the custody of this Department, having exclusive reference to the suspension by the President of George M. Duskin, the late incumbent of the office of district attorney for the southern district of Alabama, it is not considered that the public interests will be promoted by a compliance with said resolution and the transmission of the papers and documents therein mentioned to the Senate in executive session."

Upon this resolution and the answer thereto the issue is thus stated by the Committee on the Judiciary at the outset of the report:

"The important question, then, is whether it is within the constitutional competence of either house of Congress to have access to the official papers and documents in the various public offices of the United States created by laws enacted by themselves."

WILL NOT SURRENDER LETTERS OR DOCUMENTS OF A PRIVATE NATURE.

I do not suppose that "the public offices of the United States" are regulated or controlled in their relations to either house of Congress by the fact that they were "created by laws enacted by themselves." It must be that these instrumentalities were created for the benefit of the people and to answer the general purposes of government under the Constitution and the laws, and that they are unincumbered by any lien in favor of either branch of Congress growing out of their construction, and unembarrassed by any obligation to the Senate as the price of their creation.

The complaint of the committee, that access to official papers in the public offices is denied the Senate, is met by the statement that at no time has it been the disposition or the intention of the President or any department of the executive branch of the Government to withhold from the Senate official documents or papers filed in any of the public offices. While it is by no means conceded that the Senate has the right in any case to

review the act of the executive in removing or suspending a public officer upon official documents or otherwise, it is considered that documents and papers of that nature should, because they are official, be freely transmitted to the Senate upon its demand, trusting the use of the same for proper and legitimate purposes to the good faith of that body. And though no such paper or document has been specifically demanded in any of the numerous requests and demands made upon the departments, yet as often as they were found in the public offices they have been furnished in answer to such applications.

The letter of the Attorney-General in response to the resolution of the Senate in the particular case mentioned in the committee's report was written at my suggestion and by my direction. There had been no official papers or documents filed in his department relating to the case within the period specified in the resolution. The letter was intended, by its description of the papers and documents remaining in the custody of the department, to convey the idea that they were not official; and it was not assumed that the resolution called for information, papers, and documents of the same character as were required by the requests and demands which preceded it.

Everything that had been written or done on behalf of the Senate from the beginning pointed to all letters and papers of a private and unofficial nature as the objects of search, if they were to be found in the departments, and provided they had been presented to the Executive with a view to their consideration upon the question of suspension from office.

THEY ARE IN NO SENSE OFFICIAL.

Against the transmission of such papers and documents I have interposed my advice and direction. This has not been done, as is suggested in the committee's report, upon the assumption on my part that the Attorney-General or any other head of a department "is the servant of the President, and is to give or withhold copies of documents in his office according to the will of the Executive and not otherwise," but because I regard the papers and documents withheld and addressed to me or intended for my use and action, purely unofficial and private, not infrequently confidential, and having reference to the performance of a duty exclusively mine. I consider them in no proper sense as upon the files of the department, but as deposited there for my convenience, remaining still completely under my control. I suppose if I desired to take them into my custody I might do so with entire propriety, and if I saw fit to destroy them no one could complain.

Even the committee in its report appears to concede that there may be with the President, or in the Departments, papers and documents which, on account of their unofficial character, are not subject to the inspection of the Congress. A reference in the report to instances where the House of Representatives ought not to succeed in a call for the production of papers is immediately followed by this statement:

"The committee feels authorized to state, after a somewhat careful research, that within the foregoing limits there is scarcely in the history of this Government, until now, any instance of a refusal by a head of a Department, or even of the President himself, to communicate official facts and information as distinguished from private and unofficial papers, motions, views, reasons, and opinions, to either house of Congress when unconditionally demanded."

To which of the classes thus recognized do the papers and documents belong that are now the objects of the Senate's quest?

They consist of letters and representations addressed to the Executive or intended for his inspection; they are voluntarily written and presented by private citizens who are not in the least instigated thereto by any official invitation or at all subject to official control. While some of them are entitled to Executive consideration, many of them are so irrelevant, or in the light of other facts so worthless, that they have not been given the least weight in determining the question to which they are supposed to relate.

Are all these, simply because they are preserved, to be considered official documents and subject to the inspection of the Senate? If not, who is to determine which belong to this class? Are the motives and purposes of the Senate, as they are day by day developed, such as would be satisfied with my selection? Am I to submit to theirs at the risk of being charged with making a suspension from office upon evidence which was not even considered?

Are these papers to be regarded official because they have not only been presented but preserved in the public offices?

Their nature and character remain the same whether they are kept in the Executive Mansion or deposited in the Departments. There is no mysterious power of transmutation in departmental custody, nor is there magic in the undefined and sacred solemnity of Department files. If the presence of these papers in the public offices is a stumbling block in the way of the performance of Senatorial duty, it can be easily removed.

The papers and documents which have been described derive no official character from any constitutional, statutory, or other requirement making them necessary to the performance of the official duty of the Executive.

It will not be denied, I suppose, that the President may suspend a public officer in the entire absence of any papers or documents to aid his official judgment and discretion. And I am quite prepared to avow that the cases are not few in which suspensions from office have depended more upon oral representations made to me by citizens of known good repute, and by members of the House of Representatives and Senators of the United States, than upon any letters and documents presented for my examination. I have not felt justified in suspecting the veracity, integrity and patriotism of Senators, or ignoring their representations, because they were not in party affiliation with the majority of their associates; and I recall a few suspensions which bear the approval of individual members identified politically with the majority in the Senate.

While, therefore, I am constrained to deny the right of the Senate to the papers and documents described, so far as the right to the same is based upon the claim that they are in any view of the subject official, I am also led unequivocally to dispute the right of the Senate, by the aid of any documents whatever, or in any way save through the judicial process of trial on impeachment, to review or reverse the acts of the Executive in the suspension, during the recess of the Senate, of Federal officials.

WHERE THE POWER OF REMOVAL IS VESTED.

I believe the power to remove or suspend such officials is vested in the President alone by the Constitution, which in express terms provides that "the Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America," and that "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

The Senate belongs to the legislative branch of the Government. When the Constitution by express provision superadded to its legislative duties, the right to advise and consent to appointments to office, and to sit as a court of impeachment, it conferred upon that body all the control and regulation of Executive action supposed to be necessary for the safety of the people; and this express and special grant of such extraordinary powers, not in any way related to or growing out of general Senatorial duty, and in itself a departure from the general plan of our Government, should be held, under a familiar maxim of construction, to exclude every other right of interference with Executive functions.

In the first Congress which assembled after the adoption of the Constitution, comprising many who aided in its preparation, a legislative construction was given to that instrument in which the independence of the Executive in the matter of removals from office was fully sustained.

I think it will be found that in the subsequent discussions of this question there was generally, if not at all times, a proposition pending to in some way curtail this power of the President by legislation, which furnishes evidence that to limit such power it was supposed to be necessary to supplement the Constitution by such legislation.

The first enactment of this description was passed under a stress of partisanship and political bitterness which culminated in the President's impeachment.

This law provided that the Federal officers to which it applied could only be suspended during the recess of the Senate when shown by evidence satisfactory to the President to be guilty of misconduct in office, or crime, or when incapable or disqualified to perform their duties, and that within twenty days after the next meeting of the Senate it should be the duty of the President "to report to the Senate such suspension, with the evidence and reasons for his action in the case."

THE TENURE OF OFFICE LAW.

This statute, passed in 1867, when Congress was overwhelmingly and bitterly opposed politically to the President, may be regarded as an indication that even then it was thought necessary by a Congress determined upon the subjugation of the Executive to legislative will to furnish itself a law for that purpose, instead of attempting to reach the object intended by an invocation of any pretended constitutional right.

The law which thus found its way to our statute-book was plain in its terms, and its intent needed no avowal. If valid and now in operation it would justify the present course of the Senate and command the obedience of the Executive to its demands. It may, however, be remarked in passing, that, under this law, the President had the privilege of presenting to the body which assumed to review his executive acts his reasons therefor, instead of being excluded from explanation or judged by papers found in the Departments.

Two years after the law of 1867 was passed, and within less than five weeks after the inauguration of a President in political accord with both branches of Congress, the sections of the act regulating suspensions from office during the recess of the Senate were entirely repealed and in their place were substituted provisions which, instead of limiting the causes of suspension to misconduct, crime, disability, or disqualification, expressly permitted such suspension by the President "in his discretion," and completely abandoned the requirement obliging him to report to the Senate "the evidence and reasons" for his action.

With these modifications and with all branches of the Government in political harmony, and in the absence of partisan incentive to captious obstruction, the law as it was left by the amendment of 1869 was much less destructive of Executive discretion. And yet the great General and patriotic citizen who, on the 4th day of March, 1869, assumed the duties of Chief Executive, and for whose freer administration of his high office the most hateful restraints of the law of 1867 were, on the 5th day of April, 1869, removed, mindful of his obligation to defend and protect every prerogative of his great trust, and apprehensive of the injury threatened the public service in the continued operation of these statutes even in their modified form, in his first message to Congress advised their repeal and set forth their unconstitutional character and hurtful tendency in the following language:

> "It may be well to mention here the embarrassment possible to arise from leaving on the statute-books the so-called 'tenure of office acts,' and to earnestly recommend their total repeal. It could not have been the intention of the framers of the Constitution, when providing that appointments made by the President should receive the consent of the Senate, that the latter should have the power to retain in office persons placed there by Federal appointment against the will of the President. The law is inconsistent with a faithful and efficient administration of the Government. What faith can an Executive put in officials forced upon him, and those, too, whom he has supended for reason? How will such officials be likely to serve an administration which they know does not trust them?"

I am unable to state whether or not this recommendation for a repeal of these laws has been since repeated. If it has not, the reason can probably be found in the experience which demonstrated the fact that the necessities of the political situation but rarely developed their vicious character.

LAWS WHICH HAVE FALLEN INTO DISUSE.

And so it happens that after an existence of nearly twenty years of almost innocuous desuetude these laws are brought forth—apparently the repealed as well as the unrepealed—and put in the way of an Executive who is willing, if permitted, to attempt an improvement in the methods of administration.

The constitutionality of these laws is by no means admitted. But why should the provisions of the repealed law, which required specific cause for suspension and a report to the Senate of "evidence and reasons," be now, in effect, applied to the present Executive, instead of the law, afterwards passed and unrepealed, which distinctly permits suspensions by the President "in his discretion," and carefully omits the requirement that "evidence and reasons for his action in the case" shall be reported to the Senate?

The requests and demands which by the score have for nearly three months been presented to the different Departments of the Government, whatever may be their form, have but one complexion. They assume the right of the Senate to sit in judgment upon the exercise of my exclusive discretion and executive function, for which I am solely respon-

sible to the people from whom I have so lately received the sacred trust of office. My oath to support and defend the Constitution, my duty to the people who have chosen me to execute the powers of their great office and not to relinquish them, and my duty to the Chief Magistracy which I must preserve unimpaired in all its dignity and vigor, compel me to refuse compliance with these demands.

To the end that the service may be improved, the Senate is invited to the fullest scrutiny of the persons submitted to them for public office, in recognition of the constitutional power of that body to advise and consent to their appointment. I shall continue, as I have thus far done, to furnish, at the request of the confirming body, all the information I possess touching the fitness of the nominees placed before them for their action, both when they are proposed to fill vacancies and to take the place of suspended officials. Upon a refusal to confirm I shall not assume the right to ask the reasons for the action of the Senate nor question its determination. I cannot think that anything more is required to secure worthy incumbents in public office than a careful and independent discharge of our respective duties within their well-defined limits.

Though the propriety of suspensions might be better assured if the action of the President was subject to review by the Senate, yet if the Constitution and the laws have placed this responsibility upon the executive branch of the Government, it should not be divided nor the discretion which it involves relinquished.

ALL PLEDGES MADE HAVE BEEN KEPT.

It has been claimed that the present Executive having pledged himself not to remove officials except for cause, the fact of their suspension implies such misconduct on the part of a suspended official as injures his character and reputation, and therefore the Senate should review the case for his vindication.

I have said that certain officials should not, in my opinion, be removed during the continuance of the term for which they were appointed solely for the purpose of putting in their place those in political affiliation with the appointing power; and this declaration was immediately followed by a description of official partisanship which ought not to entitle those in whom it was exhibited to consideration. It is not apparent how an adherence to the course thus announced carries with it the consequences described. If in any degree the suggestion is worthy of consideration, it is to be hoped that there may be a defense against unjust suspension in the justice of the Executive.

Every pledge which I have made by which I have placed a limitation upon my exercise of executive power has been faithfully redeemed. Of course the pretense is not put forth that no mistakes have been committed; but not a suspension has been made except it appeared to my satisfaction that the public welfare would be improved thereby. Many applications for suspension have been denied, and the adherence to the rule laid down to govern my action as to such suspensions has caused much irritation and impatience on the part of those who have insisted upon more changes in the offices.

The pledges I have made were made to the people, and to them I am responsible for the manner in which they have been redeemed. I am not responsible to the Senate, and I am unwilling to submit my actions and official conduct to them for judgment.

There are no grounds for an allegation that the fear of being found false to my professions influences me in declining to submit to the demands of the Senate. I have not constantly refused to suspend officials, and thus incurred the displeasure of political friends, and yet wilfully broken faith with the people for the sake of being false to them.

Neither the discontent of party friends nor the allurements constantly offered of confirmations of appointees conditioned upon the avowal that suspensions have been made on party grounds alone, nor the threat proposed in the resolutions now before the Senate that no confirmations will be made unless the demands of that body be complied with, are sufficient to discourage or deter me from following in the way which I am convinced leads to better government for the people.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER XI.

REPUBLICAN OPINIONS ON THE TARIFF.

WHAT PROMINENT MEN OF THE PARTY HAVE HAD TO SAY IN FAVOR OF A LIBERAL SYSTEM OF CUSTOMS TAXATION.

Gleaned from Speeches in Congress and Political Campaigns, from Letters, Interviews and Official Reports.

JAMES G. BLAINE on Lumber—June 10, 1868:

During the entire war, when we were seeking everything on the earth, and in the skies, and in the waters under the earth, out of which taxation could be wrung, it never entered into the conception of Congress to tax breadstuffs—never. *During the most pressing exigencies of the terrible contest in which we were engaged, neither breadstuffs nor lumber ever became the subject of one penny of taxation.* * * * Now, as to the article of lumber, I again remind the House that there has never been a tax upon this article. The gentleman from Ohio may talk on this question as he pleases; but I say that wherever the Western frontiersman undertakes to make for himself a home, to till the soil, to carry on the business of life, he needs lumber for his cabin, he needs lumber for his fence, he needs lumber for his wagon or cart, he needs lumber for his plough, he needs lumber for almost every purpose in his daily life.

WILLIAM D. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania on Free Wool—July 28, 1866:

Let the raw material come in. Let us make blankets that will drive out English blankets. Let us make our own "English frieze" and "Peterboro' frosted beaver." Let us be able to rival England and France and other representative nations in making these cloths.

Senator INGALLS, February 15, 1878:

We can not disguise the truth that we are on the verge of an impending revolution; the old issues are dead! The people are arraying themselves upon one side or the other of a portentous contest. On one side is capital, formidably entrenched in privilege, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious to old theories, demanding new concessions, enriched by domestic levy and foreign commerce, and struggling to adjust all values to its own standard. On the other is labor, asking for employment, striving to develop domestic industries, battling with the forces of nature, and subduing the wilderness; *labor, starving and sullen in cities, resolutely determined to overthrow a system under which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer;* a system which gives to a Vanderbilt the possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice and condemns the poor to a poverty which has no refuge from starvation but the prison or the grave.

HUGH MCCULLOCH, Secretary of the Treasury. Recommendations in Report, 1884:

First. That the existing duties upon raw materials which are to be used in manufacture should be removed. This can be done in the interest of our foreign trade.

Second. That the duties upon the articles used or consumed by those who are the least able to bear the burden of taxation should be reduced. This also can be effected without prejudice to our export trade.

President GRANT, Annual Message, December, 1874:

Those articles which enter into our manufactures, and are not produced at home, it seems to me, should be entered free. *Those articles of manufacture which we produce a constituent part of, but do not produce the whole, that part which we do not produce should be entered free also.* I will instance fine wools, dyes, etc. These articles must be imported to form a part of the manufacture of the higher grades of woolen goods. Chemicals used as dyes, compounded in medicines, and used in various ways in manufactures, come under this class. *The introduction, free of duty, of such wools as we do not produce would stimulate the manufacture of goods requiring the use of those we do produce, and therefore would be a benefit to home production. There are many articles entering into "home manufactures" which we do not produce ourselves, the tariff upon which increases the cost of producing the manufactured article. All the corrections in this regard are in the direction of bringing labor and capital in harmony with each other, and of supplying one of the elements of prosperity so much needed.*

MR. KELLEY on Tax Reduction—April 22, 1872:

If we adjourn on the 29th of May we shall have repealed no tax or duty, and the people will ask us in every paper and at every corner why we have continued the system of taxation, so largely in excess of the demands of the Government and the reduction of the public debt, at the rate of $50,000,000 per annum outside of what is already provided by law. On neither side of the House can justification be found, nor do I believe apologies which will prove entirely satisfactory to the taxpayers, *who are loaded at every point and whose profits are absorbed in the excessive Treasury of the Government.*

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, of Ohio, 1882:

The free list might be enlarged without affecting injuriously a single American interest.

Senator WARNER MILLER, of New York, 1882:

The sooner we have that (tariff) revision the better it will be for all industries.

Senator HAWLEY, of Connecticut, 1882:

I will vote in any direction to bring about a resolute attempt to give us a revision of the tariff. I say that as representing a protectionist constituency.

Mr. KASSON, of Iowa, 1882:

Some excessive duties remain on the statute book; some dutiable articles should be on the free list, and some of the provisions of the tariff have become obsolete.

Senator SHERMAN, of Ohio, 1882:

We agree that the tariff should be revised and the taxes reduced. * * * Under existing law we are collecting from the people of the United States as National taxes the sum of fifty to one hundred millions of dollars more than is requisite to meet all the proper current expenditures of the Government and all our obligations to the public creditors.

EUGENE HALE, of Maine, in the House, 1871:

The duty upon salt is now 18 cents per 100 pounds in bulk and 24 cents in sacks. The best Turk's Island salt can be purchased at the place where it is produced for from 9 to 10 cents per bushel. Any gentleman here can compute for himself the percentage of duty resting upon this article. I believe there is no one question

about which the reflection of millions of people day by day is so decided as it is in declaring that there should be no tax upon this article of salt. I have been asked to amend the bill introduced by me so as to cut down the duty 50 per cent. I do not consent to that. *I believe this article should go upon the free list: that the monopoly which has obtained heretofore for the Onondaga Salt Works—as great and complete as any monopoly ever granted by the Tudors in England's most despotic times—ought to cease.*

President GRANT, Annual Message, December, 1875:

Many duties now collected, and which give but an insignificant return for the cost of collection, might be remitted, and to the direct advantage of consumers at home. I would mention those articles which enter into manufactures of all sorts. *All duty paid upon such articles goes directly to the cost of the article when manufactured here, and must be paid for by the consumers. These duties not only come from the consumers at home, but act as a protection to foreign manufacturers of the same completed articles in our own and distant markets.*

President ARTHUR, Annual Message, 1882:

A total abolition of excise taxes would almost inevitably prove a serious, if not an insurmountable obstacle to a thorough revision of the tariff and to any considerable reduction in import duties. The present tariff system is in many respects unjust. It makes unequal distributions, both of its burden and its benefits. * * * *I recommend an enlargement of the free list so as to include within it the numerous articles which yield inconsiderable revenue, a simplification of the complex and inconsistent schedule of duties upon certain manufactures*, particularly those of cotton, iron and steel, and a substantial reduction of the duties upon those articles, and upon sugar, molasses, silk, wool and woolen goods.

Senator SHERMAN, of Ohio, 1867:

In considering so complicated a subject as a tariff, nothing can be more deceptive than the application of such general phrases as a "protective tariff," "a revenue tariff," "a free-trade tariff." *Every law imposing a duty on imported goods is necessarily a restraint on trade.* It imposes a burden upon the purchase and sale of imported goods and tends to prevent every importation. *The expression, "a free trade tariff," involves an absurdity* If you converse with intelligent men engaged in the business of manufacturing they will tell you that they are willing to compete with England, France, Germany, and all the countries of Europe, at the old rates of duty. If you reduce their products to a specie basis, *and put them on the same footing they were on before the war, the present rates of duty would be too high. It would not be necessary fyr scarce any branch of industry to be protected to the extent of your present tariff law. They do not ask protection against the pauper labor of Europe, but they ask protection against the creation of your own laws.*

BENJAMIN HARRISON, November 28, 1882:

The creation of the Tariff Commission was a confession that the tariff needs revision. If the report comes in it should be promptly acted upon. My opinion is that no time should be lost after Congress assembles in bringing *forward these measures, and that no time should be lost during the holidays by adjournment.*

JAMES G. BLAINE, Secretary of State, 1881:

The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and in Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows, per week:

Spinners: English, $7.20 to $8.40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30.

Weavers: English, $3.84 to $8.64, subject, at the date on which these rates were given, to a reduction of 10 per cent.; American, $4.82 to $8.73.

The average wages of employes in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3.08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.; women, from $3.40 to $4.30, subect to a reduction of 10 per cent.

The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are 56, in the Massachusetts mills 60 per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually 66 to 69 per week.

Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world.

From these returns it is seen that every American spindle consumes 66 pounds of raw cotton, while each British spindle consumes only 32 pounds, or less than one-half the American consumption per spindle.

It thus appears that each American operative works up as much raw material as two British operatives, turns out nearly $1.50 worth of manufactures to the British operative's $1 worth, and even in piece goods, where the superior quality and weight of the American goods are so marked, the American operative turned out 2.75 yards to 2.50 yards by the British operative.

Senator MORRILL, of Vermont, 1870:

It is a mistake of the friends of a sound tariff to insist upon the extreme rates imposed during the war, if less will raise the necessary revenue.

Senator SHERMAN, March 15, 1872:

I have listened with patience, day by day, to the statements of gentlemen who are interested in our domestic productions. I am a firm believer in the general idea of protecting their industries, but I assure them, as I assure their representatives here, that if the present high rates of duty, unexampled in our country, and higher by nearly 50 per cent. than they were in 1861, are maintained on *metallic and textile fabrics after we have repealed the very internal taxes which gave rise to them, and after we have substantially given them their raw materials free of duties*, we shall have a feeling of dissatisfaction among other interests in the country that will overthrow the whole system, and do greater harm than can possibly be done by a moderate reduction of the present rates of duty.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1868:

It is due to the labor of the nation that *taxation should be equalized and reduced* as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1884:

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus.

Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, March 24, 1870:

The tariff of 1846, although confessedly and professedly a tariff for revenue, was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any that we have ever had.

But I may be asked how this reduction shall be made. I think it should be made upon all leading articles, or nearly all, and for that purpose, when I can get an opportunity in the House, if no gentleman does before me, I shall move that the pending bill be recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to report a reduction upon existing rates of duty equivalent to 20 per cent. upon the existing rates, or one-fifth reduction. Even this will not be a full equivalent for the removal of all the internal taxes upon manufactures.

Justice MILLER, of the United States Supreme Court, in Loan Association vs Topeka. 20 Wallace.

To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree

under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation. A "tax," says Webster's Dictionary, "is a rate or sum of money assessed on the person or property of a citizen by Government for the use of the nation or State." Taxes are burdens or charges imposed by the Legislature upon persons or property to raise money for public purposes.

We have established, we think, beyond cavil that there can be no lawful tax which is not laid for a public purpose.

If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the inn-keeper, the banker, the builder, the steamboat owner, are equally promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town.

CHARLES J. FOLGER, Secretary of the Treasury, Annual Report, 1882:

All agree that a revision of the tariff is necessary. The action of Congress in creating a commission for that purpose renders discussion on that point unnecessary. * * * The Secretary earnestly recommends a careful revision of the tariff, with a view to substantial reductions.

Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, March 24, 1870:

The agricultural interest, it will be seen, is much the largest interest in its aggregate product as well as in the number of persons employed. I believe no one will claim that this large interest is directly protected. It is true that under customs laws there is a small duty upon wheat, barley, oats, and other agricultural products, but it does not afford any protection to the great wheat and grain producing regions of the country. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Wilson], in discussing this question stated that the cost of wheat in New England is about $1.70 per bushel, while in Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin the price is about 65 cents per bushel. The Canadian wheat is the only wheat that comes in competition with our own. Canada being nearer New England than the wheat-growing States more than makes up the duty in the reduced cost of transportation.

What is true of wheat is equally true of other grains. Therefore the farmer has practically no protection at all, and whatever benefit he derives is from what the home market furnishes for home products. Unfortunately for the farmer, the market price of wheat is fixed by the price which the surplus will bring abroad, or the price of wheat in London or Liverpool. *At that market, where the surplus is sold, and which fixes the value of the whole crop, he comes in competition with the grain produced in the Crimea, in Hungary, and in the region of the Baltic, from fields cultivated by what is known, in comparison with our own, as pauper labor.*

But I am told we must so legislate as to furnish a home market for all our agricultural products, and this can only be done by high tariff. Any one examining the subject will see that our agricultural products increase more rapidly than our population, so that if we do not export these products in their natural condition, we must do so by converting them into manufactured articles and export these articles. *But this cannot be done under a high tariff, for all nations will buy manufactured products where they are the cheapest, and the nation selling the cheapest will control the market. This rule excludes our highly-taxed manufactures made from highly-taxed materials from the markets of the world, although we have natural advantages possessed by no other nation.*

CHARLES J. FOLGER, Secretary of the Treasury, Annual Report, 1883:

In the recommendations of the President and those of this department, and the action of Congress, and in the expression of public opinion, there has been substantial accord as to how the needed reduction of the revenue should be brought about. It has been generally conceded that the internal revenue taxes, except those upon spirits, fermented liquors, and upon the circulation of banks, might well be abolished. There has been difference whether the tax upon tobacco should be abolished or modified. There were but few advocates of the immediate total abolition of taxes upon spirits or fermented liquors. My last report said that taxes upon spirits and tobacco, being upon things not needful, should be retained rather than

those upon the common necessaries of life; which, as a proposition, is not to controverted. *But it was conceded by all that a substantial reduction should be m upon nearly all imported articles subjected to duties.*

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Massachusetts, September, 1884:

Grave public questions confront us. *There is a large, perilous and growing s plus in the revenues. It must be removed, not by needless and extravagant expenditur* not by abolishing the proper taxation of whisky and tobacco, not by a stupid a injurious and horizontal reduction for politics only, but by plain business metho by freeing entirely those great necessaries of life which enter into the daily co sumption of every household, and by wise and discriminate reductions.

JOHN D. LONG, of Massachusetts, September, 1884:

There are only two ways to reduce the tariff. One by raising the tariff to a prohibitory height, which nobody advocates; the other, the free-list. *The free list is the honest revenue reformer's hope.*

HENRY WILSON, late Vice President:

Men who have looked with hungry eye upon a Treasury overflowing with surplus millions do not wish to see the source from which those coveted millions are derived dried up. Now, as in times past, political ambition is not unwilling to sacrifice the business interests of the country in the hope to win political power. * * * *I think American labor will be best protected by taxing all the necessaries of life lightly; placing the raw materials which enter into our manufactures on the free-list;* raising revenue to support the Government upon articles that come in competition with our manufactures and upon the luxuries of life, which are consumed by the more wealthy classes of society.

OLIVER P. MORTON, of Indiana, April 30, 1872:

Now, I wish to say to the Senate that I am strongly convinced that we should go further, and reduce the tariff in material respects upon many other articles. * * * The country expects a large reduction, the country knows that it can be made, the country has been promised this reduction, and the dominant party here is responsible to the country for this reduction, and will be held responsible if it is not made.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, April 1, 1870:

We have seen that one extreme school of economists would place the price of all manufactured articles in the hands of foreign producers by rendering it impossible for our manufacturers to compete with them: while the other extreme school, by making it impossible for the foreigner to sell his competing wares in our market, would give the people no immediate check upon the prices which our manufacturers might fix for their products. I disagree with both these extremes.

I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufacturers can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of the trade, and regulate the prices as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. *If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily we shall year by year approach more nearly to the basis of* FREE TRADE *because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade.*

Mr. Chairman, examining the possibilities of the situation, I believe the true course for the friends of protection to pursue is to reduce the rates on imports wherever we can justly and safely do so, and accepting neither of the extreme doctrines urged on this floor, endeavor to establish a stable policy that will commend itself to all patriotic and thoughtful people.

Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, March 25, 1870:

This large internal revenue tax was made the excuse and the cause of the advance of the tariff of July 14, 1862, and June 30, 1864. I quoted the language yesterday of the then chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in 1862, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, himself a protectionist, and certainly in favor of the protection

of the great interest of Pennsylvania, iron He made a pledge upon this floor in 1862 that those additions of duties upon manufactured articles imported in this country were made necessary because of the internal revenue taxes. Both he and Mr. Morrill, subsequently chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, declared that the act of June 30, 1864, *was a temporary measure, a war measure, and was not intended as a measure which should remain upon the statute-book as a* PROTECTIVE TARIFF *in the time of peace.*

WILLIAM M. EVARTS, Secretary of State, May 17, 1879:

The average American workman performs from one and one-half to twice as much work in a given time as the average European workman. This is so important a point in connection with our ability to compete with the cheap labor manufactures of Europe, and it seems at first thought so strange that I will trouble you with somewhat lengthy quotations from the reports in support thereof.

For the first time our manufactures are now assuming international proportions. At a time of universal depression we have met those nations which held a monopoly of the world's markets, met them in their strongholds. Within the last fifteen years we have demonstrated our ability by the brilliant development of our own resources to exclude by honest competition foreign manufactures to a large extent from our shores.

The question which now peremptorily challenges all thinking minds is how to create a foreign demand for these manufactures which are left after supplying our home demands. We can not stand still, for the momentum of increase will soon become so great that it will push us outward anyway; to push us safely and profitably is of so much importance as to almost overtop all other public questions of the hour. This question appeals equally to the selfishness and patriotism of all citizens, but to the laborer it appeals with tenfold force, for without work he can not live, and unless we can extend the markets for our manufactures he can not expect steady work; and unless our manufactures can undersell foreign manufactures we can not enlarge our foreign markets.

The first great truth to be learned by the manufacturers and workingmen is that the days of sudden fortunes and double wages are gone. We must realize the fact that ocean steam communication has annihilated distance and brought the nations face to face. *This drawing together of the nations means equalization in trade, profits, wages, etc., the advantage being with those who soonest accept the situation. In the near future the workingman of New York can not expect twice or thrice the wages of his fellow-workingman in Europe while all other things—food, rent, clothing, etc.—are on an equality.*

Under no consideration must we have strikes; under no consideration must our factories lie idle. If our manufacturers can not run their establishments profitably—and capital will no more remain permanently invested unprofitably than will labor work for nothing—and pay the prevailing wages, our working people must help them to make profit by consenting to a reduction of wages!

JAMES A. GARFIELD, July 13, 1868:

Unless the tariff men take heed, unless they consent to a rational and considerate adjustment of the tariff such as only can be made by the full light that a careful statistical study of the subject will bring, I fear from them, more than from any other source, a reaction which will bring us by and by into free trade and all its consequences of evil to the manufacturing interests of the country.

I desire to say that, in my judgment, it is not the best mode of defending a tariff to denounce every man who does not pronounce the shibboleth after our fashion as an enemy of the tariff.

Representative JOHN H. GEAR, of Iowa, January 16, 1880:

To a State whose products are in the main agricultural, as are those of Iowa, anything which enhances the cost of railways, thereby even incidentally in the least degree increasing the expense of the transportation of her products to the seaboard, which is her great market, is a question of great interest to all. In view of their greater strength and durability, which lessened the cost of replacement, all

the great trunk railway lines of the country are adopting Bessemer steel rails. The manufacturers of this class of rails in the United States are controlled by a combination of not exceeding, I think, ten firms in number.

This combination is protected by a high and specific tariff, which prevents the importation of foreign rails to any extent, thereby increasing the cost of the railways of the country. Without discussing the tariff question in all its bearings, it may well be considered whether it is wise legislation, by a tariff exceptional in its character, to put immense profits into the pockets of a monopoly composed of but few persons at the expense, indirectly, not only of Iowa farmers, but of the whole West. It would, therefore, be well to instruct our Senators and Representatives in Congress to examine into this subject with a view to removing by Congressional legislation any discriminations which may be found to exist in the tariff on steel rails against the interests of Iowa producers.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, March 10, 1871:

I was surprised at a remark of the distinguished gentleman from Michigan. He asserted that there is no item in the whole tariff that can stand alone on its own merits, but that all must be taken in a lump in order to stand. That coal must take salt by the hand, and they, too, must take something else by the hand; and thus all interests unite with all forces before they can make a stand before the country. *If this remark be true it strikes a blow at the whole tariff system, a blow I am not willing to strike. I am unwilling to admit that bad taxes must be tied to good ones and thus be kept afloat. I think it unwise to continue this duty on coal, and I am therefore in favor of its repeal.*

Representative NELSON, of Minnesota, March 29, 1888:

In the face of these platform pledges; in the face of these admissions from unwilling witnesses; in the face of the large, ever-growing and threatening surplus, taken from the people by taxation and used by certain banks without any consideration therefor; and in the face of the fact that so many of the barest necessaries of life are loaded down with the highest kind of tariff taxes, it makes me sick at heart to think that there are leading men on this side of the Chamber who can find at this juncture, and under these circumstances, no other field for tax reduction than the internal revenue taxes on spirits and tobacco. Surely these things are not the diet on which the poor laboring man keeps his family.

Worthier, better, and juster, it seems to my mind, would it be to give our people—the toiling masses—cheaper food, cheaper fuel, cheaper clothing, and cheaper shelter—cheaper because released from the heavy and unnecessary bondage of high tariff taxes. I will put free sugar, free coal, free salt, and free lumber against free whisky and free tobacco under all circumstances, and so will the great mass of the American people.

Senator JOHN SHERMAN, January, 1888:

The tariff ought to be carefully revised with a view to correct any inequalities or incongruities that have grown out of the change of values since the passage of the act of 1883; every imported article which does not compete with our domestic industry and is essential to the comfort and wants of our people should be placed on the free list; every raw material of industry which does not compete with our own productions should be specially selected for the free list.

Representative FITCH, of New York, May 16, 1888:

In the interest of the Republican party, and in the interest of common fairness, I propose to ask gentlemen on this side of the House to consider for a moment how the present tariff, which we have promised to revise, now affects the people whom I have described, and to consider what they pay taxes on in the general distribution of the customs taxes now in force.

They pay upon everything. Look for a moment at what they eat. There is a tariff duty on beef, on pork, hams and bacon, butter and lard, cheese, molasses, grapes, wheat flour, oats, corn meal, rye, barley, potatoes, raisins, vinegar, honey, rice and rice meal, sugar, extract of meat, pickles, currants, apples, salt and condensed milk. The list is substantially an inventory of the stock of the grocery store at

which they buy. There is a duty on the coal which warms them, on their cooking and household utensils, on their entire clothing from their hats to their stockings, on the medicines given them when they are sick, and on the roofs over their heads.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, May 18, 1872:

And I know, moreover, that for nearly two years the wholesale price of American salt in Toronto, Canada, was a dollar lower per barrel than the same salt was selling for on the New York side of the lake. That is, we produced it, shipped it across, paying whatever portage, freights, and transportation were required, and then sold it to our Canadian neighbors at a dollar per barrel less than it was sold to people on our shores. Certainly, gentlemen will not want a duty continued that enables that thing to be done.

Senator HENRY L. DAWES, of Massachusetts, June 29, 1866:

The duty must be levied on the raw material or on the manufactured article. If you levy it on the raw material you discriminate against American labor, and if you levy it on the manufactured article you discriminate in favor of American labor. You must have either a protective tariff or a tariff which discriminates against American labor.

JOHN SHERMAN, 1872:

It must be remembered that the present duties, taken together, are far in excess of what they were before the war, and that they have been three times largely increased since the passage of the Morrill tariff act of 1861. * * * *Such excessive protection not only ceases to diversify production, but forces labor into protected employments. If the present rates of duty were high enough during and since the war, when home industry was burdened with heavy internal taxes—with stamp duties, income taxes, and high rates on raw materials—then surely they are now too high when all these taxes are removed.*

HUGH MCCULLOCH, Ex-Secretary of the Treasury, December, 1887:

In the main I agree with those views. I am very glad to see Mr. Cleveland insist with such emphasis upon putting the issue squarely before the people. His action, under the circumstances, marks him as a man whose ability has been greatly underestimated. There is no question over which the general government has jurisdiction that is of such vital importance as the financial policy which we are to pursue. Mr. Cleveland has marked out a course which can safely be followed.

Governor MCGILL, of Minnesota, December, 1887:

The people of the Northwest are naturally tariff reformers. Democrats and Republicans find no difference on this material issue. The result is that I am glad to see the President take such a radical position on the question. I am sure it will meet with general approval all over the Northwest.

REPUBLICANS VOTE FOR FREE COAL JUNE 6, 1870.—Mr. WARD submitted the following:

Resolved, That the Committee of Ways and Means is hereby instructed at the earliest moment practicable to report a bill to this House to abolish the tariff on coal so as to secure that important article of fuel to the people free from all taxes.

Ayes—Allison, Cullom, Dawes, Hale, Hawley, Logan.

HORATIO C. BURCHARD, of Illinois, March 24, 1870:

If a duty averaging nearly 100 per cent. on the cost of the foreign article is necessary to maintain this branch of industry (salt), we may well consider if it were not better to abandon it.

The business under a tariff of 15 per cent. from 1857 to 1861 seems to have been flourishing. Does it require more protection as the business becomes established?

But the chief objection to the duty on salt is that, of the $3,000,000 paid for revenue and protection, the greater part is paid by sections of the country and industries that receive no corresponding benefits.

The chief consumption of salt is by those engaged in fisheries, and in raising and curing beef and pork.

It affects the farmer doubly; as a consumer, for personal use, he pays his equal share of as much of the tax as falls upon commodities, and as a producer it increases the first cost of the exportable products of his farm.

Senator TRUMBULL's amendment to Tariff Bill, March 26th, 1872:

"And that from and after the passage of this act salt shall be placed on the free list, and no further import duties shall be collected on the same."

Yeas—Blair, Hamlin, Logan, Sumner and Windom.

Mr. ALLISON in Congress, March 24, 1870:

I will say with regard to the duty on wool and woolens, that I regard it not as an intentional fraud, *but as operating as though it were a fraud upon the great body of the people of the United States. I allude to the woolen tariff, a law, the effect of which has been to materially injure the sheep husbandry of this country.* In a single county in the State of Iowa, between 1867 and 1869, the number of sheep was reduced from 22,000 to about 18,000 in two years, and what is true of this county is true to a greater or less extent of other counties in Iowa, *and during this time the price of wool has been constantly depreciated.*

Mr. Lawrence.—I should like the gentleman to inform me how a reduction of the duties on wool and woolen goods would inure to the advantage of the wool grower?

Mr. Allison.—I will tell the gentleman how, in my judgment, the wool grower will be benefited. As the law now is the tariff upon fine wools of a character not produced in this country is 100 per cent. upon their cost. The tariff upon woolens of the same class is only about 50 per cent., so that the finer woolen goods are imported, and not the coarser fabrics. *Before the tariff of 1867 our manufacturers of fine goods, mixed foreign fine wools, with our domestic product, and were thus able to compete successfully with the foreign manufacturer of similar wools. But being prohibited from importing this class of wools, these fine goods cannot now be produced in this country as cheaply as they can be imported. Consequently, mills that were formerly engaged in producing these goods have compelled to abandon business or manufacture the coarser fabrics.* If they could afford to manufacture those fine goods, they would make a market which we do not now have, for our fine wools to be mixed with other fine wools of a different character from abroad. *This want of a market, as I understand it, is the reason why our fine wools now command so low a price.* There is no demand for them at home, and we cannot export them in competition with fine wools grown in other countries.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR's Letter of Acceptance, 1880:

Such changes should be made in the present tariff system of taxation as shall relieve every burdened industry and enable our artisans and manufacturers to compete successfully with those of other lands.

HENRY WILSON, in the Senate, 1857.

The manufacturers, Mr. Chairman, make no war upon the wool growers. They assume that the reduction of the duty on wool, or repeal of the duty altogether, will infuse vigor into that drooping interest, stimulate home production and diminish the importation of foreign woolen manufactures and afford a steady and increasing demand for American wool. They believe this policy will be more beneficial to the wool growers, to the agricultural interests than the present policy. The manufacturers of woolen fabrics, many of them men of large experience and extensive knowledge, entertain these views, and they are sustained in these opinions by the experience of the great manufacturing nations of the Old World.

Since the reductions of duties on raw materials in England, since wool was admitted free, her woolen manufactures have so increased, so prospered, that the production of native wool has increased more than 100 per cent. The experience of England, France and Belgium demonstrate the wisdom of that policy which makes the raw material duty free. Let us profit by their example. If our manufactures are to increase, to keep pace with the population and the growing wants of our people; if we are to have the control of the markets of our own country; if we are to meet with and compete with the manufacturers of England and other nations of

Western Europe in the markets of the world, we must have our raw materials admitted duty free or at a mere nominal rate. We of New England believe that wool, especially the cheap wools, manilla, hemp, flax, raw silk, lead, tin, brass, hides, linseed, and many other articles used in our manufactories can be admitted duty free, or for a mere nominal duty, without injuring to any extent any considerable interest of the country.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, the remarks I have felt it my duty to submit to the Senate and the country, that the Commonwealth I represent on this floor—I say in dart, for my colleague, Mr. Sumner, after an enforced absence of more than nine months, is here to-night to give his vote, if he can raise his voice, for the interest of his State—has a deep interest in the modification of the tariff of 1846 by this Congress. Her merchants, manufacturers, mechanics and business men, in all departments of a varied industry, want action now before the Thirty-fourth Congress passes away. They are for the reduction of the revenue to the actual wants of an economical administration of the government; for the depletion of the Treasury, now full with millions of hoarded gold; for a free list, embracing articles of prime necessity we do not produce; for mere nominal duties on articles which make up a large portion of our domestic industry, and for such an adjustment of the duties on the productions of other nations that come in direct competition with the product of American capital, labor and skill as shall impose the least burdens on that capital, labor and skill.

Senator SHERMAN, March 22, 1872:

I beg Senators who are casting votes to remember the result of those votes. We have now by the vote of the Senate thrown off a revenue amounting to about $17,000,000. *We have left untouched all the high taxes of the tariff unabated and undiminished. These taxes are higher than they ever were before in the history of this country, or any other country in the world.* Those taxes are retained at war rates. Let me remind Senators that four times during the war we increased the tariff rates, once by fifty per cent. throughout. The rates at the beginning of the war, in 1861, were fixed by the Morrill tariff bill, and that was regarded as a protective tariff; it was passed by the friends of protection, and gave all the protection that was claimed by the friends of protection to American industry. *It is what is commonly denominated a protective tariff. The rates prescribed by that tariff were four times increased during the war; once by a single blow fifty per cent. was added to the rates.* They have never been diminished except here and there on casual articles, and two years ago we took off about one-third of the duty on tea and coffee and added a few articles to the free list. *All the other war duties remain.*

In the SENATE, April 23, 1872:

On Senator Lyman Trumbull's amendment to place salt and coal on the free list, Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, said:

On this question I am paired with the Senator from Vermont. I understand that the Senator is in favor of free coal, and I am against free salt. (Laughter.)

The Vice-President—The Senator from Vermont?

Mr. Morrill, of Vermont—Yes, sir; myself. (Laughter.)

And then the vote was taken and Mr. Morrill recorded as absent. Among those voting for the amendment were Senators Hamlin, Logan and Windom.

HOUSE JOURNAL, February 19, 1872:

On motion of Mr. Hale to suspend the rules and instruct the Committee of Ways and Means to report a bill placing coal and salt on the free list, the following voted in the affirmative: Hale, Hawley and Wm. A. Wheeler.

Senator JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, August 4, 1882:

I will not vote for the entire abolition of direct taxation, nor can the gentleman find a wise government or a wise head of finance in any foreign country that is in favor of taking all duties from whiskey and tobacco. They are the legitimate plunder of the tax collector, the legitimate plunder of the exchequer in every government of the world. They all get a large part of their revenues from them.

HOUSE JOURNAL, June 27, 1870. Mr. REEVES introduced the following resolution:

Whereas, Salt is an article of prime necessity and universal consumption, which, proportionally to numbers, forms a larger item in the domestic economy of families of small or moderate means than it does in those of the wealthier classes, and ought, therefore, at all times to be lightly taxed, as is consistent with a due regard to the revenues needed for an economical administration of the government, and, whereas, in any genuine and well-considered scheme of revenue reform, duties which tend directly and largely to augment the cost of such a commodity as salt should be reduced in preference to others which bear less heavily upon the resources of the great body of the people; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee of Ways and Means is hereby directed and instructed to report to this House forthwith a bill reducing the present duties on all classes of salt 50 per cent.

Voting for this resolution were Dawes and Hoar, of Massachusetts; Kelley, of Pennsylvania; Schenck, of Ohio, and Wheeler, of New York.

Representative JOHN A. KASSON, of Iowa, July, 1866:

And now what does this bill do? It raises the tariff on lumber, which is so necessary to the Western prairie farmer; on nails, without which he can not drive his boards on his house or build his fence; and on salt, without which he cannot preserve his beef and pork. There is hardly a thing we consume which this bill forgets to raise the duty upon. *Every prominent necessity of life, food, fuel, shelter and clothing, is embraced and made more expensive to the consumer, throughout the country.* Even on boys' pocket-knives the duty is increased about three times, 600 per cent., and yet it is said this is a tariff for mere protection.

Senator JAMES W. GRIMES, of Iowa, Jan. 24, 1867:

Mr. President, the man who opposes the passage of this bill must expect to be slandered. The "protectionists," as they choose to call themselves, have already opened the vials of their indignant wrath upon the heads of those whose opposition they anticipated. Threats of utter political extinction are hurled against every man who, in the exercise of an independent judgment, is not prepared to impose upon his constituents the burdens which the various manufacturing combinations demand. That portion of the public press suborned to their interests is rife with charges that "the Capital is thronged with free-traders, and that British gold is operating to secure American legislation for British interests." Every man is condemned in advance who would inquire before he would vote.

We know what all this means, and so far as I have the ability, I am resolved that the people shall know what it means.

It means that two or three large manufacturing interests in the country, not satisfied with the enormous profits they have realized during the last six years, are determined at whatever hazard to put more money in their pockets; and to this end they have persuaded some and coerced other manufacturing interests to unite with them in a great combination demand for what they call protection to American labor, but what some others call robbery of the American laborer and agriculturist.

It is the fashion to denounce every man who does not favor a prohibitory tariff as a free trader. The charge is made that free trade agents are at work to influence Congress, and that our tables are incumbered with free trade documents. Who has seen these free trade agents? I have yet to see the first man who was in favor of free trade, nor have I seen any man who was opposed to a revenue tariff which would incidentally protect such branches of American industry as needed the fostering aid of the Government. It is on questions of detail that we differ. We disagree as to how much money shall be taken from the pocket of Peter to support and enrich his brother Paul.

JOHN A. LOGAN, in the House, April 18, 1870.

Now when the gentleman, who seems to be the protector to an especial manner of the great labor interests of the country, speaks of this protection being the protection of the labor of this country, I ask him: does not every farmer and mechanic

in this broad land make use of iron in all kinds of labor? The 4,000,000 men that have been freed recently are laborers, are producers, not manufacturers. They are not men of skilled labor; they evidently are not the men who are protected. *And then there are the men in the Northwest who produce corn, wheat, oats, pork and beans, &c.; they are producers and consumers, and are not protected; and it is they who pay this large amount of money into the pockets of the manufacturers of this article.* And when a gentleman stands upon this floor and tells me that this high, this extraordinarily high tariff is for the protection of the laboring men of this country who are not skilled laborers, I tell him I do not understand how he can possibly substantiate such a theory.

The late EMORY A. STORRS, of Chicago:

Finally, what is a tariff? It is a tax. It is nothing less and nothing but a tax. It is a tax which we do not pay to the Government; for where protection begins revenue ceases. The consumer is impoverished, the Government is not aided.

Judge THOMAS M. COOLEY, of Michigan, in "*Constitutional Limitations*:"

Constitutionally a tax can have no other basis than the raising of revenues for public purposes, and whatever governmental exaction has not this basis is tyrannical and unlawful. A tax on imports, therefore, the purpose of which is not to raise revenue, but to discourage and indirectly prohibit some particular import for the benefit of some home manufacturer, may well be questioned as being merely colorable, and, therefore, not warranted by constitutional principles.

Representative BENJ. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio:

Every nation that is worthy the name is seeking to enlarge the area of its trade and commerce, to enlarge the opportunity to buy and find new markets in which to sell.

Senator JUSTIN S. MORRILL, of Vermont:

The tariff was intended to be revised, so that there should be some reduction in the cost of living. It was obvious from the first that woolens and wools would have to submit to their fair, equitable, and just share.

LEVI P. MORTON, April 5, 1880:

Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois, moved to discharge the Ways and Means Committee from further consideration of House Bill, No. 5265, and that the same be passed. The bill was as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That sections 2503, 2504 and 2505, of Title 33, of the Revised Statutes of the United States be revised and amended so that the duty on salt, printing-type, printing-paper and the chemicals and materials used in the manufacture of printing-paper, be repealed, and that said articles be placed on the free-list.

The result was ayes 112, nays 80; not voting 100. Among those recorded as voting aye is LEVI P. MORTON, of New York.

REPORT OF THE TARIFF COMMISSION, 1882:

The Commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded, not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for the preservation of our national industrial defences. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the Commission regards not only as a due recognition of public sentiment and a measure of justice to consumers, but one conducive to the general prosperity, and which, though it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction. * * * Excessive duties, or those above such standard of equalization, are positively injurious to the interest which they are supposed to benefit. * * * And in the mechanical and manufacturing industries, especially those which have been long established, it would seem that the improvements in machinery and processes made within the last twenty years, and the high scale of productiveness which has become a characteristic of their establishments, would

permit our manufacturers to compete with their foreign rivals under a substantial reduction of existing duties. * * * The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free list and the abolition of the duties on charges and commissions, at which the Commission has aimed is not less on the average than 20 per cent., and it is the opinion of the Commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent.

JOHN B. HAY, of Illinois, March 14, 1870:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this House that our present system of taxation is exorbitant and needlessly burdensome, and that a reduction of taxation is demanded, both of tariff and internal taxes, to the lowest amount consistent with raising revenue sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government, to discharge the interest of the national debt, and to maintain the national credit; and that a tariff for revenue with duties properly adjusted must necessarily afford all the advantage to which any interest is entitled.

March 14, 1870, S. S. MARSHALL submitted the following:

Resolved, That the present depressed condition of the business and the various industrial interests of the country demand of Congress prompt action in relieving the people of all burdens of taxation not absolutely necessary to provide for the wants of the Government economically administered; and that in reforming existing tariff laws legislation should be based upon these principles:

First, That no duty should be imposed on any article above the lowest rate which will yield the largest amount of revenue;

That the maximum revenue duty should be imposed on luxuries, etc.

On a motion to lay this motion on the table Garfield, Hale, Hawley and Allison voted in the negative.

Senator P. B. PLUMB, of Kansas, Jan. 17, 1883:

I do not ask that any duty shall be increased. No one raising anything within the State of Kansas and no manufacturer in that State asks for an increase of duty on anything. We do ask that a ring—if I may use that expression without offence—a collection and combination of interests located upon the eastern frontier of this country, near to the seat and source of power, easily accessible to tariff commissions and easy to get their ears, shall not have their own way about everything of this kind, entirely irrespective of the sections of this country remote from the seat and sources of power.

Mr. President, some of us has got to be consulted before this bill finally passes, and some of us will be consulted after the bill has passed in regard to the reasons for the action or non-action taken. I say now to the persons who have the run of this thing, to those who have had control and are better posted, and have been able by arts and by various processes to do those things which were not thoroughly understood—I beg of them to consider that the people are watching this proceeding and that they want no higher taxes, but lower taxes, and that in giving the protection for American industry they want to give a decent chance to a class of people who, by reason of their calling, cannot be protected at all, but who have got to take their chances in the markets of the world for their products, hard products to raise, expensive products to get to market, and in the production of which there is the smallest margin of profit.

I was talking with a farmer from Massachusetts to-day about this thing. He said he had as good a farm as there was in the old Bay State, and yet he said that he could barely make both ends meet, and he complained to me that one of the reasons why he could not do so was because everything else that surrounded him *was so much protected that it simply took the difference between profit and loss in his calling and left him a very slim chance indeed from year to year.*

In 1867 JOHN SHERMAN said:

It is, therefore, simply an absurdity to talk now about free trade tariff, and to talk about a protective tariff is unnecessary, because the wit of man could not possibly frame a tariff that would produce one hundred and forty million dollars in gold without amply protecting our domestic industry.

Senator JOHN SHERMAN, 1882:

These taxes ought to be left as a part of our permanent system of taxation as long as any other taxes, internal or external, more oppressive, remain on the statute-books.

I do not hesitate to say that there is a general desire among all classes of our people, without regard to party, that the remnants of the internal system shall be swept away, except on whiskey, tobacco, and beer.

This tobacco tax, of all others, is the easiest collected, the most certain, increasing constantly from year to year, dependent upon an appetite that will be indulged no matter what may be the tax; a tax that has been more stable than any other. No amount of tax likely to be put upon tobacco will prevent its being chewed and smoked and snuffed. In all other countries where taxation prevails this is a favorite subject of taxation. * * * I say the tax on tobacco does not diminish the price to the farmer who raises it. And I say we are throwing off a tax, which, by the judgment of all nations, is the best source of taxation.

In 1867 JOHN SHERMAN said:

The luxuries are mostly contained in the items spirits, wines, and tobacco These are undoubtedly the first objects that should be taxed.

And in 1870 JOHN SHERMAN said:

And these two taxes on spirits and tobacco, together with the tax on fermented liquors, over $6,000,000, are paid without complaint in every part of the United States.

On March 16, 1871, Mr. BLAINE said on the floor of the House to B. F. Butler: "I was in favor of the repeal of the coal tariff and the gentleman was not."

Maine delegation solid.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, July 6, 1866:

* * * * "But I would like the attention of the gentleman for one moment. I recollect to have seen a man attempting to bail out a boat that had no bottom to it; and for every pail full he poured out of the boat of course another pail full came right into the boat again. Now when people propose to protect the production of an article by putting the duty upon it so high as to crush out its use in other manufactures, they are but pouring the water out of the boat to come right in again."

JUSTIN S. MORRILL, May 8, 1860:

There are no duties proposed on any article for the simple purpose of protection alone. The highest duties in the bill are proposed for the purpose of revenue The manufacturers might get along with lower duties, but we require the revenue

JUSTIN S. MORRILL, July 17, 1861:

I believe that the duties on most articles are put too high.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL, June 2, 1864:

Reporting a bill—

This is intended as a WAR MEASURE, A TEMPORARY MEASURE, and we must as such give it our support.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

In making an estimate of the effect of such a WAR tariff as is now proposed, it is important that we should bear in mind that as we increase the tax on any article we diminish the number of those who will be able to consume it.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PRESIDENTS ON THE TARIFF.*

EXTRACTS FROM ANNUAL AND SPECIAL MESSAGES, SHOWING THE OPINIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN HELD ON THIS QUESTION.

WASHINGTON'S EIGHTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 7, 1796.

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on the public account are inexpedient; but where the state of things in a country leaves little hope that certain branches of manufacture will, for a great length of time, obtain, when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war, are not establishments for procuring them on public account, to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service, recommended by strong considerations of national policy as an exception to the general rule? * * * * * * *

JOHN ADAMS'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, NOVEMBER 23, 1797.

The commerce of the United States is essential, if not to their existence at least to their comfort, their growth, prosperity, and happiness.

The genius, character, and habits of the people are highly commercial. Their cities have been formed and exist upon commerce. Our agriculture, fisheries, arts, and manufactures are connected with and depend upon it. In short, commerce has made this country what it is, and it cannot be destroyed or neglected without involving the people in poverty and distress. Great numbers are directly and solely supported by navigation.

The faith of society is pledged for the preservation of the rights of commercial and seafaring, no less than of the other citizens.

JEFFERSON'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 8, 1801.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are the most thriving when left most free to individual enterprise. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be reasonably interposed. If, in the course of your observations or inquiries, they should appear to need any aid within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance they will occupy your attention.

JEFFERSON'S EIGHTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, NOVEMBER 8, 1808.

The suspension of our foreign commerce, produced by the injustice of the belligerent powers, and the consequent losses and sacrifices of our citizens, are subjects of just concern. The situation into which we have thus been forced has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this conversion is daily increasing, and

*Copied by permission from "Tariff in the White House," by Henry Talbott, clerk of the Ways and Means Committee, and published at Washington by the compiler.

little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming will, under the auspices of cheaper materials and subsistence, the freedom of labor from taxation with us, and of protecting duties and prohibitions, become permanent.

MADISON'S SEVENTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 5, 1815.

Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress and exhibited an efficiency which justify the belief that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it will become at an early day not only safe against occasional competitions from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth and even of external commerce. In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures for articles necessary for the public defence, or connected with the primary wants of individuals. It will be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures where the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture, and consequently impart and insure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded.

MONROE'S SPECIAL MESSAGE, MAY 4, 1822.

Duties and imposts have always been light, not greater, perhaps, than would have been imposed for the encouragement of our manufactures, had there been no occasion for the revenue arising from them, and taxes and excises have never been laid except in cases of necessity, and repealed as soon as the necessity ceased. * * *

It is natural in so great a variety of climate that there should be a corresponding difference in the produce of the soil; that one part should raise what the other might want. It is equally natural that the pursuits of industry should vary in like manner; that labor should be cheaper, and manufactures succeed better in one part than in another. That where the climate was most severe and the soil less productive, navigation, the fisheries, and commerce should be most relied on. Hence the motive for an exchange for mutual accommodation and active intercourse between them. Each part would thus find for the surplus of its labor, in whatever article it consisted, an extensive market at home, which would be the most profitable because free from duty.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 2, 1828.

In our country a uniform experience of forty years has shown that whatever the tariff of duties upon articles imported from abroad has been, the amount of importations has always borne an average value nearly approaching to that of the exports, though occasionally differing in the balance, sometimes being more and sometimes less. It is, indeed, a general law of prosperous commerce that the real value of exports should, by a small, and only a small balance, exceed that of imports, that balance being a permanent addition to the wealth of the nation. The extent of the prosperous commerce of the nation must be regulated by the amount of its exports; and an important addition to the value of these will draw after it a corresponding increase of importations.

JACKSON'S MAYSVILLE ROAD VETO, MAY 27, 1830.

Many of the taxes collected from our citizens, through the medium of imposts, have for a considerable period been onerous. In many particulars these taxes have borne severely upon the laboring and less prosperous classes of the community, being imposed on the necessaries of life, and this, too, in cases where the burden was not relieved by the consciousness that it would ultimately contribute to make us independent of foreign nations for articles of prime necessity, by the encouragement of their growth and manufacture at home. They have been cheerfully borne, because they were thought to be necessary to the support of Government and the payment of the debts unavoidably incurred in the acquisition and maintenance of our national rights and liberties. But have we a right to calculate on the same

cheerful acquiescence, when it is known that the necessity for their continuance would cease were it not for the irregular, improvident, and unequal appropriations of the public funds? Will not the people demand, as they have a right to do, such a prudent system of expenditure as will pay the debts of the Union, and authorize the reduction of every tax to as low a point as the wise observance of the necessity to protect that portion of our manufactures and labor whose prosperity is essential to our national safety and independence will allow?

As long as the encouragement of domestic manufactures is directed to national ends it shall receive from me a temperate but steady support. There is no necessary connection between it and the system of appropriations. On the contrary, it appears to me that the supposition of their dependence upon each other is calculated to excite the prejudices of the public against both. The former is sustained on the ground of its consistency with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, of its origin being traced to the assent of all the parties to the original compact, and of its having the support and approbation of a majority of the people, on which account it is at least entitled to a fair experiment.

JACKSON'S BANK VETO, JULY 10, 1832.

Most of the difficulties our Government now encounters, and most of the dangers which impend over our Union have sprung from an abandonment of the legitimate objects of government by our national legislation. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by acts of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires, we have, in the results of our legislation, arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the foundations of our Union. It is time to pause in our career, to review our principles, and, if possible, revive that devoted patriotism and spirit of compromise which distinguished the sages of the revolution and the fathers of our Union. If we cannot at once, in justice to interests vested under improvident legislation, make our Government what it ought to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, against any prostitution of our Government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many, and in favor of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy.

JACKSON'S FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 4, 1832.

If, upon investigation, it shall be found—as it is believed it will be—that the legislative protection granted to any particular interest is greater than is indispensably requisite for these objects, I recommend that it be gradually diminished, and that, as far as may be consistent with these objects, the whole scheme of duties be reduced to the revenue standard as soon as a just regard to the faith of the Government and to the preservation of the large capital invested in establishments of domestic industry will permit.

That manufactures, adequate to the supply of our domestic consumption, would, in the abstract, be beneficial to our country, there is no reason to doubt; and to effect their establishment there is, perhaps, no American citizen who would not, for a while, be willing to pay a higher price for them. But for this purpose, it is presumed that a tariff of high duties, designed for perpetual protection, has entered into the minds of but few of our statesmen. The most they have anticipated is a temporary and generally incidental protection, which they maintain has the effect to reduce the price, by domestic competition, below that of the foreign article.

JACKSON'S SIXTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 2, 1834.

Every diminution of the public burdens arising from taxation gives to individual enterprise increased power, and furnishes to all the members of our happy confederacy new motives for patriotic affection and support. But, above all, its most important effect will be found in its influence upon the character of the Government by confining its action to those objects which will be sure to secure to it the attachment and support of our fellow-citizens.

JACKSON'S EIGHTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 6, 1836.

In reducing the revenue to the wants of the Government, your particular attention is invited to those articles which constitute the necessaries of life. The duty on salt was laid as a war tax, and was no doubt continued to assist in providing for the payment of the war debt. There is no article the release of which from taxation would be felt so generally and so beneficially. To this may be added all kinds of fuel and provisions. Justice and benevolence unite in favor of releasing the poor of our cities from burdens which are not necessary to the support of our Government, and tend only to increase the wants of the destitute.

JACKSON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS, MARCH 3, 1837.

There is perhaps no one of the powers conferred on the Federal Government so liable to abuse as the taxing power. The most productive and convenient sources of revenue were necessarily given to it, that it might be able to perform the important duties imposed upon it; and the taxes which it lays upon commerce being concealed from the real payer in the price of the article, they do not so readily attract the attention of the people as smaller sums demanded from them directly by the tax-gatherer. But the tax imposed on goods enhances by so much the price of the commodity to the consumer, and as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity, which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money raised by these imposts is drawn from their pockets.

Congress has no right, under the Constitution, to take money from the people unless it is required to execute some one of the specific powers intrusted to the Government; and if they raise more than is necessary for such purposes it is an abuse of the power of taxation, and unjust and oppressive. It may, indeed, happen that the revenue will sometimes exceed the amount anticipated when the taxes were laid. When, however, this is ascertained, it is easy to reduce them; and in such a case it is unquestionably the duty of the Government to reduce them, for no circumstances can justify it in assuming a power not given to it by the Constitution, nor in taking away the money of the people when it is not needed for the legitimate wants of the Government. * * * * * * *

There is but one safe rule, and that is to confine the General Government rigidly within the sphere of its appropriate duties. It has no power to raise a revenue or impose taxes, except for the purposes enumerated in the Constitution, and if its income is found to exceed these wants, it should be forthwith reduced, and the burdens of the people so far lightened.

VAN BUREN'S SPECIAL MESSAGE, SEPTEMBER 4, 1838.

All communities are apt to look to Government for too much. Even in our own country, where its powers and duties are so strictly limited, we are prone to do so, especially at periods of sudden embarrassment and distress. But this ought not to be. The framers of our excellent Constitution, and the people who approved it with calm and sagacious deliberation, acted at the time on a sounder principle. They wisely judged that the less Government interferes with private pursuits the better for the general prosperity. It is not its legitimate object to make men rich, or to repair by direct grants of money or legislation in favor of particular pursuits losses not incurred in the public service. This would be substantially to use the property of some for the benefit of others. But its real duty—that duty the performance of which makes a good government the most precious of human blessings—is to enact and enforce a system of general laws commensurate with, but not exceeding, the objects of its establishment, and to leave every citizen and every interest to reap under its benign protection the reward of virtue, industry, and prudence.

TYLER'S FIRST TARIFF VETO MESSAGE, JUNE 29, 1842.

The manufacturing classes have now an opportunity, which may never occur again, of permanently identifying their interests with those of the whole country, and making them in the highest sense of the term a national concern. The moment is propitious to the interests of the whole country in the introduction of harmony

among all its parts and all its several interests. The same rate of imposts, and no more, as will most surely re-establish the public credit will secure to the manufacturer all the protection he ought to desire, with every prospect of permanence and stability which the hearty acquiescence of the whole country on a reasonable system can hold out to him.

TYLER'S SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 7, 1842.

Extravagant duties defeat their end and object, not only by exciting in the public mind an hostility to the manufacturing interests, but by inducing a system of smuggling on an extensive scale and the practice of every manner of fraud upon the revenue, which the utmost vigilance of Government cannot effectually suppress. An opposite course of policy would be attended by results essentially different, of which every interest of society, and none more than those of the manufacturer, would reap important advantages. Among the most striking of its benefits would be that derived from the general acquiescence of the country in its support and the consequent permanency and stability which would be given to all operations of industry.

TYLER'S FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 3, 1844.

This important power of taxation, which, when exercised in its most restricted form, is a burden on labor and production, is resorted to, under various pretexts, for purposes having no affinity to the motives which dictated its grant, and the extravagance of Government stimulates individual extravagance, until the spirit of a wild and ill-regulated speculation involves one and all in its unfortunate results. In view of such fatal consequences it may be laid down as an axiom founded in moral and political truth—that no greater taxes should be imposed than are necessary for an economical administration of the Government, and that whatever exists beyond should be reduced or modified. This doctrine does in no way conflict with the exercise of a sound discrimination in the selection of the articles to be taxed, which a due regard to the public weal would at all times suggest to the legislative mind.

POLK'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH, 4, 1845.

In executing this power by levying a tariff of duties for the support of Government, the raising of *revenue* should be the *object*, and *protection* the *incident*. To reverse this principle and make *protection* the *object* and *revenue* the *incident*, would be to inflict manifest injustice upon all other than the protected interests. In levying duties for revenue, it is doubtless proper to make such discriminations within the *revenue principles* as will afford incidental protection to our home interests. Within the revenue limit there is a discretion to discriminate; beyond that limit the rightful exercise of the power is not conceded. The incidental protection afforded to our home interests by discriminations within the revenue range, it is believed will be ample. In making discriminations all our home interests should, as far as practicable, be equally protected.

POLK'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 2, 1845.

In levying a tariff of duties, Congress exercises the taxing power, and for purposes of revenue may select the objects of taxation. They may exempt certain articles altogether and permit their importation free of duty. On others they may impose low duties. In these classes should be embraced such articles of necessity as are in general use, and especially such as are consumed by the laborer and poor as well as by the wealthy citizen. Care should be taken that all the great interests of the country, including manufactures, agriculture, commerce, navigation and the mechanic arts, should, as far as may be practicable, derive equal advantages from the incidental protection which a just system of revenue duties may afford. Taxation, direct or indirect, is a burden, and it should be so imposed as to operate as equally as may be on all classes in the proportion of their ability to bear it. To make the taxing power an actual benefit to one class necessarily increases the burden of the others beyond their proportion and would be manifestly unjust.

POLK'S THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 8, 1846.

The act of the 30th of July, 1846, "reducing the duties on imports," has been in force since the 1st of December last, and I am gratified to state that all the beneficial effects which were anticipated from its operation have been fully realized. The public revenue derived from customs during the year ending on the 1st of December, 1847, exceeds by more than eight millions of dollars the amount received in the preceding year under the operation of the act of 1842, which was superseded and repealed by it. Its effects are visible in the great and almost unexampled prosperity which prevails in every branch of business. While the repeal of the prohibitory and restrictive duties of the act of 1842, and the substitution in their place of reasonable revenue rates levied on articles imported according to their actual value, have increased the revenue and augmented our foreign trade, all the great interests of the country have been advanced and promoted. The great and important interests of agriculture, which had been not only too much neglected, but actually taxed under the protective policy for the benefit of other interests, have been relieved of the burdens which that policy imposed on them, and our farmers and planters, under a more just and liberal commercial policy, are finding new and profitable markets abroad for their augmented products.

Our commerce is rapidly increasing, and is extending more widely the circle of international exchanges. Great as has been the increase of our imports during the past year, our exports of domestic products sold in foreign markets have been still greater. Our navigating interest is eminently prosperous. The number of vessels built in the United States has been greater than during any preceding period of equal length. Large profits have been derived by those who have constructed, as well as by those who have navigated them. Should the ratio of increase in the number of our merchant vessels be progressive and be as great for the future as during the past year, the time is not distant when our tonnage and commercial marine will be larger than that of any other nation in the world. While the interests of agriculture, of commerce, and of navigation have been enlarged and invigorated, it is highly gratifying to observe that our manufactures are also in a prosperous condition. None of the ruinous effects upon this interest which were apprehended by some as the result of the operation of the revenue system established by the act of 1846 have been experienced. On the contrary, the number of manufactories, and the amount of capital invested in them, is steadily and rapidly increasing, affording gratifying proofs that American enterprise and skill employed in this branch of domestic industry, with no other advantages than those fairly and incidentally accruing from a just system of revenue duties, are abundantly able to meet successfully all competition from abroad, and still derive fair and remunerating profits. While capital invested in manufactures is yielding adequate and fair profits under the new system, the wages of labor, whether employed in manufactures, agriculture, commerce, or navigation, have been augmented.

The toiling millions whose daily labor furnishes the supply of food and raiment and all the necessaries and comforts of life are receiving higher wages and more steady and permanent employment than in any other country, or at any previous period of our own history. So successful have been all branches of our industry that a foreign war, which generally diminishes the resources of a nation, has in no essential degree retarded our onward progress or checked our general prosperity. With such gratifying evidences of prosperity and of the successful operation of the revenue act of 1846, every consideration of public policy recommends that it shall remain unchanged. It is hoped that the system of impost duties which it established may be regarded as the permanent policy of the country, and that the great interests affected by it may not again be subject to be injuriously disturbed, as they have heretofore been, by frequent and sometimes sudden changes.

TAYLOR'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 24, 1849.

I recommend a revision of the existing tariff, and its adjustment on a basis which may augment the revenue. I do not doubt the right or duty of Congress to encourage domestic industry, which is the great source of national as well as individual wealth and prosperity. I look to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress for the

adoption of a system which may place home labor at last on a sure and permanent footing, and by due encouragement of manufactures, give a new and increased stimulus to agriculture, and promote the development of our vast resources and the extension of our commerce.

FILLMORE'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 2, 1850.

A high tariff can never be permanent. It will cause dissatisfaction, and will be changed It excludes competition, and thereby invites the investment of capital in manufactures to such excess that when changed it brings distress, bankruptcy and ruin upon all who have been misled by its faithless protection. What the manufacturer wants is uniformity and permanency, that he may feel a confidence that he is not to be ruined by sudden changes.

PIERCE'S THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 31, 1855.

The principle that all moneys not required for the current expenses of the Government should remain for active employment in the hands of the people, and the conspicuous fact that the annual revenue from all sources exceeds by many millions of dollars the amount needed for a prudent and economical administration of public affairs, cannot fail to suggest the propriety of an early revision and reduction of the tariff of duties on imports. It is now so generally conceded that the purpose of revenue alone can justify the imposition of duties on imports, that in readjusting the impost tables and schedules which unquestionably require essential modifications, a departure from the principles of the present tariff is not anticipated.

BUCHANAN'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 8, 1857.

It is this paper system of extravagant expansion, raising the nominal price of every article far beyond its real value, when compared with the cost of similar articles in countries whose circulation is wisely regulated, which has prevented us from competing in our own markets with foreign manufactures, has produced extravagant importations, and has counteracted the effect of the large incidental protection afforded to our domestic manufactures by the present revenue tariff. But for this, the branches of our manufactures composed of raw materials, the production of our own country—such as cotton, iron, and woolen fabrics—would not only have acquired almost exclusive possession of the home market, but would have created for themselves a foreign market throughout the world.

JOHNSON'S THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER, 3, 1867.

The attention of Congress is earnestly invited to the necessity of a thorough revision of our revenue system. Our internal revenue laws and impost system should be so adjusted as to bear most heavily on articles of luxury, leaving the necessaries of life as free from taxation as may be consistent with the real wants of the Government, economically administered. Taxation would not then fall unduly on the man of moderate means, and while none would be entirely exempt from assessment, all, in proportion to their pecuniary abilities, would contribute towards the support of the State. * * * Retrenchment, reform, and economy should be carried into every branch of the public service that the expenditures of the Government may be reduced and the people relieved from oppressive taxation.

GRANT'S THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 4, 1871.

There are many articles not produced at home, but which enter largely into general consumption through articles which are manufactured at home, such as medicines compounded, &c., &c., from which very little revenue is derived, but which enter into general use. All such articles I recommend to be placed on the "free list." Should a further reduction prove advisable I would then recommend that it be made upon those articles which can best bear it without disturbing home production or reducing the wages of American labor.

GRANT'S SIXTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 7, 1874.

I would suggest to Congress the propriety of readjusting the tariff so as to increase the revenue, and at the same time decrease the number of articles upon which the duties are levied. Those articles which enter into our manufactures, and are not produced at home, it seems to me, should be entered free. Those articles of manufacture which we produce a constituent part of, but do not produce the whole, that part which we do not produce should be entered free also. I will instance fine wools, dyes, &c. These articles must be imported to form a part of the manufacture of the higher grades of woolen goods.

Chemicals used as dyes compounded in medicines, and used in various ways in manufactures, come under this class. The introduction, free of duty, of such wools as we do not produce would stimulate the manufacture of goods requiring the use of those we do not produce, and, therefore, would be a benefit to home production. There are many articles entering into "home manufactures" which we do not produce ourselves, the tariff upon which increases the cost of producing the manufactured article. All the corrections in this regard are in the direction of bringing labor and capital in harmony with each other, and of supplying one of the elements of prosperity so much needed.

GARFIELD'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1881.

The interests of agriculture deserve more attention from the Government than they have yet received. The farms of the United States afford homes and employment for more than one-half our people, and furnish much the largest part of all our exports. As the Government lights our coasts for the protection of mariners and for the benefit of commerce, so it should give to the tillers of the soil the best lights of practical science and experience. Our manufactures are rapidly making us industrially independent, and are opening to capital and labor new and profitable fields of employment. Their steady and healthy growth should still be maintained.

ARTHUR'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 6, 1881.

The tariff laws also need revision, but that a due regard may be paid to the conflicting interests of our citizens, important changes should be made with caution.

ARTHUR'S VETO OF THE RIVER AND HARBOR BILL, AUGUST 1, 1882.

The extravagant expenditure of public money is an evil not to be measured by the value of that money to the people who are taxed for it. They sustain a greater injury in the demoralizing effect produced upon those who are intrusted with official duty through all the ramifications of Government.

ARTHUR'S SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 4, 1882.

The present tariff system is in many respects unjust. It makes unequal distributions, both of its burdens and its benefits. This fact was practically recognized by a majority of each House of Congress in the passage of the act creating the Tariff Commission. The report of that commission will be placed before you at the beginning of this session, and will, I trust, afford you such information as to the condition and prospects of the various commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, mining and other interests of the country, and contain such suggestions for statutory revision as will practically aid your action upon this important subject * * * *

If the tax on domestic spirits is to be retained, it is plain, therefore, that large reductions from the customs revenue are entirely feasible While recommending this reduction, I am far from advising the abandonment of the policy of so discriminating in the adjustment of details as to afford aid and protection to domestic labor. But the present system should be so revised as to equalize the public burden among all classes and occupations, and bring it into closer harmony with the present needs of industry.

Without entering into minute detail, which, under present circumstances, is quite unnecessary, I recommend an enlargement of the free list so as to include within it the numerous articles which yield inconsiderable revenue, a simplification of the complex and inconsistent schedule of duties upon certain manufactures, particularly those of cotton, iron and steel, and a substantial reduction of the duties upon those articles, and upon sugar, molasses, silk, wool and woolen goods.

ARTHUR'S FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 1, 1884.

Our system of tax and tariff legislation is yielding a revenue which is in excess of the present needs of the Government. These are the elements from which it is sought to devise a scheme by which, without unfavorably changing the condition of the workingman, our merchant marine shall be raised from its enfeebled condition and new markets provided for the sale, beyond our borders, of the manifold fruits of our industrial enterprises. The problem is complex, and can be solved by no single measure of innovation or reform.

The countries of the American continent and the adjacent islands are, for the United States, the natural marts of supply and demand. It is from them that we should obtain what we do not produce, or do not produce in sufficiency, and it is to them that the surplus productions of our fields, our mills, and our workshops should flow under conditions that will equalize or favor them in comparison with foreign competition.*

* For President Cleveland's opinions on this question, see chapter entitled "Cleveland on the Tariff."

CHAPTER XIII.

DEMOCRATIC SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

The Principles Laid Down by Democratic Finance Officers on the Tariff Question.

I.

AS SHOWN BY DANIEL MANNING, CLEVELAND'S FIRST SECRETARY, IN HIS FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, 1885.

Like our currency laws, our tariff laws are a legacy of war. If its exigencies excuse their origin, their defects are unnecessary after twenty years of peace. They have been retained without sifting or discrimination, although enacted without legislative debate, criticism, or examination.

A horizontal reduction of 10 per cent. was made in 1872, but was repealed in 1875, and rejected in 1884. They require at your custom-houses the employment of a force sufficient to examine, appraise, and levy duties upon more than 4,182 different articles.

Many rates of duty begun in war have been increased since, although the late Tariff Commission declared them "injurious to the interests supposed to be benefited," and said that a "reduction would be conducive to the general prosperity." They have been retained, although the long era of falling prices, in the case of specific duties, has operated a large increase in rates. They have been retained at an average ad valorem rate for the last year of over 46 per cent., which is but 2½ per cent. less than the highest rate of the war period, and is nearly 4 per cent. more than the rate before the latest revision.

Some rates have been retained after ruining the industries they were meant to advantage. Other rates have been retained after effecting a higher price for a domestic product at home than it was sold abroad for. The general high level of rates has been retained on the theory of countervailing lower wages abroad, *when, in fact, the higher wages of American labor are at once the secret and the security of our capacity to distance all competition* from "pauper labor," in any market. All changes have left unchanged, or changed for the worst, by new schemes of classification and otherwise, a complicated, cumbrous, intricate group of laws which are not capable of being administered with impartiality to all our merchants.

II.

THE SAME PRINCIPLES ENFORCED IN HIS SECOND ANNUAL REPORT, MADE IN DECEMBER, 1886.

One proud fact attests the substance of our prosperity, and is the guaranty as well as proof of our power to hold against all competition the markets of the United States for everything we choose to dig or fabricate or grow, and to command and control for our surplus products, against all rivals, any foreign market.

We pay to labor the highest wages in the world. Highly-paid labor signifies the most efficient labor—signifies that high wages are the most profitable wages—signifies that the high rate is earned. The highest wages to the laborer thus involve and imply the lowest percentage of labor-cost in the product. But, other things being equal, the lowest percentage of labor-cost in any product is the guaranty that competition is outstripped.

The low wages of pauper labor signify least efficiency, which is but another name for highest percentage of labor-cost in the product. Other things being equal, it is obvious that high wages can never be paid unless it is profitable to pay them, and it can only be a good business to pay the highest wages, because the efficiency of those who earn them vindicates its superiority by the reduction of labor-cost in the product.

EFFICIENCY OF HIGH-PAID LABOR.

High wages to labor and cheaper product are correlative terms. Low wages to labor and a costlier product are correlative terms. The one implies the other wherever labor competes with labor upon otherwise equal ground. What pauper stands any chance competing with the intelligent artisan? The "pauper labor-of-Europe" cry is a bugaboo, except that, in truth, our war-tariff taxes favor "pauper-labor" at the expense of American labor. Its products are not fenced out by our tariff laws. They come in because we ourselves destroy our own easy power of successful competition, even in our home market. By tariff taxes on raw materials we fence in our own surplus products, making them cost too much to compete at home, and, of course, too much to compete abroad, with manufactures from untaxed raw materials. In Mexico, Central and South America, we can, of course, make no better headway against European competition than at home. Diplomacy is not an acceptable substitute for trade and its laws. Our highly-paid labor ensures the lowest percentage of labor-cost in the product, but our tariff taxes upon raw materials handicap American manufacturers with the highest percentage of cost of material in the product. The result is that capital and labor united in our American industrial products, despite our advantage in the most highly-paid and efficient labor, are put into a hopeless competition with the industrial products of other nations, none of which taxes raw materials. The advantage we possess in the most efficient and highly paid labor in the world is nullified by the self-imposed disadvantage of tariff taxed raw material, with which our labor is inwrought.

OUR SUICIDAL TAXES ON RAW MATERIALS.

The total value of our domestic exports for the last fiscal year was almost exactly $666,000,000, of which 86 per cent. were the products of our fields, forests, fisheries and mines, and 16 per cent. only were the sum total of manufactured products in which American labor was inwrought. * * * * * *

Prolonged war tariff taxes, incompetent and brutal as a scheme of revenue, fatal to the extension of our foreign markets, and disorderly to our domestic trade, have, in the last resort, acted and reacted with most ruinous injury upon our wage earners. As the more numerous part of our population, our wage earners are of course the first, the last, and the most to be affected by injurious laws. Every government by true statesmen will watchfully regard their condition and interests. If these are satisfactory, nothing else can be of very momentous importance; but our so-called protective statesmanship has disfavored them altogether. Encumbering with clumsy help a few thousand employers, it has trodden down the millions of wage earners. It has for twenty-one years denied them even the peaceable fruits of liberty.

UNTAX THE CLOTHING OF SIXTY MILLION PEOPLE.

I respectfully recommend to Congress that they confer upon the wage earners of the United States the boon of untaxed clothing, and in order thereto, the immediate passage of an act simply and solely placing raw wool upon the free list.

Of course, a repeal of the duty on raw wool should be followed by, but need not wait for, a compensating adjustment of the duties on manufactured woolens, whilst our manufacturers are learning the lesson that with the highest paid and most efficient labor in the world, with the most skilled management and the best inventive appliances, they need fear no competition from any rivals in the world, in home or foreign markets, so long as they can buy their wools free, of every kind.

But the common daily clothing of the American people need not be taxed; therefore, it ought not to be taxed; to free their clothing of taxes will finally reduce, by half, their expense for one of the three great necessities of life, and thus enlarge honestly and justly the income of every wage earner in the United States.

III.

THE THEORIES LAID DOWN BY SECRETARY FAIRCHILD ON TARIFF ABUSES IN ANNUAL REPORT, DECEMBER, 1887.

There is left only the revenue from customs taxation to be considered. Here is where the reduction should be made, and while reducing, advantage should be taken of the opportunity to reform the abuses and inequalities of the tariff laws. Add to the free list as many articles as possible. Reduce duties upon every dutiable article to the lowest point possible; but in ascertaining these possibilities the present situation of labor and business must always be kept in mind.

While not admitting that labor elsewhere can injure labor as a whole in this country by giving it clothing and tools at less cost than it can make them here for itself, no more than the sun, the winds, the waters, and, indeed, all of the forces of nature injure the labor of the world because they do for mankind far more of man's work than he does himself, yet it must be admitted that the cheaper labor of other countries might now injure a portion of the labor of this country if the articles made by the former were admitted here upon terms which would enable our people to buy them for the prices at which they are sold in other countries. If this obligation, which it is claimed that labor as a whole has assumed toward labor engaged in particular industries in this country, does exist, it should be sacredly kept, however unwise and ill-considered we may believe its assumption to have been; and whether the existence of this obligation is admitted or not, the fact of this present employment of a portion of the laborers of the country should always be in mind when making changes in the tariff, to the end that their interests may not suffer thereby.

REGARD FOR INTERESTS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE LAW.

Under the encouragement offered by the tariff laws, large sums of money have been invested in manufacturing enterprises, and the capital thus invested must also be remembered, for it is important to the country that it should receive reasonable reward, and its power to pay fair wages to the labor which it employs depends upon its own prosperity. But it must also be borne in mind that it was no part of the alleged compact, nor should it be claimed on any other ground, that the labor engaged in the tariff-protected industries should be rewarded beyond the general labor of the country, due allowance being made for skill and experience, or that the capital invested in them should return vast fortunes to its owners.

The country was promised the benefit of whatever competition might naturally arise among the manufacturers when they should be once established, and to this it has a right. The tariff laws are the country's laws; they do not belong to any section or to any class; their amendment should be approached in a spirit of justice, and with full consideration of all of the obligations which exist between sections of the country toward each other, and of those engaged in one pursuit toward those engaged in other pursuits, but it should also be approached with courage, and with a determination to dispose of this business in the same way that other business is disposed of, and with full regard to the rights and equities, as well as the interests of all concerned.

IV.

THE ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES WHICH GUIDED ROBERT J. WALKER IN PREPARING THE TARIFF OF 1846.

In suggesting improvements in the revenue laws the following principles have been adopted:

1. That no more money should be collected than is necessary for the wants of the Government economically administered.

2. That no duty be imposed on any article above the lowest rate which will yield the largest amount of revenue.

3. That below such rate discrimination may be made, descending in the scale of duties; or, for imperative reasons, the article may be placed in the list of those free from all duty.

4. That the maximum rate of duty should be imposed on luxuries.

5. That all minimums, and all specific duties, should be abolished and ad valorem duties substituted in their place. Care being taken to guard against fraudulent invoices and undervaluation, and to assess the duty upon the actual market value.

6 That the duty should be so imposed as to operate as equally as possible throughout the Union, discriminating neither for nor against any class or section.

In one of his annual messages Mr. Jefferson recommended to Congress "the suppression of the duties on salt." A large portion of this duty is exhausted in heavy expenses of measuring salt, and in large sums paid for fishing bounties and allowances in lieu of the drawback of the duty, both which expenditures would fall with a repeal of the duty; which repeal, therefore, can cause no considerable reduction of the revenue. Salt is a necessary of life, and should be as free from tax as air and water. It is used in large quantities by the farmer and planter; and to the poor this tax operates most oppressively not only in the use of the article itself, but as combined with salted provisions. The salt made abroad by solar evaporation is also most pure and wholesome, and, as conservative of health, should be exempt from taxation.

THE POWER TO LEVY TAXES FOR REVENUES.

The whole power to collect taxes, whether direct or indirect, is conferred by the same clause of the Constitution. The words are: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises." A direct tax or excise, not for revenue but for protection, clearly would not be within the legitimate object of taxation, and yet it would be as much so as a duty imposed for a similar purpose. The power is "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises." A duty must be laid only that it may be collected; and if it is so imposed that it can not be collected in whole or in part it violates the declared object of the granted power. To lay all duties so high that none of them could be collected would be a prohibitory tariff. To lay a duty on any one article so high that it could not be collected would be a prohibitory tariff upon that article.

If a duty of 100 per cent. were imposed upon all or upon a number of articles, so as to diminish the revenue upon all or any of them it would operate as a partial prohibition. A partial and a total prohibition are alike in violation of the true object of the taxing power. They only differ in degree, and not in principle. If the revenue limit may be exceeded by 1 per cent., it may be exceeded by 100. If it may be exceeded upon any one article, it may be exceeded on all; and there is no escape from this conclusion, but in contending that Congress may lay duties on all articles so high as to collect no revenue and operate as a total prohibition. The Constitution declares that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives." A tariff bill, it is conceded, can only originate in the House, because it is a bill for raising revenue. That is the only proper object of such a bill. A tariff is a bill to "lay and collect taxes." It is a bill for "raising revenue;" and

whenever it departs from that object, in whole or in part, either by total or partial prohibition, it violates the purpose of the granted power.

A PROTECTIVE TARIFF WORKS TO THE BENEFIT OF CAPITAL.

A protective tariff is a question regarding the enhancement of the profits of capital. That is its object, and not to augment the wages of labor, which would reduce those profits. It is a question of percentage, and is to decide whether money invested in our manufactures shall, by special legislation, yield a profit of 10, 20 or 30 per cent, or whether it shall remain satisfied with a dividend equal to that accruing from the same capital invested in agriculture, commerce or navigation.

The present tariff is unjust, and unequal as well in its details as in the principles upon which it is founded. On some articles the duties are entirely prohibitory, and on others there is a partial prohibition. It discriminates in favor of manufactures, and against agriculture, by imposing many higher duties upon the manufactured fabric than upon the agricultural product out of which it is made. It discriminates in favor of the manufacturer, and against the merchant, by injurious restrictions upon trade and commerce, and against the ship-building and navigating interest by heavy duties on almost every article used in building or navigating vessels. It discriminates in favor of manufactures, and against exports, which are as truly the product of American industry as manufactures. It discriminates in favor of the rich and against the poor, by high duties upon nearly all the necessaries of life, and by minimum and specific duties, rendering the tax upon the real value much higher on the cheaper than upon the finer article.

If the marshal were sent by the Federal Government to collect a direct tax from the whole people, to be paid over to manufacturing capitalists to enable them to sustain their business or realize a larger profit, it would be the same in effect as the protective duty, which, when analyzed in its simplest elements and reduced to actual results, is a mere substraction of so much money from the people to increase the resources of the protected classes. Legislation for classes is against the doctrine of equal rights, repugnant to the spirit of our free institutions, and, it is apprehended by many, may become but another form for privileged orders under the name of protection, instead of privilege—indicated here not by rank or title, but by profits and dividends extracted from the many, by taxes upon them, for the benefit of the few.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

THE CAREFULNESS AND CONSERVATISM WITH WHICH THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN MANAGED.

Asserting the Rights of Citizens in Great Britain and Other Countries. The Senate Inserts Offensive Terms in the Extradition Treaty with Great Britain. Exclusion of the Chinese for Twenty Years Defeated by Republican Obstruction.

When the United States of America declared their independence, and assumed their place among the sovereign states of the world, their form of government as well as their geographical position, rendered it proper and expedient that they should proceed to work out their destiny free from such entanglements with the monarchies of the old world as would prevent the new Republic from freely shaping its policy to suit the needs and conditions of its independent and unique position. With that marvelous foresight which characterized their proceedings, the founders of our Government, seeing the wisdom and necessity of such a course, did not fail, by their acts and declarations, firmly to fix our policy in the direction of independence and freedom from constraint. "The great rule of conduct for us," said Washington, "in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. * * * Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation."

The same idea was tersely expressed by Mr. Jefferson in his first inaugural address, when he described the true policy of his government as "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

As a logical result of this policy, a Democratic President, Mr. Monroe, promulgated the doctrine which bears his name, that as we would not intervene in the affairs of Europe, the United States should not consent to the further interference of European governments in the affairs of this continent for the purpose of spreading their system here and of controlling the destinies of the United States and of its sister Republics in America. This principle was adopted by the Government of the United States, not merely as a matter of safety. It was also a recognition of the right

of those Republics to manage their own affairs and to settle their own disputes as independent States, free from the dictation of foreign governments, including that of the United States.

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES.

Congress has recently passed an act, which the President has approved, directing him to invite representatives of the Governments of America south of the United States to participate in a congress to be held in the city of Washington in the year 1889, to consider questions of common concern. The great obstacle in the way of the success of that conference is the hostile sentiment created in the peoples to which the act refers, by the unwarrantable and reckless course of a Republican Secretary of State, who, by his utter disregard of the doctrines of international law, and of the moral principles which govern the intercourse of nations, sowed the seeds of discord and alienation among those whom nature has made our neighbors, and whom just and honorable dealing should make our friends.

To "guano diplomacy," the name popularly given to that unprecedented thing in the history of the world, a foreign policy based upon fraudulent claims, the discovery of Mr. Blaine, we are indebted for a condition of things, which would seem incredible if it were not proved by official records. While it must bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every true American, yet it is a fact in our history which we are compelled to face when we consider that the election of a Republican President would probably mean the revival of the policy, and with the history of which the country was made familiar during the Congressional investigation of the matter and by the developments of the last campaign.

II.

BLAINE'S PRESSURE OF BOGUS CLAIMS.

HOW THE STATE DEPARTMENT WAS USED TO ANNOY AND OPPRESS THE SMALL REPUBLICS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

Among the actors under Mr. Blaine in this reckless and disastrous guano speculation was Mr. Levi Morton, then United States Minister to France and now the Republican candidate for Vice-President.

As a part of the scheme of plunder against Peru and Chili, Mr. Blaine had given his support to Garcia Calderon as President of Peru as against other Peruvian aspirants, and had instructed the American Minister to recognize his government. No sooner was Calderon in office than the bogus Shipherd claims which have been above described, were presented to him for acceptance. At the same time, as another part of the scheme, a French company called the "Credit Industrielle" appeared upon the scene and expressed a willingness to pay the Shipherd claims and take from Calderon as security an assignment of all the guano and nitrate deposits of Peru. This French company had first made a contract with the banking house of Morton, Bliss & Co., of which the present Republican Vice-Presidential candidate was then President as well as United States Minister to France, under which that house was to have a monopoly of all American shipments of nitrate and

guano from Peru on a commission of 5 per cent. Being thus connected with the scheme, Mr. Morton then proceeded, under the instructions of Mr. Blaine, to induce the Government of the French Republic to recognize the Calderon Government. This was a direct invitation to a European Government to interfere in the affairs of an American Republic "for the purpose of oppressing it," which Mr. Monroe, in 1823, in the famous doctrine that bears his name, declared that the United States would never permit any European Government to do. The Calderon Government did not represent a majority of the people of Peru, and Mr. Morton was compelled to report that the French Government refused to be a party to the plot to force it upon Peru for speculative purposes. In a letter bearing date October 20, 1881, Mr. Morton reported to Mr. Blaine the result of an interview with President Grévy as follows:

"I remarked that the United States and many other countries had already recognized the Calderon government, to which he replied that France had not yet done so, because it seemed to her that the Calderon government had rather the support of the Chilian government than of the people of Peru; but that as soon as it appeared evident that it was nationa in its character, France would recognize it with pleasure."

Mr. Blaine did not even then give up the hope of inducing France to recognize Calderon, and on the 14th of November, 1881, telegraphed for further information. To this Mr. Morton hopelessly replied: "The indications of recognition of the Calderon government seem less favorable." Thus ended the endeavors of Messrs. Blaine and Morton to induce France to enter into their speculation.

A PREPOSTEROUS CLAIM FOR $50,000,000.

But the adventures of Mr. Blaine, as a promoter of bogus claims, was not confined to the west coast of South America, but extended all the way around to Brazil against the government of which country he presented, "at the request of S. B. Elkins, Esquire," a baseless claim for $50,525,000. The original claimant was a man named James C. Jewett, and the circumstances of his claim are fully set forth in Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 133, 48th Congress, 1st session. As appears by that document one B. J. Newburg, hearing of what Jewett was doing, protested to the Department of State that Jewett had been "stealing his thunder." He alleged that he himself was the discoverer of the guano deposits claimed by Jewett, who heard him talking about them and proceeded to make up a claim to them.

The case was first brought to the notice of the State Department in December, 1879, Mr. Evarts being Secretary of State, by the diplomatic representative of Brazil in Washington, who transmitted to the Department a protest in which he stated that Jewett had addressed to the Brazilian legation a copy of various affidavits alleging the discovery in the territory of Brazil of certain guano deposits. He said that Jewett had already sent a vessel to bring away a cargo, and still another was about to sail, although the previous consent of the Brazilian Government to the removal of the guano had not been obtained.

About the same time Jewett presented his case to the State Department in the form of a claim against Brazil, but Mr. Evarts declined upon the evidence to do more than instruct our Minister to Brazil to aid Jewett in any way that might be convenient and proper to obtain a concession. This concession Jewett never received. A temporary permit for the removal of a cargo, issued by the Brazilian Minister of Agriculture nearly four months after Jewett had

sent out the vessels above referred to, and after they had been to the guano deposits and departed, was withdrawn before it was acted on by the claimant. It appeared that there was no law of Brazil given to alleged discoverers of guano deposits an interest therein, and that no part of the public domain of the country can be alienated without the consent of the Congress. Nevertheless Mr. Blaine, "at the request of S. B. Elkins, Esq.," presented a claim against the Government of Brazil for the alleged value, according to Jewett's own statement, of all the guano deposits on the island of Fernando de Noronha, on Rocas Island, and the Abrolhos Islands, embracing Sand Cay, Guavita Cay, Santa Barbara Cay, Redonda Cay, Scriba Cay, and South West Cay. On the alleged value of the guano so claimed, Jewett generously proposed to allow the Government of Brazil $1.10 per ton on the mineral deposits removed from their territory, but he included a charge of over $20,000 for the expenses of the vessels he sent out before he had even a temporary permit from the Brazilian Government.

In directing Mr. Osborn, United States Minister at Rio, and his own appointee (Mr. Hilliard, who held the position when Mr. Blaine came in and had protested against the whole transaction, having been displaced) to present the claim to the Brazilian Government, Mr. Blaine wrote as follows:

"I am not sufficiently informed as to the law of Brazil to know how far its formal requirements as to the *mere question of right and title* would nullify this action by its Government (in granting a temporary permit), but I do know that in justice and in equity a responsibility has been incurred which cannot be escaped. * * * If, as Mr. Jewett seems to apprehend, advantage is to be taken of the want of formal regularity in his application to give to other parties the benefit of the concession, you can represent strongly to the Brazilian Government the hardship and injustice of such a proceeding."

It does not appear that this claim was ever pressed by Mr. Frelinghuysen, as to whom it should, in justice, be said that, immediately upon assuming the office of Secretary of State, he reversed Mr. Blaine's meddlesome interference between Chili and Peru.

MR. BAYARD TO MR. JARVIS.

When the present administration came into power Jewett appeared again and brought his case to the attention of Mr. Bayard, whose treatment of the case is shown by the following despatch sent by him to our Minister to Brazil:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, September 6, 1886.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The claim of Mr. Jewett had been previously twice adversely reported to the then Secretary of State by the examiner of claims, and these reports approved by the Secretary, who, on March 5, 1881, announced to Mr. Jewett that their further official presentation could not be made by this Government.

The views subsequently expressed by Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, under a subsequent administration, under dates of August, 8, 1881, and December 17, 1881, in his instructions to Mr. Osborn, your predecessor, would seem to be a practical reversal of the opinion and action of his predecessor in office, Mr. Evarts, and are not accepted by me either as to the conclusions of law or fact which they contain.

I fail to discover in the papers submitted any such formal or unequivocal concession to Mr. Jewett by the Government of Brazil as is plainly requisite under the laws of that country to vest in him, as grantee, the right to excavate and use mineral or other natural deposits of phosphate earths which may have been discovered within its territories. But, on the contrary, the prompt and decided refusal of Brazil to make any such concession to Mr. Jewett appears with entire clearness and unmistakable force.

The utmost right that can be urged on behalf of Mr. Jewett would be that in ignorance of the laws of Brazil he had suffered himself to be misled into the formation of sanguine but groundless speculations, which induced the outlay of some money by him in fitting out two small vessels for the transportation of mineral deposits in advance of a legal concession by the Government of Brazil, which he was notified was essential and requisite, but which he never received.

MR. BAYARD TO MR. JEWETT.

With every desire to protect the interest and promote the just claims of American citizens in foreign lands, I do not feel justified in lending the countenance or aid of the United States officials to such demands as are set forth in your statement of claims against the Government of Brazil accompanying your memorial, dated June 13, 1881, to this Department, and which was one of the inclosures of Mr. Blaine's dispatch of December 17, 1881, to Mr. Osborn.

This claim is asserted for the egregious sum of $50,525,000, and when its alleged basis is examined in the *ex parte* statements, affidavits and letters presented by you and on your behalf, the disproportion between any possible loss incurred by you and the amount claimed by you from Brazil is enormous. Such a claim so stated shocks the moral sense, and cannot be held to be within the domain of reason or justice.

It would be an act of international unfriendliness for the United States to lend themselves in any way or to any degree in urging, much less enforcing, such a demand upon a country with whom they are or desire to remain on terms of amity.

Propositions have been made and are pending in the legislative branch to invite the South American Governments and people to enter into closer ties of commercial and political intercourse with us, but to connect our Government, even remotely or unofficially, with the favorable presentation or demand of such a claim as this of yours would be utterly inconsistent with professions of amity or the desire to promote closer commercial relations.

I therefore return the protest as inclosed by you, and decline to transmit it to the United States minister at Brazil, or to instruct him to present it officially or otherwise.

Thus it is that the Department of State has been engaged by honorable and just methods in restoring confidence in the good faith of the United States, which such conduct as that above described had done so much to destroy.

III.

THE EQUALITY OF NATIONS.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN GIVEN TO FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE SMALLER STATES OF THE WORLD.

Not only has the State Department under Mr. Bayard sought in this manner to preserve the good faith of the Government, but it has recognized the equal right of every nation, great as well as small, weak as well as strong, to just and respectful treatment.

No better evidence of this can be found than in Mr. Bayard's treatment of the Pelletier and Lazare awards against Hayti. It is unnecessary here to enter into an extended examination of the claim of Lazare. It is enough to say that his claim was based upon a contract which he made with the Haytien Government to assume the management of a bank at Port-au Prince, and which he failed to perform. The claim, being one of contract, was one which this Government was precluded, by the principles of international law, from undertaking to collect by force, to say nothing

of the fact that, as is now known, Lazare utterly failed to perform his obligations. Indeed, after rendering his award, Mr. ex-Justice Strong, the arbitrator, asked that the award be reopened.

It should be observed that both the Pelletier and the Lazare claims were referred to arbitration under a protocol signed by Mr. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State, and Mr. Preston, Minister of Hayti, on May 24, 1884. This agreement was never submitted to the Senate, and hence never became a law of the land, although it purported to confer judicial powers on the arbitrator, including the power to take testimony on oath before him, which he did.

This protocol was not signed by the representatives of Hayti voluntarily. On the contrary, Hayti had been assured by Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State, that unless she either paid or arbitrated the claim of Pelletier, the United States would intervene by force. These instructions of Mr. Evarts were communicated to the Government of Hayti by Mr. Langston, United States Minister there at the time, in the following words:

"I am instructed then, should your Government desire to make no further answer to the justice of the claim of Captain Pelletier, to propose to it a prompt and impartial arbitration of the matter, and in default of such arrangement, I am instructed further to state that the Government of the United States will require its satisfaction."

This claim was presented to the Department of State in 1863, and Mr. Seward refused to take it up.

In 1871 the Department again refused to interfere. In 1874 Pelletier had a bill introduced in the Senate "to authorize the President of the United States to request the Republic of Hayti" to indemnify him. The bill was read twice, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and subsequently reported adversely. Pelletier next brought his claim before the House of Representatives in 1878, presenting a further memorial and documents, which were followed by a resolution of that body declining to offer any recommendation as to his claim. He then appealed again to the Department of State, with the result above stated.

HOW THE CASE WAS FINALLY DEALT WITH.

When the case came before Judge Strong, he held that he was precluded, by the terms of the protocol under which he sat, from considering the morality of the claim, and consequently made an award of more than $50,000 in favor of the claimant.

Against this award Hayti appealed to Mr. Bayard, who examined the case and made a report to the Senate, in which the facts in the case are stated as follows:

"In view of the position taken by Hayti, as exhibited in the records of this case, it becomes now incumbent on the Government of the United States to determine whether it will enforce the payment by Hayti of this award.

"Aside from the exhausted condition of her treasury, which would preclude voluntary payment at present, it is not to be expected that any nation, viewing this case as Hayti does, could make such payment except when forced to do so by the application of a superior force. Hayti is a Republic in which not merely the Government but the great body of the population are of negro descent. Pelletier was a notorious slave-trader, and the money awarded to him in this case was for an imprisonment imposed on him in Hayti for an attempt to abduct Haytian citizens and sell them as slaves. To pay this award to Pelletier would be not merely to recognize the position that Hayti had no jurisdiction of an attempt in her own territorial waters to abduct and enslave her own citizens, but that the person making such an attempt is to receive a large indemnity for the punishment, in itself by no means excessive, inflicted on him for the crime. * * * *

"But I do not hesitate to say that, in my judgment, the claim of Pelletier is one which this Government should not press on Hayti, either by persuasion or by force, and I come to this conclusion, first, because Hayti had jurisdiction to inflict on him the very punishment of which he complains, such punishment being in no way excessive in view of the heinousness of the offense, and, secondly, because his cause is of itself so saturated with turpitude and infamy that on it no action, judicial or diplomatic, can be based."

This opinion of Mr. Bayard has been before the Senate for more than a year and a half, and not a word of dissent has been ventured against it.

DEALINGS WITH VENEZUELA.

The principle of the equality of nations has again been maintained by the present administration in its treatment of the matter of the awards against Venezuela under the treaty between the United States and that country, of 1866. Shortly after the conclusion of the labors of the commission, under that treaty, evidence was presented on the part of Venezuela, to the Government of the United States, tending to show that some of the commissioners had been improperly influenced. For a long time this Government refused to listen to this evidence. But after investigations were made by committees of Congress, the suspicion became so strong that the United States could no longer afford to ignore it. The present administration has lately concluded a new treaty with Venezuela, under which the awards of the impeached commission are to be re-examined, and the United States is to escape the reproach of refusing to do justice to a sister Republic of South America.

KINDLY RELATIONS WITH MEXICO.

The same course of fair dealing has been pursued with the neighboring Republic of Mexico. The large awards made by the last claims commission between the United States and Mexico against the government of the latter country, in the well-known cases of Benjamin Weil and the La Ahra Silver Mining Company, have been considered by the present administration in the same spirit of scrupulous regard for the rights of other nations and the honor of the United States as the awards against Venezuela; and a recommendation has been made to Congress to confer jurisdiction on the judicial tribunals of the United States to investigate the allegations of fraud in respect to the two claims above mentioned, which together amount to more than $1,000,000.

IV.

THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS ABROAD.

VIGOROUS AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO PROTECT AMERICAN CITIZENS IN ENGLAND, MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA.

While the present administration has thus been just in its dealings with other nations, it has been vigilant and firm in maintaining the rights and interests of American citizens in foreign lands.

One of the questions of foreign affairs, which the present administration was called upon to consider, was that of the rights of the United States upon the Isthmus of Panama under the treaty of 1846, between the United States and New Granada (now Colombia). By the thirty-fifth article of that treaty, the Government of

Colombia is bound to preserve to the Government and people of the United States the "free and open transit" of the Isthmus of Panama, by any means of communication across it. The object and importance of this stipulation require no emphasis; and the Government of the United States has always claimed the right, in case of the failure of the Government of Colombia to perform her guarantees, to protect the transit route and the persons and property of its citizens thereon with its own forces. In December, 1884, an insurrection broke out in Colombia and soon spread to the Isthmus of Panama, where rioting occured from time to time. The lives and property of citizens of the United States on the transit route from Colon to Panama were placed in great jeopardy, and considerable property was destroyed by the insurgents. In this alarming state of affairs war vessels were sent to the Isthmus in April, 1885, and order was restored.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS IN MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA.

The same readiness in protecting the rights of American citizens was shown in the case of Santos, in Ecuador, and of Cutting, in Mexico. The former, who was arrested and imprisoned in Ecuador in December, 1884, on charges which were believed by this Government to be unfounded, was released through the efforts of the present administration.

In the case of Cutting this Government denied the right of Mexico to try and imprison an American citizen, in that country, for words spoken, or acts done, in the United States. In defining the position of this Government in the case, Mr. Bayard said:

"If Mr. Cutting can be tried and imprisoned in Mexico for publishing in the United States a criticism on a Mexican business transaction in which he was concerned, there is not an editor or publisher of a newspaper in the United States who could not, were he found in Mexico, be subjected to like indignities and injuries on the same ground. To an assumption of such jurisdiction by Mexico neither the Government of the United States nor the governments of our several States will submit."

One of the most fruitful sources of contention with Mexico has been her law in relation to the matriculation of foreigners. In accordance with this law it was for a long time held by the Mexican government, that if a foreigner failed so to register himself, within a certain time after coming into the country, he lost his right to call upon his government for protection in case it became necessary for him to remonstrate against the acts of the Mexican government. Against this doctrine the Government of the United States protested. The response of the Mexican government is contained in the following extract from the letter of the Mexican Minister to the Department of State under date of June 16, 1886:

"I inform you that a law, approved during the last period of the sessions of the Congress of the United Mexican States, in relation to alienship and naturalization, and promulgated by the President of the republic on the 28th of May last, published in the Diario Oficial on the 7th instant, repeals by its thirty-ninth article the laws which prescribed the matriculation of foreigners, leaving it optional with foreigners residing in Mexico to request a certificate of their nationality, which will be issued to them by the secretary of foreign relations."

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In regard to citizens of the United States imprisoned in foreign countries, under what appeared to be onerous conditions, the present administration has not hesitated to interpose its good offices.

Among such cases may be mentioned those of John Curtin Kent and Dr. Thomas Gallagher, naturalized citizens of the United States, who, in 1883, were jointly charged with conspiring with other persons to murder, by the use of dynamite, persons unknown. Gallagher and Kent were both convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The records of the State Department show that no report on the facts of Kent's trial and conviction was at that time made to that Department by the United States representatives in London. It was first brought to the attention of the Department by Kent's relatives in the United States in December, 1887, and the United States Consul-General in London was immediately instructed to make investigation. The fact that the prisoner was a naturalized citizen of the United States was not made known at his trial, for reasons which he explains as follows:

"I did not apply to the United States legation before or during my trial, for the reason that an American lawyer, named Tracy Gould, whom I supposed was attached to the legation, came to see me, and advised about my case. * * * No one from the legation came to see me. I believe if my case had been taken up by the United States representative that I could have proven who I was, where I had lived in the United States, and my good character, the reason for my coming to England, and thereby have secured my acquittal."

Under the direction of the Department of State, Consul-General Waller at London visited the prisoner and made a report, from which the following extract is taken:

In conclusion, I beg to suggest that the fact of Kent's American citizenship can easily be determined by the records of the courts of naturalization to which he refers, and that the conviction of Kent, whether guilty or not, considering the weakness of the testimony against him (which I have had the opportunity to read), was a singular success for the prosecution.

THE PRESIDENT TAKES UP DR. GALLAGHER'S CASE.

While the case of Curtin Kent was thus undergoing investigation, Dr. Gallagher's pardon was requested, as appears by the following correspondence:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, March 17, 1887.

DEAR SIR: I inclose a note just received from the Secretary of State, by which you will see that prompt action in the line of the wishes of yourself and other friends of Dr. Thomas Gallagher has been taken and in such manner as affords the best promise for successful mediation in his behalf.

Mr. Bayard informs me that there is no record in the State Department of any correspondence heretofore had in the matter, and I hope very soon to be able to announce the termination of Dr. Gallagher's imprisonment.

Yours, truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

PHILIP J. O'HANLON, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y.

MR. BAYARD TO MR. PHELPS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, March 11, 1887.

SIR: The President informs me that he has been earnestly appealed to by a number of worthy and influential citizens of Brooklyn—among them the Mayor of the city—to procure, if possible, an exercise of royal clemency in the case of Dr. Thomas Gallagher, a naturalized citizen of the United States, formerly and for many years a resident of Brooklyn, but who is now undergoing judicial sentence in England, imposed some years ago, for an offense political in its character.

The prisoner is represented to be a man of excellent standing in his profession as a physician, and in his domestic life to have endeared himself to a large circle by his personal virtues.

An aged mother and invalid sister are dependent upon him for their sole means of support, and his case thus presents many features that appeal to natural sympathy.

I have no information that would justify any suggestion of doubt as to the fairness of his trial or justice of his sentence; but as this is the year of grace and jubilee—in which generosity and charity will fill the hearts of British subjects and their Queen—I feel that I may yield to the importunity of the prisoner's friends and family and bring the case to your attention unofficially.

If, by Dr. Gallagher's pardon, anger should be lessened and hostility to Her Majesty's Government disarmed, we should all be gratified; and when to that is superadded the joy to the wide circle of his personal friends and relatives here, it would seem that the act would indeed be "twice blessed," and that in giving liberty to this captive no danger could "rush upon the State."

If, therefore, unofficially, you could find a proper occasion to suggest the general purport of this note to Her Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, I hope you will not lose the opportunity, for the act of clemency would, I believe, bear good fruit.

Yours, very truly,

T. F. BAYARD.

PROTECTION OF MISSIONARIES.

The Department of State under the present administration has shown great zeal and efficiency in protecting those engaged in mission work in foreign countries. This has been done in China, where indemnities have been obtained for the destruction of property of American missionaries, and also in Corea. But nowhere has the present administration gone further in advance of its predecessors in asserting the rights of American missionaries, of whatever denomination, than in Turkey. Not content with vague and uncertain claims, the present Secretary of State has placed the rights and privileges of the American missions in Turkey upon the solid foundation of the ancient usage and of the Turkish legislation prior and consequent to the treaties of Paris and Berlin of 1856 and 1878, respectively. In assuming this position the Department has expressly discarded every appearance of sectarianism and declared that its efforts would be exerted with equal earnestness in support of one as of another of American charitable or religious associations.

V.

THE NEW CHINESE TREATY.

HOW A NEW CONVENTION WITH CHINA FOR PREVENTING THE IMPORTATION OF COOLIES WAS DEALT WITH IN THE SENATE.

The policy of the Cleveland administration has been to pay special regard to the affairs of the countries of the East. With China in particular our relations have been most important and delicate in their character. The great question of Chinese immigration has been settled by a treaty, the main features of which are set forth in the following extract from the report of the Secretary of State to the President, under date of March 16, 1888:

MR. BAYARD'S LETTER.

By this arrangement we have secured the co-operation of China in the main purpose and object of the treaty, which is plainly stated in the first article of the convention to be the absolute prohibition of Chinese laborers from coming into the United States for twenty years, and its renewal thereafter for a similar period, unless notice shall have been given as provided in Article VI.

This precludes the return of any Chinese laborers who are not now in this country, and forbids the coming into the United States of Chinese laborers from any quarter whatsoever.

From this inhibition are excepted any Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of one thousand dollars ($1,000), or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement. * * * *

Judging by the statistics of the class in question and from general experience, such excepted cases will be practically few in number, infrequent, and easily capable of such regulations as will prevent abuse.

The regulation and control of the issue of such certificates of return will be wholly in the hands of United States officials, and power to prescribe other laws at discretion may be exercised by the United States.

Such right to return is for a limited period, and the certificates are invalidated by the perpetration of fraud in connection with their procurement or use, and the United States are free to adopt such measures as may become advisable to check or punish any abuse.

In the course of late litigation in the United States courts in California, arising out of the contested claims of certain Chinese laborers to return to the United States under the certificates now provided by law, it has been pertinently suggested by the learned judges before whom the cases were tried that the detailed information contained in the certificates themselves, as now issued to the Chinese, furnishes the means of fraudulent entry of Chinese laborers, to whom such certificates have been fraudulently transferred and who are not entitled to come to the United States. And it has been pointed out that if all the facts requisite for complete identification of the departing Chinaman were retained in the United States official custody, and a paper containing only a simple number, and properly marked, signed and countersigned by the officers, were furnished, the means of detecting and preventing fraud in the transfer of the certificate would be given, and the present abuses made almost impossible of recurrence.

Existing treaty privileges of travel and sojourn in the United States to Chinese officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travelers for curiosity and pleasure remain undisturbed, as well as the transit right of laborers strictly to be exercised under United States regulations.

The stipulations of the 3d article of the treaty of 1880 provided for the extension of the full protection to the person and property of Chinese subjects of all classes that is given by laws of the United States to the most favored nation, and by the terms of that article the United States also agreed "to exert all its power to secure such protection" to the persons and property of Chinese subjects in the United States.

Under the same date the President transmitted the treaty to the Senate accompanied by the following message:

THE PRESIDENT TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, and recommend for your constitutional approval, a convention signed and concluded in this city on the 12th instant, under my direction, between the United States and China for the exclusion hereafter of Chinese laborers from coming into this country.

This treaty is accompanied by a letter from the Secretary of State in recital of its provisions and explanatory of the reasons for its negotiation, and with it are transmitted sundry documents giving the history of events connected with the presence and treatment of Chinese subjects in the United States.

In view of the public interest which has for a long time been manifested in relation to the question of Chinese immigration, it would seem advisable that the full text of this treaty should be made public, and I respectfully recommend that an order to that effect be made by your honorable body.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

That body hoping to gain some partisan advantage, inserted some insignificant amendments, which rendered it necessary to return the treaty to China for ratification. Had it not been for this delay the new treaty providing for the stringent prohibition of Chinese immigration into this country during the term of twenty years would have become a law early in the present year.

The claims against the United States growing out of the killing and destruction of property of Chinese subjects in the northwestern Territories have been adjusted and disposed of to the satisfaction of the Chinese government, while at the same time the Department of State has taken care in its correspondence with the Chinese plenipotentiaries to preserve the principle of the non-responsibility of the United States for the losses and injuries of foreigners by mob violence.

VI.

RESENTING RELIGIOUS INTOLERENCE.

HOW AUSTRIA WAS TOLD THAT RELIGIOUS DISTINCTIONS COULD NOT BE RECOGNIZED IN THIS COUNTRY.

In May, 1885, President Cleveland appointed Anthony M. Keiley, a distinguished and accomplished citizen of Virginia, without reproach, to succeed John M. Francis as the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Vienna, to Austria and Hungary.

The appointment was officially communicated to Baron Schaeffer, the representative of the Austrian government in Washington, by Secretary Bayard. It was answered by the transmission to our State Department of a telegram received from Count Kalnoky, for the Austrian government, which objected to receiving Minister Keiley, and asked for the withdrawal of the appointment on the ground that his wife was of Semitic birth, and, in the language of the dispatch, "the position of a foreign envoy, wedded to a Jewess by civil marriage, would be untenable," and even impossible in Vienna. Mr. Keiley having already set sail for Europe, it was impossible to inform him of the objection made before he reached the other side of the ocean; but the American Secretary of State was quick to resent the objection taken to the appointment and to deny the validity of the grounds upon which it was based. In a note to Baron Schaeffer, dated May 18, 1885, he said:

> The question thus raised by your government involves principles of the greatest importance, and has no precedent as yet discoverable to me in modern times and in intercourse between friendly nations; and having submitted the matter to the consideration of the President, I am instructed by him to inform your government, through you, that the ground upon which it is announced, that the usual ceremonial courtesy and formal respect are to be withheld from this envoy of the United States to your government, that is to say, because his wife is alleged or supposed by your government to entertain a certain religious faith, and to be a member of a certain religious sect, cannot be assented to by the Executive of the Government of the American people, but is and must be emphatically and promptly denied.
>
> The supreme law of this land expressly declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and by the same authority it is declared that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."
>
> This is a government of laws, and all authority exercised must find its measure and warrant thereunder.
>
> It is not within the power of the President nor of the Congress, nor of any judicial tribunal in the United States, to take or even hear testimony, or in any mode to inquire into or decide upon the religious belief of any official, and the proposition to allow this to be done by any foreign government is necessarily and *a fortiori* inadmissible.

To suffer an infraction of this essential principle would lead to a disfranchisement of our citizens because of their religious belief, and thus impair or destroy the most important end which our constitution of Government was intended to secure. Religious liberty is the chief corner-stone of the American system of government, and provisions for its security are imbedded in the written charter and interwoven in the moral fabric of its laws.

Anything that tends to invade a right so essential and sacred must be carefully guarded against, and I am satisfied that my countrymen, ever mindful of the suffering and sacrifices necessary to obtain it, will never consent to its impairment for any reason or under any pretext whatsoever.

EXACTING DEFERENCE TO AMERICAN WOMEN.

In harmony with this essential law is the almost equally potential unwritten law of American society that awards respect and delicate consideration to the women of the United States and exacts deference in the treatment at home and abroad of the mothers, wives, and daughters of the Republic.

The case we are now considering is that of an envoy of the United States, unquestionably fitted, morally and intellectually, and who has been duly accredited to a friendly government, towards which he is thoroughly well affected; who in accordance with the laws of this country, has long since contracted and has maintained an honorable marriage, and whose presence near the foreign government in question is objected to by its agents on the sole ground that his wedded wife is alleged to entertain a religious faith which is held by very many of the most honored and valued citizens of the United States.

It is not believed by the President that a doctrine and practice so destructive of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, so devoid of catholicity, and so opposed to the spirit of the age in which we live, can for a moment be accepted by the great family of civilized nations or be allowed to control their diplomatic intercourse.

Certain it is, it will never, in my belief, be accepted by the people of the United States, nor by any administration which represents their sentiments.

Permit me, therefore, being animated only by the sincerest desire to strengthen the ties of friendship and mutual respect between the governments we respectively represent, most earnestly and respectfully to crave careful consideration of this note, and to request your government to reconsider the views you have communicated to me in respect of the possible reception of Mr. Keiley on the mission of amity and mutual advantage which, in the amplest good faith, he was selected by this government to perform.

Into the religious belief of its envoy, or that of any member of his family, neither this government nor any officer thereof, as I have shown you, has any right or power to inquire, or to apply any test whatever, or to decide such question, and to do so would constitute an infraction of the express letter and an invasion of the pervading spirit of the supreme law of this land.

While thus making reply to the only reason stated by your government as the cause of its unreadiness to receive Mr. Keiley, permit me also to remark that the President fully recognizes the highly important and undoubted right of every government to decide for itself whether the individual presented as the envoy of another State is or is not an acceptable person, and in the exercise of its own high and friendly discretion, to receive or not the person so presented. This right so freely accorded by the United States to all other nations, its Government would insist upon should an occasion deemed to be proper arise.

DOMESTIC RELATIONS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED.

Upon the position taken in this communication, in favor of the right of American citizens to have their political and social relations determined irrespective of their race origin or religious beliefs, the President and Secretary of State resolutely insisted. The Austrian government avowed its purpose to reject Mr. Keiley, and reiterated as its chief reasons the fact that his "domestic relations" would "preclude that reception of him by Vienna society," which was judged desirable for an American envoy.

In a letter to Minister Francis, dated July 1, 1885, Mr. Bayard among other things said:

The only objection stated by Count Kalnoky is the marriage of Mr. Keiley to a Jewess, which may or may not be true. To this an answer was promptly given, and by that answer this administration stands, and so, I trust and believe, will the people of the United States. It seems to me quite impossible that Count Kalnoky could have understood the utter inability of this Government to entertain such a ground of objection in the face of the express prohibition of religious tests by our fundamental law, nor how offensive to American minds is the impeachment of the husband on the ground of the wife's supposed disability for her religious creed.

While I cannot, under the distinct inhibition of the Constitution, apply or take official cognizance of any religious tests in Mr. Keiley's case to prove or disprove the allegations made, I may observe that voluntary statements to me by those well qualified to judge are to the effect that Mrs. Keiley, although of Hebrew ancestry, has never herself professed the Jewish faith, and that the marriage had the sanction of the highest ecclesiastical Roman Catholic authorities in the United States, many of whom, moreover, joined most warmly in commending Mr. Keiley's appointment. I merely mention this, for it may turn out that the Austro-Hungarian Government is in serious error in accepting and acting upon unproven and perhaps false premise.

I will ask you to present your letter of recall after you have had your interview with the minister for foreign affairs in relation to Mr. Keiley. You will thereupon turn over the legation to the secretary, Mr. Strong, as charge d'affaires *ad interim*, and he can act in that capacity until he is relieved, either by Mr. Keiley, or by the arrival of a new secretary of legation, to whom he will relinquish both his regular office and his temporary charge.

A REBUKE TO RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY.

Subsequently the Austrian Government positively and finally refused to receive Mr. Keiley; and Mr. Bayard in another letter to Mr. Francis stated clearly the position of our Government in having declined to withdraw its appointment on the grounds advanced by Austria. The secretary in his letter of August 31, 1885, said:

Whilst this Government concedes as freely as it exercises the right to refuse to receive an envoy, yet when that right is so exaggerated and expanded as to become a virtual claim of the function of selection as well as of rejection we must demur. * * * *

I cannot close this instruction without referring to the remark addressed to you by Count Kalnoky, that "the antisemitic social feeling here (in Vienna) was a fact; that a person of proximate semitic descent would be excluded both by the social and diplomatic circles of Vienna, and that fact was beyond the control of his Government." This fact, if beyond the control of the Imperial and Royal Government, is equally beyond the cognizance of the executive power of this Republic, which could not admit a principle which, through the exclusion of "persons of proximate semitic descent," and others married to "persons of proximate semitic descent," would establish a religious test, and disfranchise from holding public office a very large and important body of our citizens.

It is a cause of astonishment that in an era of advanced civilization, in which musty prejudice and illiberal discrimination among religious sects and races of mankind are giving such gratifying proofs of their rapid extinction, when throughout the wide world the death of the venerable and philanthropic Montefiore is so genuinely mourned, when the council of highest rank and most exclusive privilege of the British Empire is glad to enroll in its peerage a member of the noted house of Rothschild, that from so enlightened a Government as that of Austria-Hungary should proceed the declaration that "proximate semitic descent" will be sufficient to proscribe individuals of admittedly blameless and virtuous personality from appearing at that court clothed in the representative character of a friendly power.

And in a letter to Mr. Keiley the Secretary of State said:

"I will not believe that the people of the United States will ever consent to the creation or enforcement of such tests as have been insisted upon by the Government of Austria-Hungary as conditions precedent and qualifications for the selection of their

representatives in foreign courts by the United States. Such action must naturally awaken widespread amazement, coupled with indignation and resentment, when the history of the case is made public, nor do I believe that these sentiments will be confined to our own country, but that, wherever religious liberty is valued and respected, a common judgment will be formed."

THE PRESIDENT'S METHOD OF DEALING WITH IT.

Having thus put upon the Austrian Government the entire responsibility for an anti-American discrimination on race and religious minds against a citizen of unquestionable and unobjectionable character, the State Department emphasized its resentment of the action of Austria by allowing the mission to remain entirely unfilled for a twelve month.

Referring to this incident in his next annual message, December 8, 1885, the President said:

Question has arisen with the Government of Austria-Hungary touching the representation of the United States at Vienna. Having, under my constitutional prerogative, appointed an estimable citizen of unimpeached probity and competence as minister at that court, the Government of Austria-Hungary invited this Government to take cognizance of certain exceptions, based upon allegations against the personal acceptability of Mr. Keiley, the appointed envoy, asking that, in view thereof, the appointment should be withdrawn. The reasons advanced were such as could not be acquiesced in, without violation of my oath of office and the precepts of the Constitution, since they necessarily involved a limitation in favor of a foreign government upon the right of selection by the Executive, and required such an application of a religious test as a qualification for office under the United States as would have resulted in the practical disfranchisement of a large class of our citizens and the abandonment of a vital principle in our Government. The Austro-Hungarian Government finally decided not to receive Mr. Keily as the envoy of the United States, and that gentleman has since resigned his commission, leaving the post vacant. I have made no new nomination, and the interests of this Government at Vienna are now in the care of the secretary of legation, acting as charge d'affaires *ad interim*.

VII.

EXTRADITION TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

HOW THE REPUBLICAN SENATE INSERTED OFFENSIVE PROVISIONS, THUS LEAVING THE DOORS OPEN TO DEFAULTERS.

An effort has been made by Republican politicians to mislead the public as to the character of the extradition treaty between the United States and Great Britain, now pending, unratified, before the Senate in executive session. The extradition treaty now in force between the two countries constitutes the 10th article of the treaty signed by Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton on the 9th of August, 1842, and is the oldest of the existing extradition treaties of the United States. It provides for the surrender of persons only for the crimes of murder, assault with intent to commit murder, piracy, arson, robbery, forgery, and the utterance of forged paper—seven crimes in all. Thus, with the country with which the people of the United States have the most, and the easiest communication, and which is, therefore, the most convenient refuge for our criminals, the United States has the most inefficient and restricted extradition arrangement, with the single exception of the old treaty of 1849, with the Hawaian Islands.

Nearly all our treaties contain the crimes of burglary, embezzlement and counterfeiting, in addition to the offenses enumerated in the treaty of 1842 with Great Britian; and many of the treaties contain various other crimes. For example, the treaty with Spain, concluded in 1877, contains fourteen crimes. This list was still further extended by a supplementary convention in 1882, until it embraces twenty offenses. The treaty concluded with Belgium, in 1882, includes fifteen crimes. The treat with France, made in 1843, has twice been extended in scope; first in 1845, and second in 1858.

Various efforts have been made during previous years to give a very large increase to the list of extraditable offenses between the United States and Great Britain, when, on the 25th of June, 1886, Mr. Phelps and Lord Rosebery, Minister for Foreign Affairs under Mr. Gladstone's last government, signed a treaty which added only five offenses to the list of seven already existing. These are: 1. Manslaughter; 2. Burglary; 3. Embezzlement or larceny of the value of $50 or £10 and upwards; 4. Malicious injuries to property whereby the life of any person shall be endangered, if such injuries constitute a crime according to the laws of both the high contracting parties.

The treaty also contains the following provision:

"No fugitive criminal shall be surrendered under the provisions of the said treaty (of 1842), or of this convention, if the crime in respect of which his surrender is demanded be one of a political character, or if he prove to the competent authority that the requisition for his surrender has in fact been made with the view to try or punish him for a crime of a political character."

The above provision was made to cover extraditions under the treaty of 1842, as well as under the new convention, because the treaty of 1842 contains no inhibition against surrender of political fugitives. The Phelps-Rosebery convention, therefore, in making an express prohibition against such a surrender, make it broad enough to embrace every possible case of extradition between the two countries, both under the new treaty and under the old.

But, in order further to guard against any abuse of extradition process, the new convention contains another provision, which is as follows:

"A fugitive criminal surrendered to either of the High Contracting Parties under the provisions of the said Treaty (1842), or of this Convention, shall not, until he has had an opportunity of returning to the State by which he has been surrendered, be detained or tried for any crime committed prior to his surrender other than the extradition crime proved by the facts on which his surrender was granted."

HOW THE SENATE DEALT WITH IT.

When this Treaty reached the Senate, it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which reported it with amendments, which appear to have prevented any action upon it; and it has now been *laid aside* until next December, after the elections. During all this period, it must be borne in mind, the guarantees which it creates, now for the first time (including the prohibition of surrender for political offenses), against the abuse of extradition process between the United States and Great Britain, are prevented from assuming a solemn conventional form, binding upon both countries.

Since the Treaty was reported by the Foreign Relations Committee, Republican politicians and newspapers have been industriously endeavoring to create the impression that one of its original stipulations provided for the surrender of persons who may use an explosive as an implement of political warfare. The falsity and

groundlessness of this charge have already been proved, and it will now be shown that the first suggestion of the kind came from the Republican Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and that the Republicans have been trying to shift the responsibility for what their committee did to the Democratic Administration.

On the 6th of February last Senator Riddleberger, referring, in the course of debate in the Senate, to the British extradition treaty, said:

"I have asked the Senate to consider a resolution to change Rule XXXVII of the Senate, which would allow us to consider in open session the proposed treaty with Great Britain. I have had a motive beyond that, which has not appeared up to this time, and that motive is to draw from the Committee on Foreign Relations the amendment which they have proposed to the treaty. If we have here a message from the President transmitting a treaty or a stipulation, and it is proposed to be amended by any member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, it is proper that it should be known which of those committeemen favor the amendment.

"I can not state what the amendment is, because I have not the terms of it at my command now, but I do say this: *I do not believe there is one single member of the Committee on Foreign Relations who will rise to-day in open session and advocate the amendment which comes from that committee.*

"I have here the treaty, but I can not discuss it—I can only discuss the joint resolution; but I ask in the light of what has been suggested here, whether I can not have that amendment read to the Senate and to the people of the United States. I ask the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who I know upon every occasion has endeavored to bring this treaty before us in executive session, whether he can not rise and tell the people what the amendment is.

"Mr. SHERMAN. Being personally appealed to, I feel it my duty to make a point of order against the Senator from Virginia, which I do with great reluctance. He asks me that I, in violation of the rules of the Senate, shall do what I regard to be improper and ungentlemanly in disclosing the secrets of the Senate against its will. When he asks me to answer that question, it is as much as if he should ask me to steal, or rob, or do anything else wrong or forbidden by law. As a matter of course, I can not state what the rules of the Senate prohibit me from saying, and I make the point of order that the Senator from Virginia is himself violating the rules. Whether it should be enforced against him or not is for the Senate to say. I simply make the point of order because I can not answer the question of the Senator from Virginia without violating the rules."

WHAT THE AMENDMENTS PROPOSED.

It was not until the 5th of April last that the amendments referred to by Senator Riddleberger were officially made public. This was some time after they had been published in the newspapers. They are shown by italics in the following paragraph:

"Malicious injuries to *persons or* property *by the use of explosives, or malicious injuries or obstructions to railways* whereby the life of any person shall be endangered, if such injuries constitute a crime according to the laws of both the high contracting parties, *or according to the laws of that political division of either country in which the offense shall have been committed, and of that political division of either country in which the offender shall be arrested*"

The original provision of the treaty, as it was sent to the Senate, may for convenient reference be repeated. It was as follows:

"Malicious injuries to property whereby the life of any person shall be endangered, if such injuries constitute a crime according to the laws of both the high contracting parties."

This provision, which is simple and plain, is substantially identical with the thirteenth clause of the second article of the extradition treaty with Japan, ratified by the Senate on the 21st of June, 1886, four days before the Phelps-Rosebery treaty was signed.

The clause in the Japanese treaty reads as follows:

"Malicious destruction of, or attempt to destroy, railways, trains, vessels, bridges, dwellings, public edifices, or other buildings, when the act endangers human life."

Similar offenses are included in other treaties of the United States.

Now the amendment of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate introduces a wholly new provision, viz: "Malicious injuries to *persons or* property *by the use of explosives.*"

This carries the scope of extradition beyond anything to be found in the original Phelps-Rosebery arrangement, or in any other of our treaties. That arrangement, as has been seen, provided for extradition for "malicious injuries to property," whereby "the life of any person shall be endangered." The amendment makes any malicious injury "to persons or property," however trivial, whether endangering life or not, an extraditable offense, when it is committed "by the use of explosives." Under this provision the throwing of a toy torpedo, a firecracker, or any similar device, with intent to make a noise, or to irritate the nerves of another, might be held to be extraditable, while the burning or other destruction of property, endangering human life, would secure complete immunity.

EFFECT OF THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

This provision would not only carry extradition beyond anything heretofore known, but it would create a new offense in criminal law, that of injuries to persons or property "by the use of explosives." Such a thing is beyond the proper scope of an extradition treaty. The object of such a treaty is to give effect to the criminal law, not to create it.

The introduction by Republican Senators of a further amendment to the treaty to make it include offenses against special laws, applicable only to particular "political divisions" of either country, such as the crimes act in Ireland, was a most objectionable action, and tends to render the whole subject of extradition odious. Such a proposition is wholly opposed to the provisions and purpose of the treaty as signed, and must tend to defeat any proper arrangement; an end doubtless desired and secretly promoted by the colony of wealthy American defaulters and embezzlers now living in ease and security in Canada.

By such vicious and indefensible amendments, republican Senators have obstructed the course of justice, and every day we hear of a new defaulter or embezzler fleeing from the United States to Canada, or from Canada to the United States. In a petition of the New York Surety Company, presented not long ago to the Senate, it was stated that during the single year 1887 embezzlers to the amount of $4,000,000 had found a safe refuge in Canada from the United States. The great incentive of such a convenient refuge to the commission of crime cannot be overestimated.

VIII.

THE FISHERIES TREATY.

THE MISREPRESENTATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN INDULGED IN BY THE NEW ENGLAND REPUBLICAN SENATORS ABOUT IT.

The same policy of misrepresentation and obstruction displayed by the Republican majority in the Senate in the matter of the Chinese and extradition treaties has also been exhibited in their treatment of the Fisheries Treaty.

When the Cleveland administration came into office one of the first questions with which it was confronted was that of the Northeastern Fisheries. The termination of the fisheries articles of the Treaty of 1871 came in the midst of the fishing season of 1885, and no provision had been made by the previous Republican administration for that emergency. President Arthur, in his last annual message to Congress in 1884, had recommended the appointment of a commission. Owing, however, to the fact that his administration was nearing its close and another of a different political complexion was about to enter office, no action was taken on this recommendation, but it met with no word of dissent.

Finding matters in this condition, Mr. Bayard, in the spring of 1885, negotiated an arrangement with the British minister whereby the American fishermen were to continue to enjoy, for the rest of the year 1885, without compensation to the Canadian government, all the privileges for which, under the Treaty of 1871, the United States gave Canada free fish and more than half a million dollars a year. On the other hand, the President agreed to renew President Arthur's recommendation to Congress.

THE COURSE OF THE SENATE.

When Congress met in December, 1885, Mr. Frye and other Republican Senators began to denounce the President and his Secretary of State for renewing that recommendation, and succeeded in preventing its adoption. Consequently the fishing season of 1886 was entered upon without any understanding between the United States and Canada on the subject of the old controversies as to the rights of American fishermen under the Treaty of 1818, and many cases of dispute ensued, giving rise to great irritation. As a result Congress, in March, 1887, on the very eve of its dissolution, passed a so-called Retaliatory Act to meet future emergencies. This Act was drawn by Mr. Edmunds and passed by him and his Republican associates in the Senate, to the exclusion of a much more efficient measure introduced by Mr. Belmont in the House of Representatives and passed by that body with a practically unanimous vote. The Act of Mr. Edmunds is vague in terms and hopelessly obscure and inaccurate in its definition of the rights which it professes to protect, and of the conditions under which its supporters pretended that it should be enforced. That it never was intended by them to be enforced; that they intended, by making its language obscure, to render it difficult for the President to construe his duty in respect to its enforcement; and that they purpose to make the President's action a ground of attack, whether he enforced it or not, are shown by their whole subsequent conduct.

Although every case of complaint that has arisen since the first of January, 1886, was before the Senate when Mr. Edmunds brought forward his bill and pressed it through, leaving it discretionary with the President, in certain contingencies, to issue a proclamation, he has been constantly attacked by Republican orators for not enforcing the Act immediately upon its passage. The simple reply to such language is that if, in the opinion of Republican Senators, the acts already committed when their bill was proposed constituted a ground for retaliation, the measure they presented involved a clear evasion of their duty, did not represent their views, and could not honestly have been put forward.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE PENDING TREATY.

In view of the uncertain condition of affairs, Sir Charles Tupper, in the spring of 1887, being then Canadian Minister of Finance, came to Washington to ascertain whether an effort could not be made to settle the questions at issue by negotiation. What followed is well known to the country.

On the 15th of February last, a treaty was concluded which was duly submitted by the President to the Senate, with a message from which are taken the following extracts:

The treaty meets my approval, because I believe that it supplies a satisfactory, practical and final adjustment, upon a basis honorable and just to both parties, of the difficult and vexed question to which it relates.

A review of the history of this question will show that all former attempts to arrive at a common interpretation, satisfactory to both parties, of the first article of the treaty of October 20, 1818, have been unsuccessful; and with the lapse of time the difficulty and obscurity have only increase.

The negotiations in 1854 and again in 1871 ended in both cases in temporary reciprocal arrangements of the tariffs of Canada and Newfoundland and of the United States, and the payment of a money award by the United States, under which the real questions in difference remained unsettled, in abeyance, and ready to present themselves anew just so soon as the conventional arrangements were abrogated.

The situation, therefore, remained unimproved by the results of the treaty of 1871, and a grave condition of affairs, presenting almost identically the same features and causes of complaint by the United States against Canadian action and British default in its correction, confronted us in May, 1886, and has continued until the present time.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The proposed delimitation of the lines of the exclusive fisheries from the common fisheries will give certainty and security as to the area of their legitimate field; the headland theory of imaginary lines is abandoned by Great Britain, and the specification in the treaty of certain named bays especially provided for gives satisfaction to the inhabitants of the shores, without subtracting materially from the value or convenience of the fishery rights of Americans.

The uninterrupted navigation of the Strait of Canso is expressly and for the time affirmed, and the four purposes for which our fishermen under the treaty of 1818 were allowed to enter the bays and harbors of Canada and Newfoundland within the belt of three marine miles are placed under a fair and liberal construction, and their enjoyment secured without such conditions and restrictions as in the past have embarrassed and obstructed them so seriously.

The enforcement of penalties for unlawfully fishing or preparing to fish within the inshore and exclusive waters of Canada and Newfoundland, is to be accomplished under safeguard against oppressive or arbitrary action, thus protecting the defendant fishermen from punishment in advance of trial, delays, and inconvenience and unnecessary expense.

The history of events in the last two years shows that no feature of Canadian administration was more harrassing and injurious than the compulsion upon our fishing vessels to make formal entry, and clearance on every occasion of temporarily seeking shelter in Canadian ports and harbors.

Such inconvenience is provided against in the proposed treaty, and this most frequent and just cause of complaint is removed.

The articles permitting our fishermen to obtain provisions and the ordinary supplies of trading vessels on their homeward voyages, and under which they are accorded the further and even more important privilege on all occasions of purchasing such casual or needful provisions and supplies as are ordinarily granted to trading vessels, are of great importance and value.

The licenses which are to be granted without charge and on application, in order to enable our fishermen to enjoy these privileges, are reasonable and proper checks in the hands of the local authorities to identify the recipients and prevent abuse, and can form no impediment to those who intend to use them fairly.

The hospitality secured for our vessels in all cases of actual distress, with liberty to unload and sell and tranship their cargoes, is full and liberal.

These provisions will secure the substantial enjoyment of the treaty rights for our fishermen, under the treaty of 1818, for which contention has been steadily made in the correspondence of the Department of State, and our minister at London, and by the American negotiators of the present treaty.

The right of our fishermen under the treaty of 1818, did not extend to the procurement of distinctive fishery supplies in Canadian ports and harbors; and one item supposed to be essential, to wit, bait, was plainly denied them by the explicit and definite words of the treaty of 1818, emphasized by the course of the negotiation and express decisions which preceded the conclusion of that treaty.

The treaty now submitted contains no provision affecting tariff duties, and, independently of the position assumed upon the part of the United States, that no alteration in our tariff or other domestic legislation could be made as the price or consideration of obtaining the rights of our citizens secured by treaty, it was considered more expedient to allow any change in the revenue laws of the United States to be made by the ordinary exercise of legislative will, and in promotion of the public interests. Therefore, the addition to the free list of fish, fish-oil, whale and seal-oil, etc., recited in the last article of the treaty, is wholly left to the action of Congress; and in connection herewith the Canadian and Newfoundland right to regulate sales of bait and other fishing supplies within their own jurisdiction is recognized, and the right of our fishermen to freely purchase these things is made contingent, by this treaty, upon the action of Congress in the modification of our tariff laws.

* * * * * * *

The treaty now submitted to you has been framed in a spirit of liberal equity and reciprocal benefits, in the conviction that mutual advantage and convenience are the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between States, and that with the adoption of the agreement now placed before the Senate, a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries will be established so as to secure perpetual peace and harmony.

In connection with the treaty herewith submitted, I deem it also my duty to transmit to the Senate a written offer or arrangement, in the nature of a *modus vivendi*, tendered after the conclusion of the treaty on the part of the British plenipotentiaries, to secure kindly and peaceful relations during the period that may be required for the consideration of the treaty by the respective governments and for the enactment of the necessary legislation to carry its provisions into effect if approved.

This paper, freely and on their own motion, signed by the British conferees, not only extends advantages to our fishermen, pending the ratification of the treaty, but appears to have been dictated by a friendly and amicable spirit.

MR. BAYARD ON THE TREATY.

The general features of the treaty are clearly set forth in a letter from Mr. Bayard, which was written in response to an invitation to make a speech in Boston, and which was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 14, 1888.

My Dear Sir: I have to thank you for your note of the 9th inst., with which you sent me an invitation to visit Boston and "deliver an address on the scope and purpose of the treaty recently submitted to the United States Senate for ratification."

The "settlement upon just and equitable terms of the questions in dispute between Great Britain and the United States concerning the rights of American fishermen in British North American waters and parts," is a subject upon which I have bestowed assiduous care ever since I assumed the duties of my present office, and the results of the efforts to promote such a settlement is embodied in the treaty now before the Senate. But the treaty has been preceded by a voluminous correspondence, and the time for complete publication has properly arrived, and its printing has been ordered by the Senate. The whole matter will thus be laid before the American people, and I trust will be fully and publicly debated by the Senate.

I am convinced that the welfare and true interests of our country and a just and wise treatment of the British-American population on our Northern frontier alike counsel the adoption of the treaty. In its initiation, negotiation and conclusion I can truly say for my associates and myself, no views but those of single-minded, patriotic intent have been allowed place or expression, nor can a trace or suggestion of partisanship be justly alleged.

The sole and difficult question to which the treaty relates—"The fishery rights of one nation in the jurisdictional waters of another"—began with the first dawn of our recognized independent existence as a nation, and ever since has conspicuously presented itself at intervals, exceeding bitter controversy, and never has been satisfactorily or permanently disposed of. Meanwhile, the surrounding circumstances have importantly changed and advanced with rapid and vast growth, but the treaty of 1818 is unaltered, and remains unaffected in its terms by seventy years of such material progress and development in this continent, as we of to-day are the witnesses.

Unless the treaty of 1818 shall be wholly abrogated and recurrence necessarily had to the dangerous status that John Quincy Adams so ably but unavailingly discussed with the Earl of Bathurst in 1815—and which had resisted all efforts of the negotiators at Ghent in the year previous—it is manifest that a joint and equitable construction, in consonance with their existing relations and mutual needs, must be agreed upon between Great Britain and the United States, and this I affirm, is done by the present treaty. There is not a recorded cause of just and reasonable complaint by an American fisherman against Canadian administration since 1866 for which this treaty does not provide a remedy and promise a safeguard in the future. You will receive the published record of the two years that have elapsed since the abrogation—on June 30, 1885—of the fishery articles of the treaty of 1871, when we were obliged to fall back upon the treaty of 1818, and you can select any case or cases of unjust treatment of our fishermen so reported and test my statement by the terms of the treaty now proposed.

MANY OF THE CANADIAN DEMANDS WITHDRAWN.

Many Canadian contentions heretofore put forth with more or less insistence, are withdrawn. Imaginary lines upon the sea, drawn from one distant headland to another—neither being visible from the other—can no longer cause doubt and anxiety to the fisherman, for the demarcation of his fishing limits is made by objects plainly in view, and if he encroaches upon the waters renounced in 1818, he will do so wilfully; and from no bay where fish are found, and purse seines can be profitably used, are our fishermen excluded by the present treaty. Every privilege—shelter, repairs, wood, water—reserved to him under the treaty of 1818, and which in the past have been so hampered and restricted by Canadian conditions, can hereafter be freely enjoyed without cost or molestation.

Hospitality and comity, as defined by civilized nations, are secured, and facilities for convenient and needful supplies "on all occasions," and relief against casualty, and in cases of distress, are all amply provided for. Conciliation and mutual neighborly concession have together done their honorable and honest work in this treaty, and paved the way for relations of amity and mutual advantage. All this is accomplished by no enforced changes in our tariff, nor the payment of a penny as the price of a concession, nor for the enjoyment of a right.

Neither the conscience, nor self-respect, nor the pocket of any American has been invaded by any provision of the pending treaty. That the Canadians possess jurisdictional rights no fair man would wish to deny—and among such rights, to decide what may be lawfully bought or sold within their own limits. This home rule or local self-government is theirs as much as we claim it for ourselves.

The share of responsibility of myself and my respected and able associates in framing this measure for the settlement of a difficult and dangerous public question has, I believe,

been fulfilled, but still in view of the far-reaching results which may attend a rejection of our work, I am anxious to have all the light possible thrown upon the treaty and its operative effects upon the well-being and happiness of our country. To this end I desire to give every information, respond to every inquiry and to remove every doubt. But the duties of the office I hold are manifold and press daily for attention, so that I do not feel warranted in leaving my post, even for the pleasure of discussing before such an audience a subject so interesting and closely associated with the interests and local historic pride of New England.

I shall send as soon as possible a copy of the printed documents and the treaty to each of the gentlemen who signed the invitation, and I am, with sincere respect,

Most truly yours, T. F. BAYARD.

To the Hon. H. L. PIERCE, Boston, Mass.

POSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC SENATORS.

The conduct of the Republican majority of the Senate in regard to this treaty since it came before that body was described by Senator Saulsbury, of Delaware, in a speech in the Senate, as follows:

Mr. President, before proceeding to discuss the treaty under consideration I may be allowed to refer to a matter which has nothing to do with the merits of the treaty, but which it is necessary shall be placed right before the country.

It is known by the published proceedings of the secret executive session, relating to the treaty that the Democratic members of the Senate voted against a motion made by the Senator from Massachusetts to consider the treaty in open executive session, and that the Republican side of this Chamber voted for that motion. This fact has been made the basis for the assertion by the Republican press that the Democratic Senators so voted because they believed the treaty indefensible and desired to prevent a public exposure of its real character. Indeed, it has been intimated upon this floor that our opposition to a public discussion of the treaty proceeded from that cause. These statements may have prejudiced some persons against the treaty who know nothing of its merits, and will justify a brief statement of the facts relating to the consideration of the treaty in open executive session. Soon after this treaty was sent to the Senate the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Riddleberger) offered a resolution providing for the consideration of the treaty with open doors, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. That committee at the proper time took the resolution into consideration and reported it back adversely.

When it came up in this body the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Hoar) made an able speech in opposition to an open discussion of the treaty and depicted in a most solemn manner the danger of discussing treaties with foreign powers in open executive session. He was followed by the Senator from Vermont in an equally able and elaborate argument on the same side, deprecating the injury which would be inflicted on the country by discussing in public treaties negotiated with foreign countries. Mr. Hawley, of Connecticut, ably presented the same view of the matter, and upon a yea-and-nay vote only three Senators voted for open discussion. In less than forty-eight hours thereafter (I believe on the very next day) a Republican caucus was held, and it was determined by the caucus that the treaty should be considered with open doors. Then the humiliating sight was presented of every Republican Senator, with one exception (Mr. Hale, of Maine), coming into the Senate and voting for an open executive session, reversing their own action upon the Riddleberger resolution. No more humiliating sight was ever witnessed in the American Senate: Senators who had declared that the interest of the country in its foreign relations would be sacrificed by repealing or suspending the rule of the body which had existed from the foundation of the Government, requiring the consideration of treaties in secret session, at the mandate of a party caucus for a partisan purpose, deliberately bartering their expressed convictions and surrendering their opinions upon a matter of public duty in order to obtain a supposed party advantage.

Senator George spoke to the same effect in the following forcible words:

I believe, sir, it is an open secret that this change in the attitude of the Senators on the other side, resulting in a consequent change in the uniform practice of the Senate, was brought about by the action of a caucus or conference of Republican Senators from which all the world was excluded. What arguments were urged, what reasons presented, which

worked this extraordinary change are unknown to me, unknown to the world. The Republican Senators became in some unknown way, in secret council, from which the American people were excluded, convinced—solemnly convinced—by arguments and on reasoning which they dared not or would not commit to the American people, that secrecy in affairs, secrecy in making treaties, was all wrong; that the universal practice of our fathers on this subject was all wrong. The inconsistency between the methods used and the end attained, the repugnance between the principles of these methods and the principles involved in this end, are so patent that it requires a large share of charity in judging mankind to believe that both are sincere.

The result—a declaration that secrecy in deliberations in conducting negotiations with a foreign power is all wrong, the exclusion of that power from our counsels is un-American, is reached in a secret caucus from which the American people themselves are excluded! It is not to be forgotten, however, that this change in regard to secret sessions of the Senate is not by any means the result of a conviction that such secrecy is in general wrong. The change is limited to this very treaty; for since the vote to consider this treaty in open session we have been considering all other executive business in secret, including not only treaties, but matters of nominations to public office, which are purely of domestic concern. Thus we take into our confidence, admit to our secret counsels, Great Britain when we consider matters which seriously affect our relations with that empire, and we exclude from our confidence the American people when considering matters affecting them alone.

The same charge of partisan conduct in regard to the treaty on the part of Republican Senators has been made by almost every Democratic Senator who has spoken on the treaty. and no Republican Senator has dared to deny it. The "practical politics" of the matter were managed by Senator Chandler, of New Hampshire, of Electoral Fraud fame, in 1876, who reduced Senators Edmunds and Hoar to obedience and to the repudiation of their own arguments, which they have never publicly renounced.

WHAT THE NEGOTIATORS SAY OF IT.

Mr. W. L. Putman, of Maine, one of the United States Commissioners to negotiate the treaty, said of it:

The treaty next seeks to alleviate the hardships of the legal proceedings which various statutes of the province and the Dominion have imposed on foreign vessels. * * *

As already explained, these had been allowed to thrive so long without any successful effort on the part of the United States to prevent their growth, that they had become too deeply rooted in the general mass of Canadian legislation to permit their being entirely drawn out. It is believed, however, that so far as this article may fail to remove all these difficulties detail by detail, its limitation of penalties, except for illegal fishing or preparation therefor, will do very much to prevent injustice under any circumstances; while as to vessels poaching, it is for the interest of each government that they shall be restrained by severe punishments.

To follow out the matter more in detail: A fishing vessel is seized in the Bay of St. Ann's or up in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Under existing statutes, first of all, and before she can claim a trial or take testimony or other steps towards a trial, she is required to furnish security for costs not exceeding $240. The practical experience is that fishing vessels taken into strange ports are rarely provided with funds or credit, and therefore they are compelled to communicate with their owners for assistance, and by reason of the consequent delay are unable to take even the preliminary steps before the sharesmen scatter and the witnesses are lost; because sharesmen, not being ordinarily on wages, cannot be held to a vessel moored to a pier.

This provision of the Canadian law is not singular; in our own admiralty courts no person can ordinarily claim a fishing vessel, or whatever vessel she may be, without furnishing like security. Under the treaty this disappears: and in practice this relief will be found to be of great benefit to our fishermen. Next, the courts into which all the cases of these fishing vessels have been brought are not provincial, but are imperial vice-admiralty courts, established and governed by the uniform rules of the imperial statute, although presided

over by a local judge designated for that purpose. As a consequence, all the paraphernalia and fees of imperial courts are met, and the progress of the trial requires the early disbursement of large sums of money common in all of them, but unknown in our own and in the provincial courts.

These are necessarily so large that our consular correspondence shows the burden of securing the costs and advancing fees was alone sufficient in some instances to compel owners to abandon the defense of vessels of moderate value. The statutes to which we have already referred, moreover, stipulated that no vessel should be released on bail without the consent of the seizing officer; and, although it must be admitted that in practice this has not yet been found to create difficulty, it is annulled by the treaty. While it is impossible to anticipate or prevent all causes of legal delays and expenditures, yet there is no reasonable ground for denying that this thirteenth article will essentially moderate these enumerated rigors.

The punishment for illegally fishing in the prohibited waters has always been forfeiture of the vessel and the cargo aboard at the time of seizure. It was not possible, nor was it for the interests of either country, to demand that the penalty imposed on actual poachers should not be severe; but this article provides that only the cargo aboard at the time of the offense can be forfeited, and the provincials cannot lie back until a vessel has taken a full cargo, and then sweep in the earnings of the entire trip for an offense committed perhaps at its inception. Moreover, the article provides the penalty shall not be enforced until reviewed by the Governor-General in council, giving space for the passing away of temporary excitement and for a calm consideration of all mitigating circumstances. Also, from the passage of the statute of 1819, the penalty for illegally "preparing to fish" has been forfeiture. This has at times been construed to extend, not only to preparing to fish illegally, but also to a preparation within the Dominion waters for fishing elsewhere. The J. H. Nickerson, already referred to, was forfeited in A. D. 1870 on this principle, without any specific protest from the United States or any subsequent reclamation.

COMMISSIONER ANGELL'S OPINION.

The Detroit *Tribune* of February 24, 1888, contained an interview with Presi- Angell, of the State University, who was one of the members of the recent Fisheries Commission, giving his views with reference to the treaty which they negotiated and which had just been sent to the Senate:

When the representatives of the different governments first met and compared views they differed so widely in their propositions and methods that it seemed almost hopeless to anticipate that they would ever come together. Now, I want to point out to you a few of the benefits which I think we have gained or will have gained when the treaty submitted by the commission is ratified by all the parties in interest. The chief source of trouble to our fishermen here has been that when they ran within three miles of the Canadian shore for shelter they were obliged to sail their vessels at times a distance to some custom-house and enter and clear. By the treaty of 1818 our vessels were allowed the privilege of entering to port for four objects, shelter, repairs, wood and water. But this section of the treaty was encumbered and lumbered by the laws of the Dominion government that the privilege was entirely stripped of its value. These conditions by the treaty will all be taken off and charges for dues, pilotage fees, &c., have all been dispensed with. Why, when our vessels ran into a port in distress they were not allowed to purchase a single article of food or sell a dollar's worth of their cargo. This is now changed, and they can sell and buy food, and get all casual and needful supplies the same as other vessels. The judicial procedure was one of the greatest annoyances and troubles to our fishermen. Now this is all simplified and made inexpensive. Formerly our fishermen did not know and could not tell when they were within the three-mile limit. This is to be rectified so that they will all be able to know their whereabouts by charts and buoys.

We left the matter of selling bait optional, as our men say they don't have to buy bait in Canada, while the Canadians do have to buy our bait. For this reason we left that point optional, as we might wish some time to restrict them from buying. We were a long time getting down to the real work of the commission, the interests of all parties being so varied. The British and Canadian consumers were especially anxious to make a reciprocal free

trade a part of this negotiation before they would settle on the fishery question. More than half the time was occupied in this endeavor. The real work has been done within the past month. We told them over and over again that the tariff was a matter which must be settled by Congress, that we could do nothing about it. I must say that if the treaty is not ratified by the Senate they will make a great mistake in my judgment. What adds decidedly to the strength of my opinion, in that we have been able to get decidedly the best of the case in the treaty, is that the radical Canadian papers are all so opposed to it.

Commissioner Angell is the president of Michigan University, the largest educational institution in the United States except Harvard. He is a gentleman of the highest character and attainments, a Republican, and was appointed by Mr. Evarts, when Secretary of State, our Plenipotentiary to China, and was the senior member of the commission which negotiated the treaty at Peking, of Nov. 17, 1880, placing restrictions on immigration into the United States of Chinese laborers.

WHAT THE TREATY SECURED.

The truth is that the Fisheries Treaty secures for the fishermen far more than Republican Senators said they needed before it was made. In 1887 Mr. Edmunds made a report, in which Mr. Frye and all the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate joined, and in which it was declared that "there is no necessity whatever for American fishermen to resort to Canadian waters" for bait. In the Boston *Journal* in June, 1887, Mr. George Steele, President of the America Fishery Union, wrote as follows:

"Gloucester, Provincetown and Portland never felt better than now their ability to do without Canadian bait; and the Ottawa Government will find that its measures of retaliation and exclusion have injured its own fishermen without doing the least damage to the United States."

He also testified before the Committee of Foreign Relations as follows:

"Q. Taking the cod-fishery, then, what in your opinion is the value to the American fishing interest of the right to get bait on British shore? A. Nothing whatever.

"Q. You would not care anything about it? A. No, sir.

"Q. In your halibut fishery you carry the ice out from here always, do you not? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. And stand right straight off for the halibut fishing ground? A. Yes, sir. We take twenty-five to forty tons to a vessel.

"Q. Taking the cod-fishery, the mackerel-fishery and the whole thing together, how far do you regard as of any practical value to American fishing interests the right to go ashore or inside the three-mile limit, except for shelter and for fresh water? A. I should not think it was of any value whatever."

Mr. O. B. Whitten of Portland, Vice-President of the Fishery Union, said November last, in a local paper, that Canada has nothing to give us to offset free-trade, "no privileges, bait or fish."

He also testified before the Committee of Foreign Relations as follows:

"Q. In fishing in Canadian waters for halibut—I do not mean in waters within their jurisdiction, but off their coast on the banks—what necessity is there for our fishermen to go into their ports for bait? A. Not any whatever.

"Q. Is there any necessity of going into the ports of Canada to get fresh bait? A. It is not necessary; they can get it here and take it with them. There are thousands and thousands of barrels caught no further off than Wood Island.

"Q. Do you consider valuable the privilege of going into Canadian ports to buy bait? A. I do not consider it of any value at all."

"Q. Then so far as the Canadian ports are concerned, other than for purposes of shelter, water, wood and repairs of damages, it would be better for the fishermen of Maine if they were not permitted to go in at all? A. I think so."

SENATOR FRYE BEFORE HE HAD A PARTISAN POINT TO MAKE.

Senator Frye, in a published interview at Lewiston, Maine, in October, 1886, said:

The testimony of the owners and fishermen taken at Gloucester, also at Boston, Provincetown and Portland, was entirely agreed on the following points:

First—That there is no necessity at all for our fishing vessels to enter ports of Canada for any purposes except those provided for in the treaty of 1818, viz., for shelter, wood, water and repairs; that while the Canadians admit our rights to these privileges, they are unnecessarily and without excuse interfering continuously with our enjoyment of them. If one of our vessels runs into a Canadian port in a storm for shelter, they insist upon immediate entry, no matter how inconvenient it may be to the captain of the vessel. They will not permit him to land a man, though he be a citizen of that country, send his clothing ashore, send for treatment in sickness, purchase anything whatever. A score of our fishing vessels have already been seized by them and fined $400, for what they determined to be infractions of the peculiar rules and regulations of their customs laws, which have been obsolete for more than forty years. In fact, they do not permit us to enjoy any of the rights which they admit to be secured to us by the treaty of 1818, without putting us to more inconvenience and trouble than the right is worth.

Second—They refuse our fishermen absolutely and unqualifiedly all commercial rights whatever, and refuse to recognize as valid our customs permits to touch and trade. Their ports are almost as effectually closed against all of our fishing vessels as if there was to-day a condition of war between us and Great Britain. The fishermen also concur in saying that these commercial privileges are of no value. It has been generally understood that the right to purchase bait was a very valuable one; but the testimony not only shows that it is of no value, but the preponderance of testimony is that the right exercised does more harm than good, that the time consumed in going into and out of the port, and going thence to the banks again, costs the fishermen more than the value of the bait.

Third—Both fishermen and owners agree with great unanimity, that they require absolutely nothing of Canada other than the treaty rights of 1818; that it is better for them when they start on their cruises to provide their vessels with everything that is necessary for the cruises, bait and all, than to leave anything to be provided for in Canada.

Fourth—They agree that the privilege of fishing inside of the three-mile limit is absolutely worthless, and has been for fifteen years; that nearly all the fish, both mackerel and cod, have been taken outside; that fishing with purse seines within three miles of the shore never brings compensation enough to make up for the damage to the seines in shoal water and on the rocks.

Fifth—There seems to be no difference in opinion about the result of a treaty with Canada which would give them our markets or alter our tariff by making fish free. They believe it would be certain to destroy in ten or fifteen years the fishing industry of New England and transfer to Canada the fishing fleet; that there is nothing which Canada can give them as a compensation for this.

Sixth—Their remedy for existing troubles with their business is a higher duty on salt fish, also a duty on fresh fish."

Under the new fisheries treaty should the tax on salt fish be at any time, in the pleasure of the United States, removed, the already largely increased privileges of American fishing vessels in Canadian waters would be still further expanded.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO THE FISHERY UNION.

Before the negotiation of the Fisheries Treaty, when arrangements were being made for the fishing season of 1887, the President wrote to the president of the Fishery Union the following letter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, April 7, 1887.

GEORGE STEELE, ESQ.,
President American Fishery Union, and others, Gloucester, Mass.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letter lately addressed to me, and have given full consideration to the expression of the views and wishes therein contained, in relation to the existing differences between the Government of Great Britain and the United States, growing out of the refusal to award to our citizens engaged in fishing enterprises the privileges to which they are entitled, either under treaty stipulations or the guarantees of international comity and neighborly concession.

I sincerely trust the apprehension you express, of unjust and unfriendly treatment of American fishermen lawfully found in Canadian waters, will not be realized. But if such apprehension should prove to be well founded, I earnestly hope that no fault or inconsiderate action of any of our citizens will in the least weaken the just position of our Government, or deprive us of the universal sympathy and support to which we should be entitled.

The action of this administration since June, 1885, when the fishery articles of the treaty of 1871 were terminated under the notification which had two years before been given by our Government, has been fully disclosed by the correspondence between the representatives and the appropriate departments of the respective governments, with which I am apprised by your letter you are entirely familiar. An examination of this correspondence has doubtless satisfied you that in no case have the rights or privileges of American fishermen been overlooked or neglected, but that, on the contrary, they have been seduously insisted upon and cared for by every means within the control of the executive branch of the Government.

The act of Congress approved March 3, 1887, authorizing a course of retaliation through executive action, in the event of a continuance on the part of the British-American authorities of unfriendly conduct and treaty violations affecting American fishermen, has devolved upon the President of the United States exceedingly grave and solemn responsibilities, comprehending highly important consequences to our national character and dignity, and involving extremely valuable commercial intercourse between the British Possessions in North America and the people of the United States.

I understand the main purpose of your letter is to suggest that, in case recourse to the retaliatory measures authorized by this act should be invited by unjust treatment of our fishermen in the future, the object of such retaliation might be fully accomplished by "prohibiting Canadian-caught fish from entry into the ports of the United States."

The existing controversy is one in which two nations are the parties concerned. The retaliation contemplated by the act of Congress is to be enforced, not to protect solely any particular interest, however meritorious or valuable, but to maintain the national honor, and thus protect all our people. In this view, the violation of American fishery rights, and unjust or unfriendly acts towards a portion of our citizens engaged in this business, is but the occasion for action, and constitutes a national affront which gives birth to, or may justify, retaliation. This measure, once resorted to, its effectiveness and value may well depend upon the thoroughness and extent of its application; and in the performance of international duties, the enforcement of international rights, and the protection of our citizens, this government and the people of the United States must act as a unit—all intent upon attaining the best result of retaliation upon the basis of a maintenance of national honor and duty.

A nation seeking by any means to maintain its honor, dignity, and integrity is engaged in protecting the rights of its people; and if in such efforts particular interests are injured and special advantages forfeited, these things should be patriotically borne for the public good.

An immense volume of population, manufactures and agricultural productions, and the marine tonnage and railways to which these have given activity, all largely the result of intercourse between the United States and British America, and the natural growth of a full half century of good neighborhood and friendly communication, form an aggregate of material wealth and incidental relations of most impressive magnitude. I fully appreciate these things, and am not unmindful of the great number of our people who are concerned in such vast and diversified interests.

In the performance of the serious duty which the Congress has imposed upon me, and in the exercise upon just occasion of the power conferred under the act referred to, I shall deem myself bound to inflict no unnecessary damage or injury upon any portion of our people; but I shall, nevertheless, be unflinchingly guided by a sense of what the self-respect and dignity of the nation demand. In the maintenance of these and in the support of the honor of the government beneath which every citizen may repose in safety, no sacrifice of personal or private interests shall be considered as against the general welfare.

Yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

PRACTICAL WORKINGS OF THE DEPARTMENT.

Under the Cleveland administration, the service of the Department has been brought up to a high state of efficiency. A committee of the Senate, engaged in investigating the manner in which the Department business is at present conducted, has lately made a report in which no criticism was offered. Much attention has been given to the consular branch of our foreign service. Its condition has been greatly improved, and among the things sought to be accomplished through it, is the prevention of frauds upon our customs laws by undervaluations.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TREASURY.

HOW THIS GREAT DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN ADMINISTERED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE COUNTRY.

Under Democratic Management the Debt Has Been Paid Rapidly and Business Interests Promoted.

I.

The most important work of this Department obviously consists of the collection of the revenues and the management of the national finances.

In the matter of the collection of the revenue, which is mainly derived from receipts for customs dues and from internal taxes, there has been a steady and decided increase of revenue, and a steady and decided decrease of the cost of collection under the present Administration. The fiscal year ends on the 30th day of June, and the present year, therefore, completes three full fiscal years of this administration of the Department; and, beginning with the fiscal year 1884, which was the first year after the tariff law of 1883 went into effect, it will be found that the receipts from customs for that year were, in round numbers, one hundred and ninety-five millions of dollars; for 1885, one hundred and eighty-one millions of dollars; for 1886, one hundred and ninety three millions of dollars—being the first year of this administration—an increase of twelve millions of dollars; and in 1887 they were two hundred and seventeen millions of dollars, a further increase of twenty-five millions; and for 1888, two hundred and twenty millions of dollars, a further increase of three millions, making a total increase during the three years of over forty millions of dollars, while the cost of collection for 1884 was 03.44 per cent.;

1885, 03.77;
1886, 03.30;
1887, 03.16;
and
1888, 02.98.

CARE IN THE TRANSACTION OF BUSINESS.

The same results are shown in the receipts from internal revenue and the expenditures in that branch of the service, the collections for the fiscal year 1885 being, in round numbers, one hundred and twelve millions; 1886, one hundred and

seventeen millions; 1887, one hundred and nineteen millions; 1888, one hundred and twenty-five millions, a total increase of thirteen millions of dollars, while the cost of collection has decreased from 3.963 per cent. for 1885 to 3.02 per cent. in 1888. This has been accomplished notwithstanding the work of collecting the tax upon oleomargarine and the enforcement of the law against the illicit production and traffic in that article has during this period devolved upon the Internal Revenue Bureau.

In both the customs and internal revenue service great vigilance has been displayed in the detection and suppression of frauds upon the revenue. In the customs department especial attention has been given to the subject of undervaluations, which had grown to be so great an abuse that loud complaints were constantly made by the domestic manufacturer and the honest importer that their business was seriously imperiled in consequence of it. The result has been that this abuse has been practically eradicated, and save in rare instances are complaints now made either to the Department or in the public press on that account. Greater promptness in the transaction of customs business has also been secured. Two-thirds of the revenue from customs are collected at the port of New York, and two years ago the work of the Liquidating Division at that port was over two years behind, and the Division of Protests and Appeals was equally in arrears, but at the present time the work of both divisions has been so far advanced that by the end of this calendar year all arrears of business will have been disposed of, and the work will be up to current date.

II.

BUYING BONDS FOR THE SINKING FUND.

EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE SURPLUS BY RELEASING PUBLIC MONEY TO THE COUNTRY FOR THE PURPOSES OF BUSINESS.

In the matter of the management of the national finances, a brief review of some of the difficulties which had to be encountered, and of the dangers which threatened the country, and of the manner in which they have been avoided and averted, will satisfy every candid and impartial mind that this branch of the public service was never more ably or more faithfully administered.

On the 30th of June, 1887, the surplus in the Treasury, according to the Treasurer's statement of assets and liabilities, was $45,698,594.15. The expenditures, actual and estimated, including the Sinking Fund, for the fiscal year 1888 were $316,817,785.48, and the revenues of the Government for the same period under existing tariff and revenue laws were estimated to be approximately $383,000,000. Thus an addition to the surplus during the fiscal year of $66,182,214.52 was expected, making the total surplus on the 30th of June, 1888, $111,880,808.67. This was the situation as it appeared one year ago. It will be seen from what follows that the estimate was far below the reality.

Early in August, 1887, it became apparent that the rapid accumulation of money in the Treasury, which had already created a feeling of great anxiety and uneasiness in business centres, would soon cause severe stringency in the money markets. The time was approaching when the annual shipments of money to the

West for the purpose of moving the crops would deplete the reserves in the great cities. This depletion, which in good years is always great enough to increase the loaning rate to 7 per cent. and upward, threatened to be so great as to cripple the movement of money so necessary to the welfare of the country, particularly of the great grain-raising sections of the West, and the constantly increasing surplus in the Treasury was daily adding to the gravity of the situation.

At this juncture the Secretary of the Treasury wisely determined that, instead of distributing the purchases for the Sinking Fund over the whole fiscal year, as he would do in ordinary circumstances, he would invest the entire amount, nearly twenty-eight millions, at once, or as rapidly as possible, hoping thereby to so far relieve the impending distress as to tide over the period of moving the crops, and so prevent business disturbances during that critical time. To this end he published the circular of August, 1887, and later the circular of September, 1887, for the purchase of bonds for the Sinking Fund. The first circular proposed to receive offers weekly at prices to be named by the owners, and when all which were offered at fair prices had been obtained by that method, the second circular was published fixing a price at which they would be received.

Under these two circulars the Secretary purchased $24,844,650 bonds at a cost of $27,842,237.10. No comment is needed to emphasize the importance and vast benefit of this operation. The Secretary placed in the hands of the people nearly twenty eight millions of money with which to carry on the most important business transactions of the year. The wisdom and success of this measure is best shown by the fact that throughout the period when the greatest trouble has heretofore occurred, not the slightest disturbance of business was recorded, and the average rate paid for money on call in New York, the great banking centre of the country, was never lower.

Upon completing the purchase of bonds for the Sinking Fund, the question of disposing of the further additions to the surplus was carefully considered. The authority to purchase bonds in addition to the Sinking Fund requirements was not considered to be so clear and unequivocal as to justify the Secretary in making purchases.

DISTRIBUTING GOVERNMENT MONEY THROUGH THE BANKS.

The authority to do this, such as it was, was contained in a paragraph in the Legislative Appropriation Bill, approved March 3, 1881, and after a careful survey of all the circumstances it was decided that doubt existed and that all other lawful means should first be exhausted before resorting to other purchases. The only resource left appeared to be in the Secretary's authority to use National Banks as depositories of public money. Prior to this time the deposits in National Banks had been somewhat restricted by the unprofitable nature of the terms offered to the banks. They were limited to a deposit of 90 per cent. of the par value of the bonds deposited by them as security, so that from 18 to 36 per cent. of the value of the bonds was practically locked up. In view of the high premium which these bonds commanded as an investment, it was decided to allow a deposit of the par value of 4½ per cent. bonds held as security and a deposit of 110 per cent. against 4 per cent. bonds held. The result is best shown by the following statement.

On the 1st of July, 1885, there were 141 National Banks whose designations as depositories were in force and the deposits of public moneys in their hands

amounted to **$12,928,264.47.** On the 1st of July, 1888, there were **294** banks, holding public deposits of **$59,979,039.63.** This is an increase of **153** banks and an increase of deposits in their hands of **$47,050,775.16.** In other words, there are more than twice as many banks now acting as depositories as there were three years ago, and they hold nearly five times as much public money as they did three years ago. This great sum of **forty-seven millions of dollars** is now in the hands of the people as the result of the wise and liberal policy of the Secretary, instead of remaining locked up in the Treasury, as it would have remained under the policy formerly in operation, and the security held for the safe return to the Treasury of the money deposited, is at times ample, for the 4½ per cent. bonds held by the Treasury have at all times been worth at least seven per cent. more than the deposit, and the 4 per cent. at least 15 per cent. more. Either class of bonds can be sold at a day's notice, so that no possible contingency could result in loss to the Government.

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC MONEY BY SECTIONS.

The total amount of public deposits in depository banks June 30, 1888, exclusive of sums to the credit of disbursing officers, was $54,950,501.15. More than five times the amount held June 30, 1885, when the balances were $10,924,418.64.

These amounts were distributed as follows:

Eastern Division, comprising the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware:

June 30, 1885.....$ 3,164,405.06
June 30, 1888..... 30,068,033.63

Central Division, comprising Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky:

June 30, 1885.....$ 4,351,630.84
June 30, 1888..... 11,188,644.81

Northwestern Division, comprising Colorado, Montana, Kansas, Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa:

June 30, 1885.....$1,920,220.12
June 30, 1888..... 5,958,770.63

Southern Division, comprising New Mexico, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, &c., &c.:

June 30, 1885.....$1,201,562.66
June 30, 1888..... 6,705,852.49

Pacific Slope, comprising Utah, Idaho, Washington, Nevada, California, and Oregon:

June 30, 1885.....$ 285,570.46
June 30, 1888..... 1,029,199.59

NO CONTRACTION OF THE CIRCULATING MEDIUM.

There has prevailed the belief that the accumulation of the surplus revenues in the Treasury and the retirement of National Bank Notes by banks reducing circulation must result in contraction of the circulation of the country. So far the wise, prudent, and skillful management of the Government finances by the Secretary of the Treasury has averted all trouble from this source. Indeed, the amount of money in circulation among the people to-day is greater than it was two years ago.

The total circulation January 1, 1886, was $1,285,173,012, while the amount June 30, 1888, was **$1,372,627,868**, an *increase* of **$87,454,856.**

The following table shows how this increase is effected:

CHANGES.	Increase.	Decrease.
Gold Coin	$ 38,625,381	
Silver Dollars	8,287,732	
Subsidiary Coin	3,207,372	
Gold Certificates	14,527,769	
Silver Certificates	107,207,911	
United States Notes		$10,042,004
National Bank Notes		69,359,305
Total	$166,856,165	$79,401,309

BUYING BONDS UPON OFFERS FROM THE PUBLIC.

The efforts of the Secretary to keep down the surplus in the Treasury were effectual during the fall and early winter, but the time soon came when something more must be done, for the surplus continued to grow and the measures which had been so effective earlier in the fiscal year, were now inoperative, which were clearly foreseen, and to which the present Secretary and his able predecessor, Mr. Manning, had repeatedly called the attention of Congress, without avail. The absorption of public moneys by the depository banks had reached its limit, and the sinking fund requirements had been supplied, so that nothing remained to be done but to await the action of Congress. There had been discussion of the subject in both Houses, but no material progress towards a settlement of the question had been made. In April, however, the House passed a resolution declaratory of its judgment that the clause in the appropriation bill of March 3, 1881, was still in force, and a similar resolution was passed a few days later in the Senate.

The sanction of Congress having thus been practically given to the policy of purchasing unmatured obligations at a premium, the Secretary promptly, on the day after the passage of the Senate resolution, published a circular dated April 17, 1888, inviting daily offerings of bonds to the Government. This circular, like those which preceded it in August and September, 1887, invited the people to deal directly with the Government in selling their bonds, being a marked departure from the policy of former administrations in this respect. All previous purchases had been made through the Sub-Treasury in New York, and a deposit as a guarantee of good faith was required. This restriction placed the business of selling bonds to the Government exclusively in the hands of the professional dealers in securities, and consequently placed individual holders at their mercy. Under the present system the humblest citizen of the United States, owner of a bond for $50, can deal directly with the Government, and his proposal for the sale of his bond receives from the Secretary the same consideration, and if his bond is accepted the same prompt payment as that accorded the dealer who sells his millions at a time.

THE EFFECTS OF BOND PURCHASES.

Under this circular of April 17, 1888, the Secretary had purchased up to June 30, 1888, $18,383,800, 4 per cent. bonds, at a cost of $23,347,744.20, and $8,393,050 4½ per cent. at a cost of $9,039,056.20, making a total disbursement on account of purchase of $32,386,800.40.

The bonds so purchased, it should be remembered, were not redeemable, the 4½ per cents. being payable after September, 1891, and the 4 per cents. not until after July 1, 1907. The amount, therefore, which the Government would pay in interest and principal on the bonds if outstanding till maturity, would be for the 4½ per cent. $9,705,158.31, and for the 4 per cents. $32,539,326, making a total of $42,244,484 31.

The difference between this amount and the amount actually paid results in a direct saving to the Government of **$9,857,683.91**, which added to savings in 1887 of $4,832,668.62, makes a total saving of **$14,790,352.53**, so that at the same time that the Secretary of the Treasury was relieving the people by disbursing the money they so badly needed, he was saving to them nearly fifteen millions of dollars, and making possible a still further reduction of taxation to that amount.

Notwithstanding the utmost endeavors of the Secretary to diminish the surplus, statements published at the close of the fiscal year 1888, show that it is larger than at the commencement of the purchases in August, 1887. According to the statements of assets and liabilities for August 1, 1887, the surplus was then $45,698,594.15, and on July 1, 1888, it was $103,220,464.71, which is an increase of $57,521,870.56, notwithstanding the purchase during the interval of U. S. bonds, costing over thirty-two millions of dollars, in addition to those purchased in August for the sinking fund, and which were included in the estimated expenditures for the fiscal year.

It has already been shown that the estimates made on June 20, 1887, for the ensuing fiscal year, indicated a probable surplus of $111,880,803.67 during the year. The actual surplus was $135,607,265.11, consisting of $103,220,464.71 still in the Treasury, and $32,386,800.40 paid for bonds purchased. This is an increase over the estimate of $23,726,456.44.

GIVING SMALL HOLDERS A CHANCE.

When the circular of April 17, 1888, was published inviting proposals for the sale of bonds to the Government, public notice was given to the country through the press that the names of the persons offering bonds to the Government would not be published. This action was taken in consequence of the unwillingness of the owners of bonds to have their private affairs made public. It was thought that this course would encourage the owners to deal directly with the Department, thereby saving the commissions and profits which dealers would acquire if the bonds should get into their hands, and at the same time increase the amounts offered and sold to the Government. The wisdom of this course was apparent from the outset. Notwithstanding the scarcity of bonds for sale and the fact that the Government declined to encourage any strong advance in the price, the Secretary succeeded up to June 13, 1888, in purchasing 4 per cent. $15,471,350, and $76,477.50 4½ per cents., at a total cost of $27,859,888.15.

At this point, however, a serious obstacle to further successful operation presented itself in the shape of a resolution from the United States Senate, calling on the Secretary for a full statement of his purchases, including names of owners, amounts and prices. This resolution was introduced by a Republican Senator, who affected to believe that questionable transactions had taken place in connection with these purchases. It was made clear to the Senate during debate that the

passage of the resolution would restrict and perhaps entirely prevent further purchases, but by a party vote the resolution was carried, and in obedience thereto the Secretary furnished the information called for, which was promptly printed by order of the Senate and so made public.

An examination of the published statement showed that there was not the slightest basis for the insinuations so freely thrown out during the Senate debate on the resolution, but the attack on the policy of the administration, which was probably the real motive for the resolution, proved, as had been feared, very effective. Prior to the passage of the resolution the purchases had amounted to $26,119,100, an average of $502,300 daily. Since that time they have been $3,886,900, an average of only $125,350 daily.

A distinctive feature of the purchases of bonds during the fiscal year is the relatively large number of small holders who have offered their bonds to the Government. Heretofore, when purchases were made through the Assistant Treasurer at New York, the bonds were offered by regular dealers in large amounts, but the offerings up to July 17, under the circular of April 17, 1888, numbered 733, involving a total amount of $107,367,100, and 428 of these offers were in sums of less than $50,000, separated as follows: 61 of less than $1,000, 113 of less than $5,000, 70 of less than $10,000, and 184 of less than $50,000. These figures show the widespread popularity of the Secretary's plan of purchasing bonds.

REDUCTION OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The reduction of the public debt during the three years ended June 30, 1888, compared favorably with the reduction during a corresponding earlier period. The debt, less cash in the Treasury:

June 30, 1882, was.....$1,783,979,151.14
January 30, 1885, it was..... 1,485,234,149.65
And June 30, 1888,..... 1,165,584,656.64

The reduction during the first period of these years was, therefore, $298,745,001.59, and during the second $319,649,493.01.

III.

REDUCING THE PUBLIC DEBT.

THE RAPIDITY WITH WHICH THIS HAS BEEN DONE BY A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION SINCE THE 4th OF MARCH, 1885.

Every American citizen is justly proud of the rapidity with which the great debt of the country is reduced from year to year, and the record of this administration far surpasses all its predecessors in this respect. The average annual reduction of the public debt during the three years preceding June 30, 1885, being $99,500,000, and during the three years succeeding the same date $106,500,000.

Statement showing the increase and decrease and total reduction of the public debt, each month, from March 1, 1885, to July 1, 1888:

	Decrease.	Increase.	Total Decrease.
1885.			
March		$89,256 18	
April	$4,837,339 71		
May	3,350,833 63		
June	9,156,861 63		
July	8,662,789 96		
August	2,879,052 17		
September	12,757,965 25		
October	13,276,774 18		
November		4,887,198 47	
December	9,089,989 84		
	$64,011,556 37	$4,976,454 65	$59,035,101 72
1886.			
January	$8,672,553 81		
February	2,702,158 31		
March	14,087,884 00		
April	10,965,387 95		
May	8,823,565 91		
June	9,061,898 34		
July	9,049,103 85		
August	1,910,699 02		
September	10,627,013 17		
October	13,201,619 50		
November	3,005,249 57		
December	9,358,202 32		
	$101,470,330 75		$101,470,330 75
1887.			
January	$9,515,687 08		
February	1,436,782 57		
March	12,808,467 71		
April	13,053,098 77		
May	8,888,997 65		
June	16,852,725 17		
July	4,844,894 83		
August	4,809,475 41		
September	14,247,999 80		
October	16,833,695 30		
November		1,490,350 99	
December	14,584,650 68		
	$117,876,444 97	$1,490,350 99	$116,386,093 98
1888.			
January	$15,387,320 50		
February	7,756,366 67		
March	11,586,559 68		
April	9,235,300 10		
May	1,618 695 96		
June	14,429,502 44		
	$60,013,745 35		$60,013,745 35
Total reduction			$336,905,271 80

GOLD AND SILVER CIRCULATION.

At the time the present administration assumed the charge of the Treasury Department very grave apprehensions were entertained by eminent financiers that gold and silver could not be maintained as currency upon equal footing, and it was believed in many quarters that they must soon part company and that gold would

become the sole standard of value in the commerce of the country. It was claimed that such a result must follow from the act requiring the compulsory purchase and coinage of silver by the Government at the rate of at least two millions dollars per month, and it may be fairly urged that such would have been the inevitable consequence had it not been for the determination of the Treasury Department to use all lawful expedients to maintain the equality of the two metals as to their purchasing power, and the wise policy inaugurated and pursued by it in this respect. How completely successful it has been the above exhibit will show. There has been an increase in eighteen months of over $110,000 000 in the silver circulation of the country, thereby not only placing in the hands of the people the $36,000,000 of silver coined during that period, but also over $74,000,000 of the accumulated silver in the treasury.

THE GOVERNMENT CREDIT.

Table showing the average monthly prices of United States 4 per cent. bonds, and the corresponding rates of interest realized to investors at different periods, from March, 1885, to June, 1888, inclusive:

DATE.	Average Flat Price. 4s.	Average Rate Realized. 4s.
March, 1885	122.3269	2.781
April, 1885	121.8023	2.721
May, 1885	122.0450	2.722
June, 1885	123.1625	2.679
December, 1885	124.0231	2.614
December, 1886	128.9927	2.297
December, 1887	126.1615	2.376
June, 1888	127.9385	2.245

IV.

AUDITING THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

THE CARE AND ECONOMY WITH WHICH THIS BUSINESS HAS BEEN CONDUCTED BY THE COMPTROLLERS AND AUDITORS OF THE TREASURY.

Another important branch of the work of the Treasury Department is the auditing and adjustment of public accounts. The annual expenditures of the Government for all purposes exceed three hundred millions of dollars, not a dollar of which expenditure can be legally allowed until an account therefor has been rendered to the proper accounting officers of the Treasury Department, and the same has been approved and certified by them to be correct. This work is mainly done by the six Auditors, two Comptrollers, Commissioner of Customs and the various divisions of the Secretary's Office. When the present administration undertook this work it was in many bureaus and divisions very largely in arrears. It will be impossible in the brief space allotted to give anything like a detailed or tabulated statement of the results which have been accomplished here during the past three years. A few prominent facts only can be mentioned.

FIRST COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE.

In the office of the First Comptroller, which reviews in part the accounts examined and certified by the First Auditor, and also the accounts of the Fifth Auditor, there has been an average annual increase during the same period in the number of accounts of 7,700, and an increase in the amount involved, as shown by the footings of the accounts examined, of nearly one billion dollars annually, and the average decrease of cost of work has been about 21 per cent. annually.

Business of this Bureau during the two periods of 1882, 1883 and 1884, and of 1886, 1887 and 1888 (the year 1885 omitted) contrasted:

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1882-3-4.	1886-7-8.
Accounts examined	66,512	89,699
Vouchers examined	9,917,980	8,129,416
Amount involved	$7,566,971,153 50	$10,462,381,162 94
Letters written	40,345	59,503
Requisitions examined, etc	13,682	16,498
Warrants examined, etc	171,386	194,524
Letters received, etc	17,742	23,310
Bonds, Contracts and Powers of Attorney examined, etc	4,244	12,563
Internal Revenue Stamp Books examined and counted	82,666	101,237
Folios copied	30,672	65,465
Number of clerks and employes	55	58
Cost of clerks and employes	$242,420 00	$256,940 00
	AVERAGE PER YEAR.	
Accounts examined	22,137	29,900
Vouchers examined	3,305,993	2,709,805
Letters written	13,448	19,834
Requisitions examined, etc	4,560	5,497
Warrants examined, etc	57,112	64,841
Letters received, etc	5,914	7,770
Bonds, Contracts and Powers of Attorney examined	1,414	3,154
Internal Revenue Stamp Books examined and counted	27,555	33,745
Folios copied	10,224	21,821

SECOND COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE.

The work of the Second Comptroller's office exhibits exceptionally good results. This office has the final revision and adjustment of all claims and accounts, which are first examined in the offices of the Second, Third and Fourth Auditors, and the supervision of the expenditures of all the appropriations for the Army, the Navy, the Indian Service and the Pension Roll, aggregating over one hundred and fifty million of dollars annually. The average number of claims and accounts annually adjusted during the past three years is over fifty-one thousand, while the number was but twenty-two thousand annually during the three years prior to 1885, an increase of 133 per cent., and the number of vouchers examined and compared during the former period was 7,300,000, and only 3,600,000 during the years 1882, 1883 and 1884, and the official letters written were twenty-two thousand, as against fifty-two hundred during the same periods respectively, while at the same time the force of clerks actually employed in the office has been reduced one-third.

Business of the years 1883, 1883 and 1884, and of the years 1886, 1887 and 1888, contrasted. (1885 omitted).

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1883—3—4.	1886—7—8.
Accounts and claims examined	76,995	153,694
Single vouchers examined	3,590,914	7,294,536
Amounts involved	$308,876,086.00	$513,326,990.00
Letters written	5,252	22,080
	AVERAGE PER YEAR.	
Number of clerks (Average per year)	75	71
Salaries (Average per year)	$101,911.48	*$103,434.36
Accounts and claims examined	25,665	51,231
Single vouchers examined	1,196,971	2,431,512
Letters written	1,750	7,360

*In fiscal year ended June 30, 1888, there were employed 62 clerks, at salaries aggregating $92,634.75.

FIRST AUDITOR'S OFFICE.

In the office of the First Auditor, where the accounts accruing in the Treasury Department are first examined, during the three years subsequent to 1885, there has been an average annual increase of 3,000 in the number of accounts examined and certified as compared with the three years immediately preceding, and an average decrease of the cost of the office, on the basis of the amount of work done, of nearly 11 per cent. annually.

Business of the years 1882, 1883 and 1884, and of the years 1886, 1887 and 1888, contrasted. (1885 omitted.)

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1882—3—4.	1886—7—8.
Auditor's reports on accounts	54,156	63,057
Letters written and recorded	15,130	17,494
	AVERAGE PER YEAR.	
Auditor's reports on accounts	18,052	21,019
Average increase per year	.....	2,967
Letters written and recorded	5,043	5,831
Average increase per year	.....	788
Clerks employed, average number	49.06	51.59
Average number of accounts per clerk	367	407
Average increase per year	.....	40
Average cost of the whole office, per account reported	$4.62	$4.13
Decrease of cost	.....	$0.49

SECOND AUDITOR'S OFFICE.

In the Second Auditor's Office are first examined the accounts of the disbursing officers of the army, and all claims for the back pay and bounty of soldiers in the war of the rebellion, and all disbursements in the Indian service for supplies and the pay of agents and other officers. During the past three years there has been an increase in the number of claims and accounts adjusted of over 30 per cent., and an increase of over 40 per cent. in the amount involved over a corresponding period prior to June 30, 1885, and the amount allowed and paid out for the back

pay and bounty due soldiers during the last three years has been over $2,700,000, as against only $1,350,000, allowed in the previous three years, showing that the interests of the soldiers in the Union Army have received special attention and consideration.

Business of the years 1882, 1883 and 1884, and of the years 1886, 1887 and 1888, contrasted (1885 omitted).

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1882—3—4.	1886—7—8.
Accounts and Claims	24,991	31,112
Increase		21,871
Amounts involved	$73,575,641.02	$108,888,543.77
Increase		31,303,903.15
REQUISITIONS AND SETTLEMENTS:		
Registered, etc	15,547	15,753
Settlements made	11,955	12,287
Pages of Journals and Registers used	6,160	7,516
Letters written	430,254	668,334
Increase		238,080
Inquiries answered	42,315	61,632
Increase		19,371
Certificates of non-indebtedness issued	5,485	18,720
Increase		13,235
Accounts, rolls and vouchers withdrawn and returned to file	296,726	605,813
Increase		309,087
Rolls and Vouchers repaired	27,162	40,963
Increase		13,801
Vouchers re-examined and verified	116,000	3,687,049
Increase		1,190,349
Cases disposed of in the Division for the investigation of fraud	2,969	5,256
Increase		2,287

AVERAGE PER YEAR.

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1882—3—4.	1886—7—8.
Accounts and Claims	8,330	10,370
Average amount involved	$24,525,213.67	$34,961,514.59
Letters written	143,418	238,080
Inquiries answered	14,105	20,544
Certificates of non-indebtedness	1,828	6,240
Accounts, rolls and vouchers withdrawn and returned to files	98,908	201,937
Rolls and vouchers repaired	9,054	13,654
Vouchers re-examined and verified	38,667	1,229,016
Cases disposed of in the Division for investigating fraud	989	1,752

THIRD AUDITOR'S OFFICE.

The Third Auditor has the examination, in the first instance, of all claims and accounts arising in the Quartermaster's and Commissary Departments of the Army, including horse claims and miscellaneous claims and accounts, and all disbursements on account of pensions. The exhibit of work done in this office during the past three years, it is believed, is without parallel in the history of the Department. In the Claims Division over forty-one thousand claims have been disposed of dur-

ing that period, while during the three years previously only eleven thousand were adjusted, making an increase of over 350 per cent., and the amount involved was 100 per cent. greater. In the Horse Claims Division over 9,000 claims were disposed of during the past three years, and but 2,200 in the three years previously, an increase of over 400 per cent. In State War Claims there has been an increase of nearly 700 per cent. in the amount of claims disposed of during the same periods respectively, and in the Pension Division there has been an average increase in the work of the division of 254 per cent. during the past three years over the work of the three previous years, and an average decrease in the force amounting to 31 per cent. During the past three years the number of clerks employed have been reduced 21 per cent., and great improvement is noted in the attendance of clerks. The absences in the fiscal years 1884-5 aggregated over 6,000 days, while in 1887-8 it was only 3,750 days, and during the same years the absences on account of sickness fell off from 1,780 to 357 days.

Business of the years 1883, 1884 and 1885, and of 1886, 1887 and 1888.

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1883—4—5.	1886—7—8.
Claims disposed of in Claims Division	11,268	41,055
Amount involved	$9,878,068 76	$19,530,084 90
Claims disposed of in Horse Claims Division	2,230	9,756
Claims settled for re-imbursement of deceased pensioners	4,044	7,005
Amount allowed	$287,363 61	$332,657 36
Increase in number of claims disposed of, as above	.....	40,274
Amount involved in settlements made of State War Claims	$1,942,111 45	$12,247,281 39
Vouchers examined in settling Pension Agents' Accounts	3,747,593	5,041,097
Increase	.....	1,293,504
Number of Pensioners recorded, transferred, increased, restored, re-issued, etc	121,059	440,443
Number of clerks employed	159	126
Reduction of force	.....	33
Average annual compensation of clerks and employes	$227,335 20	$198,339 96
Saving in salaries	.....	$28,995 24
Days of absence of clerks	6,016	3,750
Sick days absence	1,780	357
	AVERAGE PER YEAR.	
Claims disposed of in Claims Division	3,756	13,685
Claims disposed of in Horse Claims Division	743	3,252
Claims settled for re-imbursement of deceased pensioners	1,340	2,335
Amount of State War Claims	$647,370 48	$4,082,423 46
Pension Vouchers examined	1,249,197	1,680,365
Number of pensioners recorded, etc	40,353	146,814

FOURTH AUDITOR'S OFFICE.

In the office of the Fourth Auditor, where all the disbursements in the naval service are first examined, there has been an average annual increase of 40 per cent. in the number of claims and accounts adjusted, and of over nine millions in the amount involved, while the average annual expenses of the office have been over $2,000 less, and an average decrease in the cost of work, according to the amount done, of 35 per cent. annually.

Business of the years 1882, 1883 and 1884 and of 1886, 1887 and 1888, compared. (1885 omitted.)

Character of Business.	1882—3—4.	1886—7—8.
Accounts and claims settled	8,617	11,969
Cash vouchers examined	170,911	167,664
Amount involved	$53,513,458.03	$80,589,789.47
Summary statements received and entered, and pay and repay requisitions registered	11,075	15,117
Allotments registered	3,296	3,500
Allotments discontinued	3,376	3,421
Accounts journalized and balanced	2,883	6,377
Letters received	49,875	64,311
Letters written	52,664	69,624
Inquiries answered	10,525	13,740
Cost of work	$207,322.77	$200,319.67
Saving in cost of work		$7,003.10
	AVERAGE PER YEAR.	
Accounts and claims settled	2,872	3,989
Cash vouchers examined	56,970	55,888
Summary statements received and entered, pay and repay requisitions registered, allotments registered, allotments discontinued, and accounts journalized and balanced	6,876	9,471
Letters received	16,625	21,437
Letters written	14,421	23,208
Inquiries answered	3,508	4,580
Cost of work	$69,107.59	$66,773.22

SIXTH AUDITOR'S OFFICE.

In the office of the Sixth Auditor, where all the accounts of the Post Office Department, and the expenditures of the Postal Service, amounting to over fifty millions of dollars annually, are finally adjusted, a corresponding improvement in the methods of transacting the public business has been effected. Much money has been saved to the public treasury by the more rigid scrutiny to which the accounts passing through this office have been subjected. As an illustration it may be stated that the number of cases in which orders have been made by the Postmaster General, upon the report of the Auditor, withholding commissions because of false reports of Postmasters to increase their compensation, is five hundred and seventy-one, charging back an aggregate of $228,815, and it is evident from an examination of the books that the loss to the Government during the period from 1878 to 1885 was more than one million of dollars from this single channel of fraud.

Business of the years 1883, 1884 and 1885, and of the years 1886, 1887 and 1888 contrasted:

Character of Business.	1883-1884-1885.	1886-1887-1888.
Postmasters, mail contractors and miscellaneous accounts adjusted	1,046,745	1,230,530
Amount involved	$140,553,739.91	$159,608,943.59
Number of warrants and drafts countersigned and registered	215,915	268,872
Number of letters written and mailed	489,955	800,486
Number of money orders and postal notes issued and checked	34,510,062	46,683,192
Amount involved	$396,964,823.52	$415,395,130.82

COMMISSIONER OF CUSTOMS.

In the office of the Commissioner of Customs there has been an increase of 11 per cent. in the average number of accounts annually adjusted per capita, and in the Division of Customs, in the Secretary's Office, in which all the appeals in customs cases from the decision of collectors are examined and reported upon, there were examined and decided during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, 25,537 appeals, while the total number for the three years immediately preceding only aggregated 26,526, it thus appearing that the work for the entire three years was only slightly in excess of that of the single year 1886.

Business transacted during the two periods of 1882, 1883 and 1884, and of 1886, 1887 and 1888 (the year of 1885 omitted).

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1882—3—4.	1886—7—8.
Accounts settled	18,243	18,708
Amounts involved	$699,164,302.80	$710,965,969.13
Letters written	29,834	35,829
Letters recorded	41,526	89,103
Cost of maintaining Bureau	$151,802.96	$145,158.41
Average number of clerks	30	37
Average number of accounts per year per clerk	200	221
Average number letters written per year per clerk	259	368
Average number of accounts settled per year	6,081	6,236
Average amounts involved per year	$233,054,767.60	$236,988,656.37
Average number of letters written per year	9,944	11,943
Average number of letters recorded per year	13,842	29,701

CUSTOMS DIVISION—SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

Aggregates of the business transacted in the two periods of 1883, 1884 and 1885, and 1886, 1887 and 1888, contrasted.

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1883—4—5.	1886—7—8.
Appeals decided	26,526	45,021
Miscellaneous cases decided	11,891	14,563
Bonds extended or cancelled; free entries granted (Departmental); statements examined, etc	15,117	14,433
Total	53,534	74,017

Increase, 20,583.

ANNUAL AVERAGE, EACH PERIOD.

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1883—4—5.	1886—7—8.
Appeals decided	8,842	15,007
Miscellaneous cases decided	3,963	4,854
Bonds extended or cancelled; free entries granted (Departmental); statements examined, etc	5,039	4,811
General average	17,844	24,672

V.

THE INTERNAL REVENUE BUREAU.

ITS SUCCESS IN ENFORCING THE OLEOMARGARINE LAW—ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY OF ITS MANAGEMENT.

The law imposing a tax upon oleomargarine and other imitations of butter has been carefully and fully executed by the Department, to the satisfaction not only of the farmers of the country but to the producers of the article as well.

The number of pounds returned for taxation in the fiscal year 1887 was 21,796,202; for 1888 it was 32,667,755—an increase of 10,871,553. The amount of taxes collected from this source in the fiscal year 1887 was $723,948.04; the amount collected in 1888 was $864,139.88—an increase of $140,191.84.

It must be borne in mind that the platform adopted by the Republicans at the Chicago Convention, wherein they call for the entire abandonemnt of the internal revenue system rather than permit any change in the tariff, would cut off these taxes and deprive the Government of any control whatever over the manufacture of this article. It would be well for the farming element of the country to bear this in mind when considering political questions during the pending campaign. The beneficial results from this tax cannot be questioned. The workingman who wants to buy and use oleomargarine, or other butter imitations, now knows what he is buying; the Government having taken upon itself a supervisory control of the matter in such a way as to yield him the full protection which the law should afford to all men similarly situated. Inasmuch as the oleomargarine is required to be branded, it cannot be sold as butter, but must be sold in competition with butter, and the retailer is therefore compelled to dispose of it at a lower price. In this way the consumer is benefited.

The same is true of the interests of the farmer. He has no longer to throw his products into a market where they come into competition with manufactured articles, the purity of which nobody knows anything about, and which were formerly universally sold as butter.

On the 17th of July, when the Mills bill was under discussion, Mr. Warner, a Republican representative from Missouri, offered an amendment repealing a part of the internal revenue tax on oleomargarine. A *viva voce* vote was taken, and Mr. Warner remarked that he would not call for a division, as there was "evidently no intention on the part of the Democrats to reduce the surplus."

THE TEST TO WHICH IT IS SUBJECTED.

In April last the Microscopist of the Internal Revenue Office perfected a microscope with which a *prima facie* case can be quickly made where the question is raised whether the substance tested is butter or oleomargarine. The effect of this is a more easy and stringent enforcement of the law. With the new microscope examinations were made during the months of April, May and June in the principal cities and towns of New York and Pennsylvania; in Baltimore, Washington, Hartford, New Haven and other cities and towns in different parts of the country. (See list below.

Twenty-five of these valuable instruments are now in the hands of the Internal Revenue authorities, scattered over the country, and seventy-five more are in course of construction to be used in a similar way. This is a long stride toward the perfect enforcement of this wise act of Congress.

COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

The following exhibit shows the business of the Internal Revenue Bureau during the years 1885, 1886, 1887 and 1888:

CHARACTER OF BUSINESS.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
Internal Revenue Collected.....	$112,421,121 07	$116,902,869 44	$118,837,301 06	$124,326,474 00
Cost of Collection...	4,445,430 27	4,311,802 70	4,065,148 87	3,983,000 00
Percentage of Cost of Collection.....	3.963	3.688	3.421	3.200
Number of Revenue Agents, Collectors, Deputies, Clerks, Guagers, Storekeepers, etc.....	2,926	3,117	3,214	3,272

ECONOMY AT THE GREAT PORTS.

Statement showing the amount collected and expended, and the cost to collect one dollar, at the six principal ports, for the last four fiscal years, ended June, 1888.

PORTS.	1885.*			1886.		
	Amount Collected.	Amount Expended.	Cost to Collect One Doll.	Amount Collected.	Amount Expended.	Cost to Collect One Doll.
New York.....	$136,183,872	$2,900,178	.022	$133,472,003	$2,636,048	.019
Boston.....	19,730,908	699,342	.035	21,079,311	640,334	.03
San Francisco.....	6,743,800	422,808	.062	5,990,632	353,101	.058
Chicago.....	4,163,785	154,723	.037	4,099,550	141,545	.034
Philadelphia.....	12,491,513	428,336	.034	14,661,896	403,631	.027
Baltimore.....	2,081,766	300,911	.14	2,601,440	269,875	.10

*Last year of Republican administration.

PORTS.	1887.			1888.		
	Amount Collected.	Amount Expended.	Cost to Collect One Doll.	Amount Collected.	Amount Expended.	Cost to Collect One Doll.
New York....	$147,058,323	$2,995,068	.02	$145,300,544	$2,838,567	.01954
Boston.....	23,119,888	703,607	.03	21,396,776	709,874	.0331
San Francisco.....	6,857,445	352,099	.051	9,114,732	354,471	.0388
Chicago.....	4,622,952	137,454	.029	3,899,944	103,799	.0266
Philadelphia.....	17,946,453	433,561	.024	†16,781,570	†394,284	.0235
Baltimore.....	3,083,104	273,849	.088	†2,795,213	†239,773	.0857

†For eleven months.

VI.

GENERAL GOOD RESULTS.

RESULTS OF THE APPLICATION OF BUSINESS PRINCIPLES TO OTHER IMPORTANT BRANCHES OF TREASURY WORK.

The office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department has charge of all matters relating to the erection of public buildings throughout the country under appropriations by acts of Congress. It has been under the supervision of the present Supervising Architect since July, 1887, and during that period many reforms have been introduced into the administration of the office, and a large saving of expenses effected. The preparation of specifications has been greatly simplified, and where, under the former system, 380 drawings and 51 specifications were prepared for four buildings, under the present method only 86 drawings and 4 specifications are required for the same buildings.

Greater competition in submitting proposals has also been secured by giving greater publicity to the advertisements for proposals, especially by securing their publication, free of cost to the Government, in eighteen building papers published in all parts of the country, and obtaining the co-operation of forty-three building exchanges located in the principal cities. Where but three or four proposals were formerly received, the number now has run up in one case as high as forty-four. During the past year work has been commenced on seventeen buildings, and ten buildings have been completed, and twelve buildings are now so far advanced that they will be completed before September 1st, while during the three preceding years the average number of buildings commenced annually was ten, and the average number completed annually four. These results have all been accomplished without any increase in the working force of the office.

BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.

In the Bureau of Engraving and Printing there has been a great increase in the amount of work done and a great saving in the cost of doing it. In the three years ending June 30, 1885, there were produced 91,754,351 sheets of securities, at a cost of $3,047,483.75. In the three years ending June 30, 1888, 97,346,662 sheets of securities were turned out, at a cost of $2,542,505.07. The increase in the number of sheets of securities printed was 5,592,311, and the saving in expense $504,978.68. The average cost of a thousand sheets of securities in 1885 was $34.21; in 1888 it was only $24.94. Thirty-eight million thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine sheets of securities in 1838 cost $948,819.29. The greatest production in any prior year was in 1883, when 33,330,746 sheets cost $1,104,986.43. In 1885 the average number of employes was 1,133, and the average number of sheets turned out for each employe less than 25,000. In 1888 the average number of employes was 895, and the average number of sheets produced by each employe 42,500.

These results have been due to economies in the management of the Bureau, simpler methods of doing business, the discharge of superfluous employes, the doing away with unnecessary places and the exaction of greater diligence in the discharge

of duty, and of a higher standard of qualification. At the same time the quality of the work, especially of the engraving, has been improved, better provision has been made for the health and comfort of the employes and new and improved machinery has been introduced. A just and orderly system of promotion has been followed and the employes have had more constant employment and better wages than ever before, while they have been free from the terror of arbitrary dismissal.

Under the present administration not a single person has been discharged for partisan reasons, or to make room for another. Specific appropriations have been secured, fixing the amount to be spent for plate printing, for other services and for materials, in lieu of the loose and indefinite appropriations which were formerly the rule, and the number, grades and salaries of all the employes have been fixed by law or regulation. By a recent order of the President, all of the employes of the Bureau have been brought under the civil service rules. These measures have made of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing an orderly, efficient and reputable business establishment, which may safely challenge comparison with any like establishment in the world.

REDUCTION OF FORCE AND INCREASE OF WORK.

The same general good results may be safely affirmed of every other bureau and division in the Department, and there is scarcely a desk in the whole Department upon which there can be found anything but current work, and this condition of the public business has not been reached by slighting work of any kind, but only after the most careful and painstaking examination of every voucher or question involving the law governing the adjustment and settlement of accounts. Nor has it been brought about by increasing the number of clerks and other employes in the Department. On the contrary, the pay-roll of nearly every bureau and division shows a material decrease. The number of persons on the rolls of the Department at Washington on the first day of July, 1885, was 3,747, and the number on the first day of July, 1888, 3,433. Useless offices have been abolished and divisions have been consolidated, and a large saving in expenditure has thus been effected, while the efficiency of the service has at the same time been greatly promoted.

TAXES ON NECESSARIES.

Statement of duties collected upon articles which may be deemed necessaries of life, with values and amount of duties collected, for the fiscal year 1886-87.

ARTICLES.	VALUES.	DUTIES.
Animals	$4,665,066.51	$ 993,013.30
Blacking	63,552.11	15,888,03
Books and pamphlets, bound or unbound, and and all printed matter, N. E. etc	2,286,409.96	571,602.52
Brass and manufactures of	405,755.81	170,937.70
Breadstuffs	6,386,560.72	1,075,811.24
Bristles	1,156,435.00	174,423.71
Brooms	4,174.80	1,043.70
Brushes	557,347.54	167,204.26
Buttons and button materials	3,772,927.25	897,645.17
Candles and tapers of all kinds	39,616.50	7,923.30
Cement	1,101,994.41	220,398.88
Chemicals, drugs, dyes and medicines	13,285,225.75	4,654,165.24
Chicory root	163,682.00	106,671.70
Chocolate	74,197.00	5,693.68
Clocks and watches	1,882,564.05	489,325.83
Coal and coke	2,811,158.31	683,728.46
Cocoa	126,543.02	9,020.29
Cocoa butter	18,362.00	3,672.40
Coffee substitutes	6,597.00	2,714.92
Collodion, manufactured	1,110.00	350.06
Collodion, rolled or in sheets	105.00	12.00
Copper and manufactures of	323,745.06	128,957.08
Corks and cork bark	209,531.58	52,382.90
Cotton, manufactures of	29,150,058.83	11,710,719.88
Earthen, stone and chinaware	5,708,093.40	3,251,881.22
Emery, manufactured	31,024.00	6,980.94
Feather beds	1,932.00	386.40
Fish	2,817,351.73	611,937.69
Flax, hemp, jute, etc., manufactured	21,927,161.55	7,567,641.72
" " " " unmanufactured	11,880,121.00	1,930,340.02
Fruits	15,088,073.82	4,210,098.64
Ginger	13,373.00	4,680.55
Glass and glassware	7,301,339.78	4,510,312.48
Glucose or grape sugar	35,644.00	7,128.80
Glue	479,756.00	95,951.20
Grease	324,486.66	52,348.97
Gunpowder and all explosive substances	423,955.00	368,127.10
Gun wads	17,112.86	5,989.50
Hair and manufactures of	200,758.37	55,257.81
Hats, bonnets and hoods, and materials for	4,902,911.07	1,051,609.00
Hay	791,686.75	157,444.53
Honey	5,242.40	2,693.35
India rubber and Gutta-percha, manuf'rs of	263,743.55	76,047.84
Inks	103,458.81	31,097.64
Iron and steel and manufactures of	50,618,985.60	20,713,233.89
Lead and manufactures of	346,623.35	236,617.78
Leather and manufactures of	10,933,569.77	3,286,862.17
Lime	$57,226.46	$5,722.65
Marble and stone, and manufactures of	960,981.64	381,405.48
Matches	25,458.41	8,910.44
Matting and mats	885,968.75	177,193.75
Metals, metal compositions, and manuf'rs of	2,988,882.51	962,785.71
Mineral substances	191,295.84	24,025.83
Oils, N. E. S	1,067,145.98	269,926.60
Oil-cake (substitute for India rubber)	9,847.00	1,969.40
Paints and colors	1,220,806.26	399,532.98
Palm-leaf baskets and other articles composed of	6,570.54	1,971.16
Paper and manufactures of	1,985,264.36	424,618.27
Paper pulp, dried for papermakers' use	497,273.45	49,727.34
Pencils	96,084.70	53,982.91
Philosophical apparatuses and instruments	11,342.00	3,969.70
Plaster of Paris	33,736.50	6,747.30
Polishing and finishing powders	28,454.99	6,691.00
Provisions (meats and dairy products)	1,759,163.45	429,987.42
Putty	118.00	14.44
Rags	1,558.00	155.80
Repairs on vessels	3,614.50	1,807.25
Resin (rosin)	132.64	26.52
Rice, N. E. S	1,518,766.10	971,454.89
Saddlery	184,258.83	64,490.58
Salt	1,455,385.18	676,865.50
Seeds	846,580.84	172,437.68
Soap	436,233.96	117,130.52
Spices	170,303.70	66,271.12
Sponges	302,509.57	60,501.91
Starch	17,034.92	14,028.82
Straw baskets and other articles composed of straw	35,184.57	10,555.37
Sugar, molasses, etc	74,242,279.20	58,016,686.34
Tar and pitch	15,133.00	2,271.10
Teeth	13,891.00	2,778.20
Tin, manufactures of	*38,828.70	56,581.30
Turpentine, spirits of	249.00	29.30
Umbrellas, parasols, etc	152,742.27	62,186.71
Varnishes	82,380.01	36,378.58
Vegetables	2,276,304.47	547,509.90
Vinegar	17,446.65	6,377.94
Wax	5,696.74	1,139.34
Wood and manufactures of	8,223,504.06	1,503,184.09
Wools, etc., manufactures of	60,586,613.61	35,629,534.13
Zinc, spelter, etc	286,156.65	140,318.54
Aggregate	$365,447,733.59	$171,683,759.32

*The value of cans or packages made of tin, and imported filled, are included with the value of their contents, under "free fish."

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

Statement of the receipts and expenditures of the United

[Compiled from the records

YEARS.	RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURES.
From March 4, 1789, to December 31, 1791,	$10,210,025 75	$7,207,539 02
Year ended December 31—		
1792	8,740,766 77	9,141,569 67
1793	5,720,624 28	7,529,575 55
1794	10,041,101 65	9,302,124 74
1795	9,419,802 79	10,435,069 65
1796	8,740,329 65	8,367,776 84
1797	8,758,916 40	8,626,812 78
1798	8,209,070 07	8,613,517 68
1799	12,621,459 84	11,077,043 50
1800	12,451,184 14	11,989,739 92
1801	12,945,455 95	12,373,376 94
1802	15,001,391 31	13,276,084 67
1803	11,064,097 63	11,258,983 67
1804	11,835,840 02	12,624,646 36
1805	13,689,508 14	13,727,124 41
1806	15,008,828 78	15,070,093 97
1807	16,398,019 26	11,292,292 99
1808	17,062,544 09	16,764,584 30
1809	7,773,473 12	13,867,226 30
1810	12,144,206 53	13,319,986 74
1811	14,431,838 14	13,601,808 91
1812	22,639,032 76	22,279,121 15
1813	40,524,844 95	39,190,520 36
1814	34,559,536 95	38,028,230 32
1815	50,961,237 60	39,582,493 35
1816	57,171,421 82	48,244,495 51
1817	33,833,592 33	40,877,646 04
1818	21,593,936 66	35,104,875 40
1819	24,605,665 37	24,004,190 73
1820	20,881,493 68	21,763,024 85
1821	19,573,703 72	19,090,572 69
1822	20,232,427 94	17,676,593 63
1823	20,540,006 26	15,314,171 00
1824	24,381,212 79	31,898,538 47
1825	26,840,858 02	23,585,804 73
1826	25,260,434 21	24,103,398 46
1827	22,966,363 96	22,656,764 04
1828	24,763,629 23	25,459,479 52
1829	24,827,627 38	25,044,358 40
1830	24,844,116 51	24,585,381 55
1831	28,526,820 82	30,038,446 12
1832	31,865,561 16	34,356,698 06
1833	33,948,426 25	24,257,298 49
1834	21,791,935 55	24,601,982 44
1835	35,430,087 10	17,573,141 56
1836	50,826,796 08	30,868,164 04
1837	27,883,853 84	37,265,037 15
1838	39,019,882 60	39,455,438 35
1839	33,881,242 89	37,614,936 58
1840	25,032,193 59	28,226,533 10
1841	30,519,477 65	31,797,530 33
1842	34,773,744 89	32,936,876 15

OF THE GOVERNMENT.

States from March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1885, inclusive.
in the Register's Office.]

YEARS.	RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURES.
Six months ended June 30, 1843	$20,782,410 45	$12,118,105 15
Year ended June 30—		
1844	31,198,555 73	33,642,010 85
1845	29,941,853 90	30,490,408 71
1846	29,699,967 74	27,632,282 90
1847	55,338,168 52	60,520,851 74
1848	56,992,479 21	60,655,143 19
1849	59,796,891 98	56,386,422 74
1850	47,649,388 88	44,604,718 26
1851	52,762,704 25	48,476,104 31
1852	49,893,115 60	46,712,608 83
1853	61,500,102 81	54,577,061 74
1854	73,802,291 40	75,473,119 08
1855	65,351,374 68	66,164,775 96
1856	74,056,899 24	72,726,341 57
1857	68,969,212 57	71,274,587 37
1858	70,372,685 96	82,062,186 74
1859	81,758,557 30	83,678,642 93
1860	76,841,407 83	77,055,075 65
1861	83,371,640 13	85,387,363 08
1862	581,688,805 12	565,667,358 08
1863	889,373,652 51	899,815,911 25
1864	1,393,451,807 17	1,295,541,214 86
1865	1,805,933,250 82	1,906,433,331 37
1866	1,270,712,078 82	1,139,344,081 95
1867	1,130,339,092 63	1,096,351,566 66
1868	1,030,749,516 52	1,069,372,245 36
1869	609,623,809 00	585,133,289 12
1870	696,729,973 63	703,155,391 44
1871	652,095,864 54	692,238,322 40
1872	679,158,419 73	682,360,760 17
1873	548,672,269 47	523,785,932 33
1874	744,252,329 71	724,897,159 67
1875	675,971,607 10	682,028,932 16
1876	691,551,673 28	714,385,633 86
Outstanding warrants June 30, 1876	.....	827,679 99
Year ended June 30—		
1877	630,278,167 58	565,299,898 19
1878	664,345,079 70	590,641,271 70
1879	1,066,634,827 46	966,393,692 69
1880	543,340,713 98	700,233,238 19
1881	474,532,826 57	425,865,222 64
1882	524,470,974 28	529,627,739 12
1883	954,230,145 95	855,491,967 50
1884	555,399,255 92	504,646,934 83
1885	568,839,911 73	471,987,288 54
1886	452,754,577 06	447,699,847 86
1887	525,836,180 02	539,833,501 12
1888	*665,016,650 00	517,685,059 18
Total	$23,293,413,048 35	$22,633,230,023 17

*Includes $380,000,000 as the *estimated* net ordinary receipts and $285,016,650 *actual* receipts from Loans.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NAVY.

METHODS ADOPTED TO PUT THE WORK ON A BUSINESS BASIS—THE HISTORY OF AN EFFORT TO DO HONEST WORK.

The Contrast which this Policy Presents to that in vogue for Nearly Twenty Years Under Republican Management—Some Serious Abuses which have Been Rooted Out.

In his first annual message to Congress, December 8, 1885, President Cleveland thus expressed his opinion of the Navy of the United States as he found it when he entered upon his work and his hopes of what it might be made:

All must admit the importance of an effective Navy to a nation like ours, having such an extended sea-coast to protect. And yet we have not a single vessel of war that could keep the seas against a first-class vessel of any important power. Such a condition ought not longer to continue. The nation that cannot resist aggression is constantly exposed to it. Its foreign policy is of necessity weak, and its negotiations are conducted with disadvantage, because it is not in condition to enforce the terms dictated by its sense of right and justice.

Inspired, as I am, by the hope, shared by all patriotic citizens, that the day is not very far distant when our Navy will be such as befits our standing among the nations of the earth, and rejoiced at every step that leads in the direction of such a consummation, I deem it my duty to especially direct the attention of Congress to the close of the report of the Secretary of the Navy, in which the humiliating weakness of the present organization of his Department is exhibited, and the startling abuses and waste of its present methods are exposed. The conviction is forced upon us with the certainty of mathematical demonstrations that before we proceed further in the restoration of a Navy we need a thoroughly reorganized Navy Department. The fact that within seventeen years more than seventy-five millions of dollars have been spent in the construction, repair, equipment, and armament of vessels, and the further fact that, instead of an effective and creditable fleet, we have only the discontent and apprehension of a nation undefended by war vessels, added to the disclosures now made, do not permit us to doubt that every attempt to revive our Navy has thus far, for the most part, been misdirected, and all our efforts in that direction have been little better than blind gropings, and expensive, aimless follies.

Unquestionably if we are content with the maintenance of a Navy Department simply as a shabby ornament to the Government, a constant watchfulness may prevent some of the scandal and abuse which have found their way into our present organization, and its incurable waste may be reduced to the minimum. But if we desire to build ships for present usefulness instead of naval reminders of the days that are past, we must have a

department organized for the work, supplied with all the talent and ingenuity our country affords, prepared to take advantage of the experience of other nations, systematized so that all effort shall unite and lead in one direction, and fully imbued with the conviction that war vessels, though new, are useless unless they combine all that the ingenuity of man has up to this day brought forth relating to their construction.

I earnestly commend the portion of the Secretary's report devoted to this subject to the attention of Congress, in the hope that his suggestions touching the reorganization of his Department may be adopted as the first step toward the reconstruction of our Navy.

The sad condition of the Navy at the advent of the present administration, is something which could not be believed unless its truth was known. If the reckless waste of money, the extravagance, the inefficiency, and the open, flagrant corruption which existed in this department of the Government had been told in a novel by a writer of recognized position in the literary world, the world would not have believed it. But it was known for many years that this waste, extravagance, inefficiency and corruption were going on, and that the Government of the United States was getting a great deal less than nothing for its money. This, too, in spite of the fact that ever since the organization of the Navy Department, the people of the country have taken great pride in it, and that its achievements in every war and its conduct in every port of the world during long periods of peace, have reflected the highest credit upon our national name.

In spite of these conditions, William C. Whitney, the new Secretary of the Navy, after occupying his office for nine months, during which he carefully familiarized himself with every detail of the service entrusted to his care, thus characterized this branch of the service committed to his charge, in his annual report to the President, in December, 1885 :

WHAT IT COST TO HAVE NO NAVY.

At the present moment it must be conceded that we have nothing which deserves to be called a Navy. The highest official authority in our service said in 1876 :

"There is no navy in the world that is not in advance of us with regard to ships and guns, and I, in common with the older officers of the service, feel an anxiety on the subject which can only be appreciated by those who have to command fleets and take them into battle."

And so recently as 1884 the same distinguished authority stated that it was universally admitted "that we have no navy either for offense or defense."

The country has expended since July 1, 1868—more than three years subsequent to the close of the late civil war—over seventy-five millions of money on the construction, repair, equipment, and ordnance of vessels, which sum, with a very slight exception, has been substantially thrown away; the exception being a few ships now in process of construction. I do not overlook the sloops constructed in 1874, and costing three or four millions of dollars, and to avoid discussion they may be excepted also. The fact still remains that for about seventy of the seventy-five millions of dollars which have been expended by the Department for the creation of a navy we have practically nothing to show.

It is questionable whether we have a single naval vessel finished and afloat at the present time that could be trusted to encounter the ships of any important power—a single vessel that has either the necessary armor for protection, speed for escape, or weapons for defense. This is no secret; the fact has been repeatedly commented upon in Congress by the leading members of both parties, confessed by our highest naval authorities, and deprecated by all. Such is not the kind of navy which this country, with its extensive coast line, its enormous territorial area, and incalculable commercial resources, requires, nor such as it is entitled to have. This country can afford to have, and it cannot afford to lack, a naval force at least so formidable that its dealings with foreign powers will not be influenced at any time, nor even be suspected of being influenced, by a consciousness of weakness on the sea. While still strving to build up its merchant marine and

to multiply its relations with foreign markets, it cannot be expected much longer to tolerate such expenditures for a navy which could not for a moment defend even its diminnutive commerce against any considerable power.

THE MODERN NAVAL VESSEL AND ITS EQUIPMENT.

A naval vessel at the present moment is a product of science. Taking the world over it will be found that each part of her—her armor, her armament, her power, her form, and the distribution of her parts or characteristics—each of these features of the completed vessel is absorbing from year to year the exclusive study of a class of scientific men. And as men of science throughout the world are continu ally stimulated to new discoveries and inventions, no vessel that can be built can be considered a finality in any particular.

The problem of keeping pace with the march of improvement in these lines of industry is one of incalculable difficulty; and yet unless the Government is prepared to avail itself promptly of all the improvements that are made in the construction and equipment of its ships its expenditures are largely useless.

The policy of enlisting private enterprise in the work tends to the creation and development of important branches of industry within the country. The resources of our country, its ingenuity and enterprise in any line of human endeavor, when called out, are unexcelled by any nation or people on earth.

If the $75,000,000 spent since 1868 by our Government had been used to stimulate competition among our people in the production of modern ships of war, it is quite fair to assume that the activities and agencies at the disposal of the Government would have been by this time entirely adequate to its needs. It has been wasted by Government agencies upon worthless things. The invention of the country has been discouraged. The Hotchkiss gun, now commanding the widest attention, the manufacture of which is becoming an important industry in France, was the product of American invention, which, when ignored and rejected by Government agencies here, found elsewhere its field of development. Ericsson, whose name will always be one of the great ones of our time in history, works now at the age of 83 without encouragement or notice at the great problems of naval warfare, and is receiving more attention and greater encouragement from other Governments than from our own. Examples might easily be multiplied.

Suffice it to say our Government has placed itself in no relation to the inventive genius of the country, and is without the rich fruits which such a course would bring to it.

ABUSES IN AWARDING CONTRACTS FOR SUPPLIES.

In the awarding of contracts the most flagrant abuses existed, and as the President pointed out in his message already quoted, the organization was so cumbersome and so inefficient as to be almost of necessity corrupt. Under the law purchases of supplies for the use of the Department could only be made after advertising and by contract entered into with the lowest responsible bidder. The only exception to this in either law or regulations was the purchase of emergency supplies for sums not exceeding $500. But as this law was a dead letter in every bureau of the Department, the most serious abuses naturally grew and flourished. There was no harmony between the different bureaus, and as a consequence there was the most useless waste of money in all.

The open purchases of the Navy Department for the year ending June 30, 1885, amounted to $841,285.84, while the purchases by contract amounted to only a little over a million. A large proportion of the open purchases consisted of articles of either comparatively small value, or more or less difficult of classification; but $138,000 of the amount was spent by the seven bureaus, each acting independently of the other for coal bought, not in one lot, but at 166 several open purchases (this does not include coal bought by ships on foreign stations); 299 different open purchases of stationery were made by eight different bureaus; $121,315.66 was spent for lumber

and hardware by six bureaus in 499 separate open purchases. Seven bureaus spent $46,000 for oils and paints in 269 separate purchases; 117 different open purchases of iron and steel were made at an expense of $41,524.48; $68,881.59 was spent for hemp and cordage in 45 different open purchases. Eight bureaus supply stationery to ships; three bureaus supply ships with lamps and lanterns. To the same ship one bureau supplies electric lights and the light for general illuminating purposes; another supplies electric search lights, and a third oil and light for the engine and fire rooms.

Illustrations of a rather extraordinary character of the resort to this certificate of necessity for immediate purchases as a convenience appear among these records.

In the summer of 1883 an order was given for $61,000 worth of canvas to a person who was not a dealer in the article and at a time when there was the usual supply of canvas on hand.

Under an order made by Secretary Thompson in 1877, it was understood that the limit of any single purchase under a "certificate of necessity" was $500. For purchases involving a larger amount resort must be had to the ordinary contract system. Several months were consumed in the delivery of this $61,000 worth of canvas, and the bills were made out in sums of less than $500 each. The "certificate of necessity" accompanied each one, and in that form the bills passed the Treasury Department.

Two or three of these bills, with the Bureau officer's certificate of necessity upon them, would sometimes be dated and presented on the same day.

During the same year coal was purchased by different paymasters from the same person on or about the same day, deliverable at the very same place, of like quality and character, but at prices differing from 50 to 65 cents a ton.

HOW REPAIRS WERE MADE TO COST MONEY.

Another instance in this same method and its workings made of this vicious system were given by Secretary Whitney in his first report, as the result of his investigation of the workings of the Bureau of Construction and Repair:

> My experience of the manner in which important decisions are necessarily made by the Secretary, without opportunity for proper deliberation and intelligent advice, leads me to say without hesitation that the follies of the Department are largely attributable to this. Take the "Omaha" for an example. She has been rebuilt within the last four years, at an expense of $572,000. It was an act of the greatest folly. She is a repaired wooden vessel, with boilers, machinery, and guns, all of which would at the time have been sold for what they would have brought by any other nation on earth. In the event of a war she can neither fight nor run away from any cruiser built contemporaneously by any other nation. Her rebuilding cost the full price of a modern steel ship of her size and all modern characteristics.
>
> Now, if one should seek to ascertain who is responsible for the decision that the "Omaha" should be rebuilt, it would be found that no one so decided, after discussion and an intelligent knowledge of facts. The chief constructor will deny responsibility except for the survey; the engineer-in-chief the same; and the Secretary of the Navy, if he should be able to recall the circumstances, would doubtless remember that he was advised that she needed general repairs and rebuilding, and gave the orders in ignornance of the probable result of his decision. * * * After the "Omaha" had been commissioned and was ready for sea, it appeared that the several bureaus working independently upon her, had between them so completely appropriated her space that they had left her coal-room for not more than four days' steaming at her full capacity.

Some of the results of this system are shown in the record of repairs made upon useless vessels:

The Quinnebaug was seven years and ten months repairing; the Galena, eight years and ten months; the Mohican, twelve years and ten months, at a cost exceeding the original cost of one million of dollars. The Quinnebaug is 910 tons. The Galena is 910 tons. The Mohican, which is 910 tons, cost $[illegible]07,799 for repairs in twelve years, while the Atlanta, a 2,000 ton ship, built of steel, modern type, cost entire only about $675,000, built under Democratic rule.

When these things are made to appear it is not difficult to understand why $75,000,000 was spent on the Navy in seventeen years; and that there was less than nothing to show for it.

WHAT AN INVENTORY DISCLOSED.

During the second year of his administration Secretary Whitney carried out, as far as possible, under the law, his schemes for the reorganization of the Navy Department in such a way that it could carry on the business entrusted to it in an efficient manner. His plan for securing an inventory of the property under the charge of the various bureaus of the Department was entered upon in a practical way, with the result as shown in his annual report for 1886:

The inventory shows a very large and unnecessary accumulation of stores and supplies by the different bureaus, aggregating over twenty millions of dollars in appraised value. The Board reports between three and four millions in value to be obselete and useless at the present time, only entailing expense for keepers and constant care to preserve them in condition. Among these accumulations some very absurd facts appear. At the eight navy-yards there have accumulated altogether of augers and bits 46,566, of which 25,274 have been lying for several years at closed yards where no work has been or is likely to be done. Twenty-nine thousand five hundred and forty-two gross of screws are on hand, 10,896 gross lying at closed yards. There are 146,385 files in stock, 42,142 of them lying at closed yards. There are 11,813 paint brushes in stock, 2,246 of these in the stores at closed yards. All of these tools are serviceable, mostly new.

[There are found to be over 12,000 tons of cast and wrought iron lying in scrap about the yards, 759,000 pounds of composition and brass, 159,000 pounds of old copper, and 193,000 of old lead.]

Of most of these articles some bureaus have recently made considerable purchases, and are even doing so at the present time, while to the credit of other bureaus there are very large amounts in stock. Captain Meade, president of the Inventory Board, says:

In going through one of the yards where the construction department was short of cut nails, the storehouse in charge of steam engineering was found filled from floor to ceiling with barrels on barrels of the needed nails. I asked the officer in charge how long at his present rate of expenditure it would take to use up those nails that construction and repair so badly needed; and he replied, "Well, sir, I think about fifty years."

These stores of tools or machinery are periodically oiled or painted; in the meantime require large storage room, a force of watchmen, etc., and are constantly becoming obsolete and useless. The expenditure entailed in a series of years exceeds in all probability the value of the property.

THE PRESIDENT INSISTING ON AN EFFECTIVE NAVY.

In his annual message for 1886 the President again emphasized his interest in the rebuilding of the Navy, and set forth the real condition of the Navy as follows:

The report of the Secretary of the Navy contains a detailed exhibit of the condition of his department with such a statement of the action needed to improve the same as should challenge the earnest attention of the Congress.

The present Navy of the United States, aside from the ships in course of construction, consists of:

First, fourteen single-turreted monitors, none of which are in commission, nor at the present time serviceable. The batteries of these ships are obsolete, and they can only be relied upon as auxiliary ships in harbor defense, and then after such an expenditure upon them as might not be deemed justifiable.

Second, five fourth-rate vessels of small tonnage, only one of which was designed as a war vessel, and all of which are auxiliary, merely.

Third, twenty-seven cruising ships, three of which are built of iron, of small tonnage, and twenty-four of wood. Of these wooden vessels it is estimated by the chief constructor of the Navy that only three will be serviceable beyond a period of six years, at which time it may be said that of the present naval force nothing worthy the name will remain.

MAKING OUR ARMOR AT HOME.

All the vessels heretofore authorized are under contract or in course of construction, except the armored ships, the torpedo and dynamite boats, and one cruiser. As to the last of these, the bids were in excess of the limit fixed by Congress. The production in the United States of armor and gun steel is a question which it seems necessary to settle at an early day, if the armored war vessels are to be completed with those materials of home manufacture. This has been the subject of investigation by two boards and by two special committees of Congress within the last three years. The report of the Gun Foundry Board in 1884, of the Board of Fortifications made in January last, and the reports of the Select Committees of the two Houses made at the last session of Congress, have entirely exhausted the subject, so far as preliminary investigation is involved, and in their recommendations they are substantially agreed.

In the event that the present invitation of the Department for bids to furnish such of this material as is now authorized, shall fail to induce domestic manufacturers to undertake the large expenditures required to prepare for this new manufacture, and no other steps are taken by Congress at its coming session, the Secretary contemplates with dissatisfaction the necessity of obtaining abroad the armor and the gun steel for the authorized ships. It would seem desirable that the wants of the Army and the Navy in this regard should be reasonably met, and that by uniting their contracts, such inducement might be offered as would result in securing the domestication of these important interests.

THE EFFORT TO GET GOOD SHIPS FOR GOOD MONEY.

In the meantime the efforts to rebuild a navy in an honest fashion were continued, and this fact became so obvious to Congress that both Houses, regardless of political majority, showed a disposition to co-operate in the work. The earliest efforts of the new management were, however, seriously handicapped by the legacy of mismanagement left them by the corruption and incompetency which had so long made the Navy a reproach and a laughing stock. The Dolphin, the Boston the Atlanta, and the Chicago were under construction when Secretary Whitney came into office. As one after another of these vessels was launched, finished and tried it was found that they did not even come up to the specifications in the loosely

drawn plans upon which they had been built. Their machinery was not built according to contract; their speed did not come anywhere near that required in the specifications, and so much money had been paid upon them that the Government was deprived of the protection which it had a business right to expect and demand.

THE MOST SERIOUS DEFECTS IN THE NEW VESSELS.

But there were other defects even more serious. It was soon found that the vessels built upon the general plans adopted for the new cruisers and dispatch boats would do little, almost nothing, in the way of giving the United States an effective navy. The vessels were all too slow to be of use even if the contractors had carried out the specifications upon which they had, presumably, been built. In discussing this question the Secretary said in his report for 1886:

> The experience of the Department in its first attempt at the creation of modern vessels of war has been such as to excite the greatest concern and disappointment. An examination of the facts with reference to them demonstrated that an entirely new departure was necessary in undertaking further similar construction. The one characteristic which an unarmored cruiser must possess is great speed. This is determined by the function which she is expected to perform in modern warfare. She is a "commerce destroyer." She must be able to escape from iron-clads, and outrun, so as to overhaul, merchantmen. If slower than iron-clads she could not keep the sea, and if slower than merchantmen she might as well stay in port. This division of ships by the functions which they are expected to perform is one of the things which has come about of recent years. When it became impossible to concentrate in one ship both the greatest speed, strongest armament, and the highest defensive power, without reaching a tonnage displacement wholly out of the question, the division into classes, according to the functions which they were expected to perform, came about. Unarmored cruisers have become a distinct class, and the characteristic *absolutely indispensable to this class is very great speed.*
>
> When the Dolphin, Boston, Atlanta, and Chicago were projected and the contracts for their construction entered into, it was well known that speed ought to be attained and what weight and character of machinery per ton of displacement was necessary to obtain it. Commercial vessels had at that time attained speeds ranging between sixteen and nineteen knots, and cruisers were being built in other countries, or had already been built, attaining the same speed.

In further discussing the question, after making a comparison of the results achieved by vessels of the same classes built for the United States, and for England, France, Italy and Chili, the Secretary says:

> These facts are stated without any intention of locating responsibility or blame upon any person. It is impossible to ascertain where it should be placed. But they indicate a simple abandonment on the part of the Department of any attempt to reach the conditions which should have been attained, and the failure on the part of the contractor to reach the limited results expected by the Department. In considering the matter of constructing the additional vessels authorized by Congress in March, 1885, it was decided by the Department to exhaust every effort to avail itself of the most advanced thought and knowledge attained by our own and other countries upon the subject.
>
> The machinery of naval vessels is entirely different in character from that of merchant ships; and as no modern war-vessels have been for many years built in this country by our Government, up to the time of those just referred to, it seemed probable, on comparing results attained by the Department in its first effort with those reached by other countries, that important advances had been made elsewhere in the methods of attaining great speed and power which it had become necessary for us to utilize.

RESOLUTION TO DO WORK AT HOME.

As the work of rebuilding the navy proceeded it was found that the Government was seriously hampered in its efforts to secure guns and armor of American manufacture. It was therefore determined in 1886 to take steps in the direction of overcoming this difficulty and thus make the Government of the United States independent of the gun founders and armor manufacturers of other countries. It was decided, in order to promote this object, to put the armor required for all of the vessels authorized by Congress into one contract, and offer the same to the competition of steel manufacturers in the United States, and allow a sufficient time for the successful bidder, if one or more should appear, to take the necessary steps in the way of the creation of plant and of initiating the manufacture. The extreme desirableness of obtaining this result has been a matter of general comment, in and out of Congress, for several years. It was known to be closely allied with the matter of the steel forgings for the modern high-power guns, and the same course was taken by the Department with reference to these. All of the material necessary in making the guns for the vessels authorized by Congress was combined in one advertisement, as an inducement to steel manufacturers of the country to undertake the necessary expenditure to prepare for the production of these heavy forgings. In enforcing his views of the desirablility and necessity for reaching this result the Secretary said:

> It is certainly a most lamentable circumstance that a country like ours, with its immense products of iron and steel, should be content to be dependent upon the manufacturers of any other nation for the fabrication of armor and high-powered guns, both of which are now essential and indispensable parts of a modern fighting ship. Whatever its commercial policy may be, for the creation of its necessary implements of war it should certainly be independent.
>
> The armor and the armament of the vessels already authorized by Congress involve an estimated expenditure of $8,732,000. It is assumed by the Department that these large contracts, instead of being thrown into the hands of foreign manufacturers, should be utilized at home and made the means of securing the establishment of this branch of industry here, so important to the Government.
>
> If this policy is correct, and is to be pursued, the matter requiring immediate attention is not so much the authorization of the construction of more ships, but the means of securing the production of armor and heavy forgings in the United States. Unless these essential elements of a fighting ship are to be purchased abroad, any ships, the construction of which should be authorized at the coming session of Congress, would be finished from one to three years, probably three years, before the armor and the armament could be prepared.

HOW AMERICAN GUNS AND ARMOR ARE TO BE SECURED.

These experiments were entered upon after careful consultation with the leading steel manufacturing establishments of the country, and in 1887 the Secretary felt himself able to report their success in the following language:

> When the last annual report of the Department was made this country lacked three manufactories necessary to the construction and armament of modern war vessels, viz., that of steel forgings for the heavier guns, that of armor for iron-clad vessels, and that of the secondary batteries (machine and rapid-fire guns), an essential portion of the armament. Now all three manufactories are in process of construction under contracts with the Department.
>
> It was a fatal mistake for this country to be dependent upon any other nation for its implements of war. Aside from all questions of national dignity and pride, such implements are contraband in time of war, and could not then be procured from abroad,

while the time required to prepare a plant would make it impossible to extemporize a manufactory for the occasion, and yet, without armor, and without higher-powered guns, in the present state of the art no respectable contest could be carried on, and the country would be substantially defenseless.

The ease with which these difficulties were finally solved was most surprising and furnished another and most notable illustration of the enterprise and courage of our business class.

Two special boards, the Gun Foundry Board, reporting in 1884, and the Board on Fortifications and other Defenses, reporting in January, 1886, and two special committees of Congress, reporting also in 1886, had thoroughly investigated the problem of how to bring about the domesticating of these industries, and had substantially agreed in their recommendations.

SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF THE DEPARTMENT.

The Navy Department had, in the summer of 1886, as an experiment, consolidated in one advertisement all of its requirements for armor and gun-steel for ships of war then authorized, stipulating that it should be of domestic manufacture and giving an average of two and a half years in which to produce and deliver it, which covered the time necessary for the procurement of a plant. A period of about seven months was allowed for the submission of bids, in order to afford an opportunity for full investigation by expected bidders. The Department also opened correspondence upon the subject with the principal steel manufacturers of the country. The interest awakened by the discussion and investigations already had was stimulated somewhat by the influence of the Department, and resulted, when the bids were opened, in a contract with the Bethlehem Iron Company, under which a plant for the production of armor and gun-steel is being erected at Bethlehem, Pa., second to none in the world, it is believed. The efforts of the Department were generously seconded by the Naval Appropriations Committees of the two Houses, the sum of $4,000,000 having been inserted in the appropriation acts for the purpose indicated.

The bids were opened on the 22d day of March last, and caused a feeling of quite universal congratulation throughout the country. It marked a most important step in the progress toward national independence, most sincerely desired, it is believed, by the larger portion of our people.

The policy which had thus been so successfully pursued in the matter of armor and gun-steel was also followed in the matter of secondary batteries and with a like result.

The Department declined to make any purchases of the Hotchkiss arms, previously adopted for our secondary batteries, except upon condition that a manufactory was established in this country, and by the accumulation of orders, the inducement became in time sufficient to secure the desired result.

It is also gratifying to report that the representatives of the Hotchkiss company have ascertained that with the superior tools in use in this country in the manufacture of arms, the secondary batteries of ships can be made here and sold at prices less than we have paid for their foreign-made arms, and as low as they are produced there for any foreign Government. And such are the prices made to us by the company.

CONTRACTS MADE ON A REASONABLE BASIS.

In like manner the contracts for armor and gun steel are made at prices within 25 per cent. of the European price for the similar article, not greater than the difference in labor between the two countries, notwithstanding the heavy outlay for plant (estimated at $3,500,000) necessary to be made to undertake the contract.

These gratifying results have been greatly stimulated by the ship-building interest of the country. My attention was early called to the fact that our ship-builders were shut out from building for any foreign Government by reason of the fact that neither armor nor gun steel nor secondary batteries could be supplied in this country. The construction of war-vessels for other countries has been a large industry for the ship-builders of Great Britain.

It is believed that our private ship-yards can produce war ships equal and perhaps superior to those produced elsewhere when these industries shall have been established.

The ship-builders have, therefore, zealously co-operated with the Department in stimulating and furthering this object.

It is notable that the efforts of the Department to raise the standard of the material for the ships has resulted in a class of material believed to be superior to that ever produced for any similar purpose. * * * * * *

JUST WHAT VESSELS ARE UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

As the result of this careful and prudent management, the work of reconstructing the United States navy, and of putting it on a footing consistent with the wealth and importance of this country, is going on rapidly, surely, and, most important of all, honestly. This is shown by the following list of vessels, the construction of which has been entered upon by the present administration since December 28, 1886. Here are fourteen vessels built at home in the best ship-yards; the contracts for which have been fairly awarded in the open markets, with the exception of two immense armored cruisers which the Government has undertaken to construct in the navy-yards at New York and Norfolk:

NEW UNARMORED STEEL VESSELS UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

Name.	Type.	Keel laid.	Where built.	Dimensions.			Displacement.	Collective power or speed in each case.	Type of Engines.	Contract Executed.
				Length between perpendiculars.	Beam.	Mean draught.				
				Feet.	*Feet.*	*Feet.*	*Tons.*			
Charleston.....	Protected cruiser.	1887	Union Iron Works.	300	46	18½	3,730	‡7,000	Twin screw horizontal compound.	December 28, 1886
Baltimore.....	....do.....	1887	Cramps.....	315	48½	19½	4,413	‡9,000	Twin-screw horizontal triple expansion.	December 17, 1886
Yorktown.....	Cruiser....	1887	....do.....	230	36	14	1,700	‡3,000	.....do.....	January 31, 1887
Petrel.....	....do.....	1887	Columbia Iron Works, Baltimore.	175	31	11 7/12	800	‡1,100	Single screw horizontal compound.	December 22, 1886
Newark.....	Protedted cruiser.	1887	Cramp's.....	310	49 1/6	18¾	4,083	8,500	Twin screw horizontal triple expansion.	October 27, 1887
Philadelphia.....	.....do.....	1887	....do.....	315	38½	19 5/24	4,324	(§)	.....do.....	
San Francisco.....	....do.....	1887	Union Iron Works.	310	49 1/6	18¾	4,083	(§)	.....do.....	October 27, 1887
										October 26, 1887
Bennington	Cruiser....	1887	N. F. Palmer, Jr. & Co., Chester, Pa.	230	36	14	1,700	‡3,400	.....do.....	November 15, 1887
Concord.....	....do.....	1887	....do.....	230	36	14	1,700	‡3,400	.....do.....	
Vesuvius.....	Armored cruiser.	1887	Cramp's.....	240¼	26 5/12	9	725	(‖)	Twin-screw vertical, triple expansion.	November 15, 1887 February 11, 1887
Stilleto.....	1st class torpedo boat.	.....	Herreshoff's....	138	14½	3 7/12	99	(¶)	Twin-screw vertical, quadruple expansion.	
Maine.....	Armored cruiser.	.....	New York Navy Yard.	310	57	21½	6,648	8,750	Twin, vertical triple expansion.	
Texas.....	Armored battle ship.	.....	Norfolk Navy Yard.	290	64	22½	6,300	8,600	Twin, vertical, triple expansion.	

‡ Guaranteed. Indicated horse-power. § Guaranteed speed, 19 knots. ‖ Guaranteed speed, 20 knots. ¶ Estimated by bidder, 23 knots.

This remarkable contrast between this straight forward business management and the wasteful, inefficient and corrupt policy pursued between 1868 and 1885 does not need to be enforced with "much speaking." It carries its own moral with it.

A SPECIMEN OF REPUBLICAN MALADMINISTRATION.

As a reminder of some of the old-time methods, the following extracts from Secretary Whitney's report for 1887 on the final disposition of the Tennesse is instructive:

Among the vessels dropped from the Navy Register and sold during the past year is the Tennessee.

The history of this vessel is quite interesting and most illustrative. She had a short life but, as a consumer of money, a brilliant one. Her hull was built and she was equipped in the New York navy-yard. Her machinery was designed and built under contract by the eminent engineer, Mr. John Ericsson, costing $700,000. Her total original cost was $1,856,075.18 Upon her trial trip, in January, 1867, she ran about 1,000 miles. She attained a speed of 16 knots and made a run of 15 knots per hour for four hours. She encountered a perilous storm, described as a hurricane, which continued over twenty-four hours. The ship suffered considerably. The report of her commander says:

The engines moved off finely and worked perfectly during all the storm. * * * Her machinery is as perfect as it need to be. It has undergone the severest test and not once found wanting. She is the fastest ship I have ever seen.

The chief engineer says:

If the strength and workmanship of the machinery cannot be depended upon, then no reliance is to be placed upon the performance of any steam machinery with which I am acquainted.

Two years afterward she underwent what was called "repairs," and the sum of $576,799.61 was spent upon her; all but $73,000 of this was put on her hull and equipment. It was the full price of a new wooden hull of her size at that time. This was from 1869 to 1871. She then made a cruise of three months and went into the hands of John Roach to enable him to take out the machinery and boilers of John Ericsson and substitute others of superior character. It was among other things expected to give the ship a 14½ knot speed for twenty-four hours. When she had her trial of this new machinery in 1875 her maximum speed was 10¾ knots, and she had had put upon her an expense of $801,713.60 in addition to the value of her machinery and boilers taken in trade by Mr. Roach at $65,000. This machinery had cost $700,000; had not been in actual service six months; had never been surveyed and condemned by a board of Government officers, nor its value fixed by any Government board, but it was sold to Mr. Roach as old iron.

That is to say, between 1869 and 1875 the Tennessee had had three months' service and had cost in repairs and improvements $1,443,513.21. This was largely in excess of a fair price for a new ship of her characteristics.

Twelve years afterwards (on April 4, 1887) she is condemned by the Statutory Board as unseaworthy and not worth repairing, and ordered sold, having had put upon her between 1875 and 1887 the additional sum of $577,716.17. She brought $34,525 at the auction sale. She had cost the Government $3,800,000 in round numbers and had done about ten years of active service, outside of repair shops and navy-yards.

It is often the subject of wonder what has become of the $70,000,000 spent upon war vessels since the close of the war, in view of the fact that there is now no Navy. This bit of history will serve as an illustration.

ECONOMY IN DETAIL MANAGEMENT.

For the first time in many years the ordinary expenditures of the Department have been kept within the appropriations.

A statement of these expenditures, with the surplus or deficiencies at the end of each year, shows the following results for the past four years:

Year.	Ordinary expenditures.	Surplus balance.	Deficiency.
1883	$6,560,701 67	.....	$121,859 28
1884	6,142,256 52	.....	149,985 75
1885	5,435,292 57	.....	105,942 65
1886	5,020,942 30	$380,125 19	.....
1887	4,870,522 47	280,310 78	....

In this statement there are not included the pay of the Navy, expenses of the Marine Corps and Naval Academy, and objects specially appropriated for, which are controlled by statute.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PUBLIC LAND POLICY.

THE MARKED CONTRAST IN THE POLICY OF THE TWO PARTIES IN DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

How the Cleveland Administration has Restored Nearly One Hundred and Fifty Million Acres to Settlement.

The position of the President on the questions relating to the public lands has always been in full accord with that of the Democratic party, and the best thought of the people of the country. In his first annual message he said:

The public domain had its origin in cessions of land by the States to the General Government. The first cession was made by the State of New York, and the largest, which in area exceeded all the others, by the State of Virginia. The territory, the proprietorship of which became thus vested in the General Government, extended from the western line of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi river. These patriotic donations of the States were incumbered with no condition, except that they should be held and used "for the common benefit of the United States." By purchase, with the common fund of all the people, additions were made to this domain until it extended to the northern line of Mexico, the Pacific Ocean and the Polar Sea. The original trust, "for the common benefit of the United States," attached to all. In the execution of that trust the policy of many homes, rather than large estates, was adopted by the Government. That these might be easily obtained, and be the abode of security and contentment, the laws for their acquisition were few, easily understood, and general in their character. But the pressure of local interests, combined with a speculative spirit, have in many instances procured the passage of laws which marred the harmony of the general plan, and encumbered the system with a multitude of general and special enactments, which render the land laws complicated, subject the titles to uncertainty, and the purchasers often to oppression and wrong. Laws which were intended for the "common benefit" have been perverted so that large quantities of land are vesting in single ownerships. From the multitude and character of the laws, this consequence seems incapable of correction by mere administration.

THE PUBLIC LANDS SHOULD BE SAVED FOR HOMES.

It is not for the "common benefit of the United States" that a large area of the public lands should be acquired, directly or through fraud, in the hands of a single individual. The Nation's strength is in the people. The Nation's prosperity is in their prosperity. The Nation's glory is in the equality of her justice. The Nation's perpetuity is in the patriotism of all her people. Hence, as far as practicable, the plan adopted in the disposal of the public lands should have in view the original policy, which encouraged many purchasers of

these lands for homes and discouraged the massing of large areas. Exclusive of Alaska, about three-fifths of the national domain has been sold or subjected to contract or grant. Of the remaining two-fifths a considerable portion is either mountain or desert. A rapidly increasing population creates a growing demand for homes, and the accumulation of wealth inspires an eager competition to obtain the public land for speculative purposes. In the future this collision of interests will be more marked than in the past, and the execution of the Nation's trust in behalf of our settlers will be more difficult. I therefore commend to your attention the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary of the Interior with reference to the repeal and modification of certain of our land laws.

In his second annual message he still further enforced his views on the public lands as follows:

PRIMARY OBJECT OF THE LAND SYSTEM.

The recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office looking to the better protection of public lands and of the public surveys, the preservation of national forests, the adjudication of grants to States and corporations and of private land claims, and the increased efficiency of the public land service, are commended to the attention of Congress. To secure the widest distribution of public lands in limited quantities among settlers for residence and cultivation, and thus make the greatest number of individual homes, was the primary object of the public land legislation in the early days of the republic. This system was a simple one. It commenced with an admirable scheme of public surveys, by which the humblest citizen could identify the tract upon which he wished to establish his home. The price of lands was placed within the reach of all the enterprising, industrious and honest pioneer citizens of the country. It was soon, however, found that the object of the laws was perverted under the system of cash sales, from a distribution of land among the people to an accumulation of land capital by wealthy and speculative persons. To check this tendency a preference right of purchase was given to settlers on the land, a plan which culminated in the general pre-emption act of 1841. The foundation of this system was actual residence and cultivation.

Twenty years later the homestead law was devised to more surely place actual homes in the possession of actual cultivators of the soil. The land was given without price, the sole conditions being residence, improvement and cultivation. Other laws have followed, each designed to encourage the acquirement and use of land in limited individual quantities. But in later years these laws, through vicious administrative methods and under changed conditions of communication and transportation, have been so evaded and violated that their beneficent purpose is threatened with entire defeat. * * * The rapid appropriation of our public lands without bona fide settlements or cultivation, and not only without intention of residence, but for the purpose of their aggregation in large holdings, in many cases in the hands of foreigners, invites the serious and immediate attention of the Congress.

CORRECTION OF ABUSES AND REPEAL OF LAWS SUGGESTED.

The energies of the land department have been devoted during the present administration to remedy defects and correct abuses in the public land service. The results of these efforts are so largely in the nature of reforms in the processes and methods of our land system as to prevent adequate estimate; but it appears by a compilation from the reports of the Commissioner of the General Land Office that the immediate effect in leading cases which have come to a final termination has been the restoration to the mass of public lands of two million seven hundred and fifty thousand acres; that two million three hundred and seventy thousand acres are embraced in investigations now pending before the Department or the courts, and that the action of Congress has been asked to effect the restoration of two million seven hundred and ninety thousand acres additional; besides which four million acres have been withheld from reservation, and the rights of entry thereon maintained.

I recommend the repeal of the pre-emption and timber-culture acts, and that the homestead laws be so amended as to better secure compliance with their requirements of residence, improvement and cultivation for the period of five years from date of entry, without commutation or provision for speculative relinquishment. I also recommend the

repeal of the desert-land laws unless it shall be the pleasure of the Congress to so amend these laws as to render them less liable to abuses. As the chief motive for an evasion of the laws, and the principal cause of their result in land accumulation instead of land distribution, is the facility with which transfers are made of the right intended to be secured to settlers, it may be deemed advisable to provide by legislation some guards and checks upon the alienation of homestead rights and land covered thereby until patents issue.

REMOVAL OF FENCES FROM PUBLIC LANDS.

Last year an executive proclamation was issued directing the removal of fences which inclosed the public domain. Many of these have been removed in obedience to such order; but much of the public land still remains within the lines of those unlawful fences. The ingenious methods resorted to in order to continue these trespasses and the hardihood of the pretenses by which in some cases such inclosures are justified, are fully detailed in the report of the Secretary of the Interior.

The removal of the fences still remaining which inclose public lands, will be enforced with all the authority and means with which the executive branch of the Government is or shall be invested by the Congress for that purpose.

Upon taking charge of the General Land Office on March 26, 1885, this administration found an appalling condition of affairs confronting it. The public domain is said to be the "heritage of the people" and should be sacredly preserved for the benefit of the people who want homes. A comparison of the administration of this important bureau of the government, under the respective parties, will serve to show which was sincere and which was insincere in its professions of love to the masses of the people.

The plain facts which follow have been obtained from official sources. They can be easily verified by any one who doubts their correctness.

The public domain of the United States originally consisted of—

Cession from the original States	229,987,187	acres.
Louisiana purchase (1843)	756,961,280	"
Florida (1819)	37,931,280	"
Mexican Treaty (1848)	334,443,520	"
Purchase from Texas (1851)	61,892,486	"
Gadsden purchase (1853)	29,142,400	"
Alaska (1867)	369,529,600	"
Total	1,819,889,987	"

All this territory was acquired prior to Republican administration, except Alaska, which was purchased under Johnson's administration, virtually Democratic.

RECKLESS RAILROAD GRANTS.

The most stupendous waste of public lands has been made by way of grants to railroads and wagon roads. It has long been the policy of the government to make carefully guarded grants to the various States of limited quantities of public lands, to be used by the States in promoting the building of railroads or other important means of transportation within their borders. But never, until the Republican party came into power in 1861, was such a thing known as a grant by the United States direct to a railroad corporation. On July 1, 1862, the Act passed granting direct to the Union Pacific every odd unnumbered section within ten miles on each side of its 1,088 miles of line, and in 1864 this was extended so as to give that com-

pany every odd section within 20 miles on each side of the road, making a strip forty miles wide through some of the richest and best lands in the world from the Missouri river to the Pacific, one-half of which was given away to this corporation.

This is but a sample of the work begun by a Republican Congress. Prior to their advent into power, no grant had exceeded the alternate sections within six miles on each side of the line located, but in no less than ten instances, additional grants were made after 1861 increasing the amounts granted to ten miles on each side of the road.

Following the precedent set by the grant to the Union Pacific, gratuities followed thick and fast to other corporations, the Northern Pacific receiving 47,000,000 acres at one allotment.

The following statement will show, at a glance, the aggregate amounts of public lands granted to corporations by Republican congresses or to the States for the benefit of railroads, within fourteen years after Lincoln's inauguration on March 4th, 1861:

Total grants to railroad companies	163,643,944.83	acres.
Grants to States for railroad purposes	19,240,883.80	"
Grants to States for wagon roads	2,530,379.84	"
Total in 14 years	185,415,208.47	"
From March 4, 1789, to March 4, 1861, being 72 years, grants to States for railroad and wagon roads aggregate	29,824,033.37	"
Excess	155,591,155.10	"

A Democratic House of Representatives appeared on the scene March 4, 1875, and no railroad grants of any kind have since been made.

LAND GRANT FORFEITURES.

It was left for the Democratic party to reclaim as much as possible of the lands so recklessly given away to greedy corporations which were never satisfied but always clamorous for more.

In the first annual report of the General Land Office, after President Cleveland's inauguration, for the year ending June 30, 1885, the Commissioner of the General Land Office called attention to the condition of the grants to twenty-nine roads mentioned in his report, and to the fact that these roads had failed to comply with the conditions of their grants by failing to complete their lines within the time required. Many bills had already passed the Democratic House, declaring some of these grants forfeited for this reason, but they had almost all failed in the Republican Senate.

But by persistent effort, the Democrats have succeeded in at last beginning the work of declaring forfeited all grants, the conditions of which have not been complied with. Their efforts have been so far successful that there have been declared forfeited by Acts of Congress, during Cleveland's administration, railroad grants which restore to the public domain, in the aggregate, 28,253 347 acres, and in the same time the General Land Office and the Interior Department, by executive action, have restored 2,108,417.38 acres within granted limits, and 21,323,600 acres within indemnity limits, *making a total actually restored to the public domain of railroad lands*, ALONE, *of* 51,685,364.33 *acres.*

REPUBLICAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WASTE.

On June 20, 1888, in the House of Representatives, E. B. Taylor, of Ohio, a Republican Representative, sought to claim some credit to his own party for the restoration of railroad lands to settlement, and to break the force of the Democratic claim. In the course of the debate which ensued, Representative Holman, of Indiana, placed on record an important historical event, as is shown by the following extract from the Congressional Record, vol. 19, pp. 5912, 5913. The resolution referred to was introduced by Mr. Holman himself, on January 18, 1869.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask the Clerk to read a resolution which was submitted to this House on the 18th day of January, 1869, the vote upon which discloses, I think, the attitude of the two parties in regard to the repeal of the land grants better than any other proposition which has been referred to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That grants of the public lands to corporations ought to be discontinued; and the whole of such lands ought to be held as a sacred trust to secure homesteads to actual settlers, and for no other purpose whatever.

Mr. HOLMAN. Now, Mr. Chairman, in those few words this whole question is as well presented as it could be. There can be no misunderstanding of that declaration, which is that land grants ought to cease, and that the public lands ought to be reserved for the benefit of actual settlers only. Gentlemen will be surprised to see how the vote stands on that resolution.

A MEMBER. What year was that?

Mr. HOLMAN. In 1869—five years before the Democrats obtained control of this House. Within a very short time after this resolution, as gentlemen will find by looking at the records—I called the attention of one of my colleagues to this matter not long since—this side of the House brought forward a proposition to grant land to soldiers of the late war without requiring settlement on the same—the principle on which the soldiers in all former wars had obtained grants of land. I hope gentlemen who are claiming that they have favored the policy of securing these lands to the people will examine the vote on this bill, which passed, to be sure, in a Republican House, but was promptly rejected in the Senate.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. What was the vote on the resolution to which the gentleman has referred?

Mr. HOLMAN. Upon the submission of that resolution declaring that "grants of the public lands ought to be discontinued, and the whole of such lands ought to be held as a sacred trust to secure homesteads to actual settlers, and for no other purpose whatever," Mr. H. D. Washburn, a Republican member from the State of Indiana, and a very excellent man, moved to lay the resolution on the table. Of the Republican votes in favor of that motion I will simply call attention to the following: William B. Allison, Nathaniel P. Banks, John A. Bingham, Shelby M. Cullom, Columbus Delano, James A. Garfield, Samuel Hooper, William D. Kelley, Charles O'Neill, Luke P. Poland, Robert C. Schenck. I mention these as distinguished Representatives of the Republican party. The Democratic vote in those days was not very strong, and gentlemen will remember that the effects of this policy had not then been fully felt by the country, and until they had been felt it could scarcely be expected that this House would very decidedly change its attitude on this question.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. What was the vote for the resolution?

Mr. HOLMAN. One hundred and ten to fifty-five.

Mr. WEAVER. How many Democrats?

Mr. HOLMAN. I only recognized three, hastily running over the list. There may be others.

The proposition I wished to call attention to is that this was in the midst of the land-grant policy. After this the Texas Pacific was passed, granting 14,500,000 acres.

The Democratic party came in, and there were no more grants of land for any such purpose. There it ceased. Not an acre has been granted from that day to this. That act authorized 14,500,000 acres. That expired in 1882.

That was the point I wished to call the attention of the House to, that as soon as the Democrats came into power they instantly introduced a bill declaring the forfeiture of the remaining unearned land grants. During the Forty-seventh Congress no vote was obtained except in reference to a little road in Michigan, known as the Brule grant. It was the deliberate purpose—I do not say that of gentlemen on the floor—but the record will show there was a deliberate purpose—this House should not have the opportunity to vote in reference to forfeiture of these land grants. And it was not until the next Congress, when the House adopted a new rule, that we were able to present and vote on propositions looking to the forfeiture of these unearned land grants.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. Let me inquire of the gentleman from Indiana whether any law was ever passed in a Republican House looking to the forfeiture of any one of these land grants?

Mr. HOLMAN. No, I think there was not. I voted against all these grants, and therefore have no explanation to make.

Mr. ATKINSON. Had the time for the completion of these roads expired before the end of the Forty-seventh Congress?

Mr. TOWNSHEND. The grant to the Northern Pacific expired in 1879, some three or four years before the end of that Congress.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF FORFEITURE.

In addition to the above actual restoration of railroad lands, the Commissioner, in his first annual report on the General Land Office in 1885, above referred to, recommended that grants to all roads that had not complied with the conditions thereof should be declared forfeited by act of Congress.

The only power in the United States which can dispose of the public lands is Congress. Not a foot can be conveyed by the executive branch of the government until there is express authority given therefor by statute. As a consequence, after land is once granted by Congressional action, it can only be restored to the public domain in accordance with some express act of Congress. In other words, it is held that by the act granting certain lands for railroad purposes, the United States enters into a contract with the grantee to convey the land upon compliance, by the grantee, with the conditions annexed to the grant. It follows, under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, that Congress, being the party grantor to the contract, is the only power that can elect to rescind the contract upon failure of the other party to comply with the conditions.

In 1883 the time for completing the road under the last grant expired, and Democratic Congresses have steadfastly refused to extend the time. Three propositions are pending in Congress:

1. To declare forfeited to the United States all granted lands opposite these parts of the line of location uncompleted at the date of the act.

2. To declare forfeited all granted lands opposite these parts of the lines uncompleted at the date of the expiration of the time limited for their completion by the granting acts.

3. To declare forfeited the entire grant in all cases where the line was not completed within the time limited.

By these respective actions there would be restored to the public domain the following areas of land:

	Acres.
By the first	5,627,486
" second	54,323,996
" third	78,503,088

The first proposition is the measure of the Republican Senate and construes the law most favorably to the railroad companies. The third is the measure endorsed by Commissioner Stockslager, of the General Land Office. It construes the law most favorably to settlers on the public lands.

In a nutshell, Republican Senators favor the railroad companies as far as possible. The Democratic officials of the General Land Office favor the people as far as possible.

Commissioner Stockslager has suspended action in his office on railroad lands covered by the third of the propositions until Congress can act therein.

INDEMNITY LANDS.

Almost every railroad grant contains a provision giving the companies the privilege of selecting within certain fixed limits beyond their grants, called indemnity limits, lands in lieu of such lands covered by their grants as were appropriated prior thereto. Very few of the granting acts provided for the withdrawal of indemnity lands from settlement and entry. They left the railroads on an equal footing with the settler. But obsequious Republican officials issued executive orders from time to time withdrawing these indemnity lands from entry. The result was that the agents of the corporations, with greedy eagerness, took every opportunity of seizing upon the tracts of land settled on, improved and made valuable by American citizens under the name indemnity. It was left for that friend of the people, GROVER CLEVELAND, to secure the homes of thousands from the greedy clutches of the railroads.

THE GUILFORD MILLER CASE.

The name of Guilford Miller, a plain, hard-working settler on a little homestead claim in Washington Territory, has become famous. Space will not allow a detailed statement of his case. All that needs to be known for the purpose of exhibiting the principle involved is contained in the following letter of President Cleveland:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, D. C., April 28, 1887.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have examined with much care and interest the questions involved in the conflicting claim of Guilford Miller and the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to certain lands in Washington Territory. The legal aspects of the case have been examined and passed upon by several officers of the Government, who do not agree in their conclusions.

Miller claims to be a settler upon the land in question, whose possession dates from 1878. He alleges that he has made substantial improvements upon this land, and cultivated the same, and it appears that he filed his claim to the same, under the homestead law, on the 29th day of December, 1884.

The railroad company contends that this land is within the territory or area from which it was entitled to select such a quantity of public land as might be necessary to supply any deficiency that shall be found to exist in the specified land mentioned in a grant by the Government to said company in aid of the construction of its road, such deficiency being contemplated as likely to arise from the paramount right of private parties and settlers within the territory embracing said granted lands, and that the land in dispute was thus selected by the company on the 19th day of December, 1883.

A large tract, including this land, was withdrawn by an order of the Interior Department from sale, and from pre-emption and homestead entry in 1872, in anticipation of the construction of said railroad and a deficiency in its granted lands. In 1880, upon the filing of

a map of definite location, the land in controversy—and much more, which has been so withdrawn—was found to lie outside of the limits which included the granted land; but its withdrawal and reservation from settlement and entry under our laws was continued upon the theory that it was within the limits of indemnity lands which might be selected by the company as provided in the law making the grant.

The legal points in the controversy turned upon the validity and effect of the withdrawal and reservation of this land and the continuance thereof. The Attorney-General is of the opinion that such withdrawal and reservation were at all times effectual, and that they operated to prevent Miller from acquiring any interest in or right to the land claimed by him.

With this interpretation of the law, and the former order and action of the Interior Department, it will be seen that their effect has been the withdrawal and reservation since 1872 of thousands, if not millions, of acres of these lands from the operation of the land laws of the United States, thus placing them beyond the reach of our citizens desiring under such laws to settle and make homes upon the same, and that this has been done for the benefit of a railroad company having no fixed, certain, definite interests in such lands.

In this manner the beneficent policy and intention of the Government, in relation to the public domain, have for all these years to that extent been thwarted. There seems to be no evidence presented showing how much, if any, of this vast tract is necessary for the fulfillment of the grant to the railroad company; nor does there appear to be any limitation of the time within which this fact should be made known and the corporation obliged to make its selection. After a lapse of fifteen years this large body of the public domain is still held in reserve, to the exclusion of settlers, for the convenience of a corporation beneficiary of the Government, and awaiting its selection, though it is entirely certain that much of this reserved land can never be honestly claimed by said corporation.

Such a condition of the public land should no longer continue. So far as it is the result of executive rules and methods these should be abandoned; and so far as it is a consequent of improvident laws, these should be repealed or amended. Our public domain is our national wealth, the earnest of growth and the heritage of our people. In the case under consideration I assume that there is an abundance of land within the area that has been reserved for indemnity, in which no citizen or settler has a legal or equitable interest, for all purposes of such indemnification to this railroad company if its grant has not already been satisfied. I understand, too, that selections made by such corporation are not complete and effectual until the same have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior, or unless they are made, in the words of the statute, under his direction.

You have thus far taken no action in this matter, and it seems to me that you are in a condition to deal with the subject in such a manner as to protect this settler from hardship and loss.

I transmit herewith the papers and documents relating to the case, which were submitted to me at my request.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

THE ACTION OF THE DEPARTMENT.

Following the suggestions of this letter, Secretary Lamar on May 23, 1887, called upon the railroads concerned to show cause why the lands covered by indemnity withdrawals, for their benefit, should not be thrown open to entry. Attempts were made by them to "show cause," but the Secretary held their showings insufficient, and on August 13, 1887, in the case of the Atlantic and Pacific road, the Secretary rendered a lengthy opinion, in which he reviewed the Act of July 27, 1866, making the grant to this road, and used the following language:

Waiving all question as to whether or not said granting act took from the Secretary all authority to withdraw said indemnity limits from settlement, it is manifest that the said act gave no special authority or direction to the executive to withdraw said lands; and when such withdrawal was made it was done by virtue of the general authority over such matters possessed by the Secretary of the Interior, and in the exercise of his discretion; so that were the withdrawal to be revoked, no law would be violated—no contract

broken. The company would be placed exactly in the position which the law gave it, and deprived of no rights acquired thereunder. It would yet have its right to select indemnity for lost lands, but in so doing it would have no advantage over the settler, as it now has in contravention of the policy of the government in denial of the rights unquestionably conferred upon settlers by the land laws of the country, apparently specially protected by the provisions of the granting act under consideration.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

This Department, charged with the administration of the land laws, acted with the utmost, if not questionable, liberality when it withdrew the land in the indemnity belt—a liberality which Congress declined to exhibit. This liberality was further shown by the fact that the indemnity lands were withdrawn long before a mile of railroad was built, and continued withdrawn long after the time prescribed by law for its construction had expired; and more than liberality is shown in that, during the period of said withdrawals, the company is allowed to present and have approved by the local officers its list of selections without giving public notice of any kind; whilst the pre-emption or homestead settler, though his residence upon and cultivation of his land has been open and notorious for years, is compelled to give thirty days' notice, by advertisement and posting, before he is allowed to show by proof a right to his home, so that any one interested may appear and protest on the day named against said proof, or contest his right. And the Department is not now to be charged with injustice or illiberality because it does not propose to keep in perpetual reservation a territory of such vast extent, as was withdrawn, for the benefit of this road.

Criticism upon the alleged shortcomings of the government with respect to this grant come with ill grace from this company. The people, whom the government represents, had some rights under the grant as well as the company. That act was not passed and that contract made for the sole benefit of the company. Mutuality in benefit was expected and intended, and mutual obligations were entered into; and equity and good conscience would require of both parties a faithful observance of these obligations.

The Atlantic and Pacific Company proposed to build a railroad from Springfield, Missouri, thence to the western boundary of the State; thence to a point on the Canadian river; thence to the town of Albuquerque, in New Mexico; thence to the head-waters of the Colorado river; thence to the Pacific Ocean. The government was asked to make a grant of land to aid in the construction of this proposed road. This was done in a most liberal manner; but it was provided by the eighth section of the granting act:

That each and every grant, right and privilege herein are so made and given to and accepted by said Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company upon and subject to the following conditions, namely: That the said company shall commence the work on said road within two years from the approval of this act by the President, and shall complete not less than fifty miles per year after the second year, and shall construct, equip, furnish and complete the main line of the whole road by the fourth day of July, Anno Domini 1878.

Did the company comply with this clear and specific contract? Did it commence the construction of its road in the two years named? Did it prosecute the work as required? Did it complete its main line at the time mentioned? In fact, has it yet completed the main line?

If at the time this company applied for its grant, it had stated its purpose was to build the proposed road, or so much of it as it might desire, from time to time, and in such fragments, or to and from such points as it pleased its management, and that the government should withdraw from entry and settlement along its whole line all the land in both granted and indemnity limits, and keep such lands in a state of indefinite withdrawal to wait the pleasure or convenience of the company, is it believed for a moment that Congress would have listened to the application for a grant? Yet this is exactly what the company now insists Congress has done; with the further assertion that, though the company may violate every specification of its contract, the government is bound in equity not only to carry out the contract on its side, but to guarantee to it a monopoly for an indefinite period of a vast part of the public domain not contemplated by the grant. I do not so understand either the law or the equity of the case.

On a full consideration of the whole subject I conclude that the withdrawal for indemnity purposes, if permissible under the law, was solely by virtue of executive authority, and may be revoked by the same authority; that such revocation would not be a violation of either law or equity, and that said lands having been so long withheld for

the benefit of the company, the time has arrived when public policy and justice demand the withdrawal should be revoked and some regard had for the rights of those seeking and needing homes on the public domain.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I therefore direct that all lands under withdrawals heretofore made and held for indemnity purposes under the grant to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company be restored to the public domain and opened to settlement under the general land laws, except such lands as may be covered by approved selections; provided the restoration shall not affect rights acquired within the primary or granted limits of any other congressional grant.

As a result of this bold action by President Cleveland and the departmental orders following, 21,323,600 acres of land were restored to the public domain and more will follow. This one act alone will furnish homesteads of 160 acres each for 133,272 settlers.*

PRIVATE LAND CLAIMS

The cessions of the various bodies of lands acquired from Spain, France, Mexico and Russia were made upon treaty stipulations that all owners of any parts of the ceded territories should be protected in their ownership of the lands held by them. These treaty obligations have been scrupulously observed by the United States, but private grants have been a source of much fraud and of sore vexation to the people, especially in New Mexico and Arizona.

Many grants which were formerly only claimed to cover a few thousand acres have been purchased by land syndicates which bodily lay claim to millions instead of thousands, and hold the land claimed and get the use of it until their claim is finally disposed of—usually by rejecting the greater part of it. Other such claims are manufactured out of whole cloth, some vague expression by some old Mexican of a desire to own a little patch of ground for a home which was never followed by any action by the Mexican Government, being the only foundation. Many millions of acres of land are thus withheld from settlement under these false or fraudulent claims.

The Democratic Commissioner of the Land Office took cognizance of these abuses at once, and the result has been the rejection of one claim—the Gerracio Nolan grant in New Mexico, and the restoration to settlement of 576,000 acres, an area nearly as large as the State of Rhode Island. Recommendations have been made by the General Land Office to the Department and to Congress, asking for action looking to the recovery of 635,255 acres, improperly patented under private land claims, the resurvey of claims which would restore to the public domain 629,500 acres, and the rejection of claims covering 4,732,480.15 acres.

FRAUDULENT SURVEYS.

A rich field for fraudulent work was found in the official surveys. The survey of the public lands is made under contracts entered into by the Surveyors-General of the various States and Territories with deputy surveyors, the persons doing the actual work being paid on their accounts being adjusted in the General Land Office.

Prior to the present administration, it was the custom to pay these deputies on their own reports that their work had been correctly and fully done. Great laxity in enforcing these contracts was practiced. Parties who had contracted to survey

*Since this Chapter was prepared the Secretary of the Interior has decided the above case. It is treated in full in Chapter XVIII, under the title "Guilford Miller's Farm."

entire townships were permitted to survey the easiest parts thereof, were paid for the same, and then the same or other parties were employed to complete the surveys at a much higher rate. Imperfect work was paid for and the men who had failed to perform their contracts were, in many instances, actually paid for retracing the same work they had failed to do properly in the first instance. Many surveys claimed to be complete were paid for when, in fact, very few lines had been run at all, the field notes and plats being made up from imagination.

The law expressly provides that the actual work must be done by the deputy, but, in flagrant violation thereof, parties were allowed to contract for the survey of many townships at a time and to sub let the work to others. Most of these abuses grew out of the fact that no examination of surveys was made on behalf of the Government. Soon after Commissioner Sparks assumed control of the Land Office he recommended that provision be made by Congress for the examination of surveys by special agents of the Office before they were paid for, and appropriations have been made therefor since then. The result has been most salutory.

Many fraudulent surveys were detected and rejected, and contracts entered into under the present administration are more faithfully executed because the contractors know that their work will be carefully inspected in the interest of the Government.

Worse than the foregoing, however, were the actual frauds committed on the Goverment in which, in many instances, the Surveyors-General or their deputies were active participants. We do not have room to notice all the instances of this kind, and will mention the following as a sample:

THE BENSON FRAUD.

The "special deposit system," originated through section 10 of "An act to reduce the expenses of the survey and sale of the public lands," which was approved May 20, 1862. Originally enacted to allow and authorize surveys, *without cost to the United States*, where settlers desired surveys in advance of the regular appropriations for surveys, the act of July 1, 1864, first made the deposits available as appropriations for the surveying service, which last act amended by the act of March 3, 1871, authorizing the acceptance of special deposits in part payment for the depositor's land.

Under date of April 6, 1881, the General Land Office issued a circular in which all previous instructions, regulating special deposits to *actual settlers only*, were revoked. In said circular the words of the original act, "the settlers," were omitted, and in lieu thereof were submitted "*any party who desires a survey*," or "applicants." Under said instructions it was only necessary that a "desire" for surveys should be expressed by applicants, and required deposits were made to extend surveying operations over the public lands, not reserved or mineral.

This was followed by the organization, in San Francisco, Cal., of a "syndicate," under the special direction and superintendence of John A. Benson, a former contracting deputy surveyor, with the financial assistance of certain banks. This syndicate undertook and succeeded in controlling all special deposit contracts, principally on the Pacific Slope, with extensions into New Mexico, Wyoming, Utah, &c. The banks supplied the money requisite for special deposits, the respective agents of the syndicate perfected the award of contracts at the offices of the several surveyors-general, and the contracting deputies executed "power of attorney" to the banks for any and all moneys payable under each contract.

In January, 1882, the General Land Office, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, issued a regular form of "settler's application for survey under section 2401, Revised Statutes of the United States." This form "developed" the "system" with wonderful facility, and contributed, in a marked degree, to the success of those who had conspired to defraud the Government.

Every employe in the service of the "syndicate" who could write his name legibly was employed to "fill up" the blank forms, while other employes, who had been duly commissioned and provided with seals as "Notaries Public" and "U. S. Commissioners," supplied the requisite jurats and seals to each completed application. Blank forms of applications were also scattered broadcast throughout the localities where "skeleton surveys" were contemplated, and any and all possible settlers, herders or temporary occupants on the lands were induced to sign their names to the blank forms.

Blank forms of contracts for public surveys throughout the surveying district of California were also signed in blank by wholesale, the chainmen, and other field assistants connected with the several surveying parties furnishing the requisite "dummy." In addition to forms of contract, bond, oath, preliminary and final oaths of assistants and contracting deputies which were duly signed in blank forms of "powers of attorney" from the "dummy" contractor to specified banks, were also signed, sealed and delivered, the latter paper being invaluable for the purpose of securing the payments under the special contract. Bonds to secure contracts having first been signed in blank by the "dummy" as principal, were subsequently filled out in pencil, sums ranging from $5,000 to $50,000, convenient and subservient "bondsmen" contributing their signatures to the bond as sureties and to the requisite affidavits as to assets.

Sworn testimony before the Grand July of the United States Court for the Northern District of California, developed the fact that several surveying parties, in the employ of the San Francisco Syndicate, were engaged in the ostensible work of executing surveys and "reconnoitering" the unsurveyed lands in that State. These "reconnoisances" were for a two-fold purpose; one being to obtain the principal topography of the lands and to "set corners" here and there, principally along the banks of streams, where settlers might possibly locate; which information could be embodied in the "true field notes," to be subsequently prepared at the "general office" in San Francisco under future contracts. The other purpose was to ascertain the character of the lands, whether or not they were valuable as agricultural or mineral, and whether the same was desirable for ranch or mining purposes, the title thereto to be thereafter acquired in the "land" interest of the syndicate. When "corners" could be set without much labor they were accordingly located, but no attention was paid to existing surveying regulations or the manual of surveying instructions.

METHOD OF WORKING FRAUDULENT SURVEYS.

In lieu of a surveyor's chain, the lines were "paced off" by the assistants, and slender twigs of wood or similar material used to indicate the "corners." No attempts were made to establish "corners" on rough or mountainous lands, or where the lands were covered with the thick growth of "chaparral." No examinations in the field on behalf of the government were made of these surveys, so that the conspirators were in no danger of immediate discovery.

The amount deposited in 1879 was $137,365.67; in 1880, $941,741.42; in 1881, $1,749,547.54; in 1882, $2,184,175.44; in 1883, $437,949.72. The sudden decline in 1883 was owing to an amendment adopted by Congress August 7, 1882, to existing laws which restricted to the land districts embracing the township surveyed, the use of the triplicate certificate of deposit in payment for lands. Pending legislation on the matter of special deposits, the records of the General Land Office show that, from July 1 to August 7, 1882, the number and liabilities of special deposit contracts for public surveys far exceeded those of any prior period of equal length.

The records of the General Land Office show that the operations of the syndicate were not confined to California, but extended into the States of Nevada, Oregon and Colorado, and the Territories of Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, Montana, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. In the States and Territories of Nevada, Oregon, Idaho and Washington, contiguous to the base of operations at San Francisco, the traveling corps of surveyors and assistants were dispatched to do such work in the field as was deemed absolutely indispensable, as explained by the assistants in their affidavits. In the distant surveying districts of Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, etc., the services of resident and "reliable" parties were secured. Edward F. Stahble, of Wyoming, for example, whose original special deposit contract of $6,000 was floated, continued, and extended to $130,000. In New Mexico the arid region known as "The Staked Plains," where water for man and beast has to be transported from a great distance, was all apparently surveyed and surveys paid for.

When the present administration assumed control of public land affairs the matter of special deposits and public surveys thereunder was promptly investigated.

With the view of securing positive *evidence* as to the existence of the alleged Syndicate, with headquarters in San Francisco, California, a trusted Special Agent was detailed to that city for the purpose stated. With consummate skill was the inquiry made, and the "scent" being finally secured through the voluntary admission of a trusted ally of the Syndicate, the investigation was rigorously prosecuted.

In March, 1887, the grand jury convened and the matters relating to the Benson conspiracy which had been prepared by the Special Agent was presented for their consideration. The grand jury entered vigorously upon the discharge of their duties, and several witnesses, all of whom are on record as United States Deputy Surveyors, were duly examined. In April, 1887, the grand jury found 33 indictments for perjury and 8 for conspiracy against John A. Benson, George H. Perrin and James R. Glover, with their assistants, associates, etc. These suits are now pending in the Federal courts in California.

During the past three years the operations of the California Surveying Syndicate for controlling the public land surveys have not only been exposed, but completely broken up. Thousands of dollars, which were originally deposited throughout the land States and Territories in connection with the Syndicate system of contracts, yet remain in the vaults of the Treasury to the credit of the "Special Deposit fund," but utterly valueless to the banking parties of the late Syndicate.

The "Powning" frauds in Nevada are now awaiting action in the office of the Secretary of the Interior.

The result of the action of the administration in so promptly unearthing these frauds has been to give the public honest surveys by which settlers may be protected in their improvements.

OTHER RESTORATIONS.

Since March 4, 1885, up to May 12, 1888, a period of a little over three years, by the cancellation of illegal, fraudulent and forfeited entries, there had been restored to the public domain 23,869,429.74 acres, while unlawful enclosures (to be hereafter mentioned) were removed from 3,591,179 acres, by the action of the General Land Office, making a total of 27,460,608.74 acres restored by the action of the Land Office in the regular course of business.

During the same period invalid State selections were cancelled, including internal improvement, swamp land, school selections, &c., restoring to the public domain 968,747.52 acres.

The total actual restorations of land to the public domain since March 4, 1885, *reached the enormous aggregate of* 80,690,720.59 *acres.*

In addition to this there have been recommended for restoration by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office by acts forfeiting unearned railroad grants, rejections of private land claims, &c., 65,020,538.33 acres, or a grand total of 145,711.258.92 acres, actually restored and in process of restoration.

LANDS RESTORED TO PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Statement showing the quantity of land actually restored to the public domain, and of land recommended for recovery by the action of the General Land Office, and Secretary of the Interior, from March 4, 1885, to May 12, 1888:

	ACREAGE.	TOTAL AVERAGE RESTORED.
Lands Actually Restored to the Public Domain.	*Acres.*	*Acres.*
Lands in granted railroad limits restored	2,108,417.33	
Forfeitures of railroad grants under acts of Congress.	28,253,347.00	
Railroad indemnity lands restored	21,323,600.00	
Private land claims—withdrawn lands restored	576,000.00	
Entries under pre-emption, homestead, timber culture, desert, mineral and timber land laws canceled in regular course of examination and proceedings in General Land Office for abandonment, illegality and other causes	27,460,608.74	
Invalid State selections (internal improvements and swamp)	698,747.52	
Total actually restored to the public domain and opened to entry and settlement		80,690,720.59
RECOVERY OF LANDS RECOMMENDED.		
Land Within Railroad Grants Recommended for Recovery.		
Recovery of land recommended and pending for review of Secretary	12,300.00	
Recovery of land recommended and pending on appeal before the Secretary	1,500,000.00	
Suits recommended for the recovery of land	818,687.18	
Railroad forfeitures under bills now before Congress.	*54,323,996.00	
Private land claims: Recommendations to Congress to reject claims heretofore favorably reported	4,732,480.15	
Resurveys ordered reducing areas of claims	629,500.00	
Suits recommended to vacate patents	635,255.00	
		62,652,218.33
Lands forfeited in Oregon and recommended for recovery under grant for military wagon roads		2,368,320.00
Grand total actually restored to the public domain and recommended for recovery		145,711,258.92

SWAMP LAND INDEMNITY CLAIMS.

As it early appeared, after the passage of the swamp land grant act, that the United States was parting with the title to a great deal of land which would be embraced in said act, and that no title could inure to the States for such lands as had been previously appropriated, Congress by various acts up to and including March 5,

*Under the bill which recently passed the Senate the quantity of land forfeited will equal 5,637,436 acres, but the aggregate quantity forfeited under the bills of the two Houses, if adopted, will equal 54,323,996 acres, as above.

1857, provided indemnity for the States in the shape of cash or scrip, upon the filing by the agents of the State of lists of lands claimed to be swamp which had been conveyed by the United States between September 28, 1850, and March 3, 1857. In some cases it appears from the records that the agent makes out from the tract books of the General Land Office, a list of all the lands sold by the United States without regard to whether they were swamp or dry lands, and then procures the affidavits of two witnesses stating that all such lands were swamp and overflowed. Such lists are filed by the agent in the General Land Office, and indemnity is asked for the various tracts contained therein.

Upon receipt of these lists the Swamp Land Division proceeds to make an examination of each tract, eliminating therefrom (in those States where there are no lands upon which to locate indemnity certificates) all lands that were sold and paid for with warrants, as well as those tracts which were erroneously inserted in the agent's list, and which were sold either before September 28, 1850, or after March 3, 1857.

After the new commissioner had been in office a short time, and after his attention had been called to indemnity allowances, he, believing that the claims as presented were mostly fraudulent in character, determined to submit all claims for indemnity which were pending, to a *re-examination* to be made by agents appointed under this administration. From this decision an appeal was taken by State Agent Isaac R. Hitt to the Secretary of the Interior, and in the case of Hardin county, Iowa, Secretary Lamar held that the commissioner of the General Land Office had the right to order a re-examination to be made if the proof on hand was not satisfactory to him.

As a result of this action of the commissioner, we may take the State of Illinois simply as an illustration. The swamp lands in that State as in some others were granted by the State to the several counties in which they lie. The counties employ agents to list the lands and procure title to them or indemnity for such as are sold—which is the case with about all the land in Illinois. The following statement shows the number of acres for which indemnity was claimed by counties under the former administration, beginning with 1883, and the amount reported as swamp by the Government agents, and the same facts within the three years of this administration:

ADMINISTRATION.	NO. ACRES. CLAIMED.	NO ACRES REPORTED SWAMP.	PER CENT. ALLOWED.
Republican	806,310	345,119	42.6
Democratic	1,109,200	96,447	8.1

This is presented as an illustration of the reckless, almost criminal negligence in protecting the interests of the government in former times and of the great improvements under Democratic control.

Thus during the time that the Republican party was in power, from 1861 to 1875, when a Democratic Congress stopped the process, more than 185,000,000 acres of lands were granted directly to railroad corporations, being almost as much land as is to be found in the thirteen original States of the Union.

The magnitude of these figures can only be thoroughly appreciated when comparison is made with the areas of States and Territories, to be found elsewhere, and

with the acreage of the principal countries of the world, a few of which are given here, together with their population, by the latest census returns:

AREA AND POPULATION OF LEADING COUNTRIES.

	Area in Acres.	Population.
Austria-Hungary	143,889,840	35,904,435
France	129,616,000	36,905,788
Germany	135,738,246	42,727,360
Great Britain and Ireland	77,587,200	31,628,338
Italy	72,112,280	26,801,154
Japan	100,226,560	33,623,319
Spain	116,966,120	16,222,514
Switzerland	9,749,120	2,759,854

Instead, therefore, of saving this vast area of land for actual settlers upon which millions of people yet unborn might have made happy homes, it was granted in the most reckless way to corporations to fall naturally in large tracts into the possession of a small number of owners. It remained for branches of Congress, Democratic in their majority, to declare forfeited more than eighty million acres of these grants—enough under the policy of the present administration, to give farms of 160 acres each to 504,317 families, or more than two millions of people.

AREAS OF STATES AND TERRITORIES.

The following statement showing the areas of all the States and Territories in square miles and acres has been prepared for the purposes of comparison:

Names.	Sq. Miles.	Acres.	Names.	Sq. Miles.	Acres.
Alabama	51,540	32,985,600	Missouri	68,735	43,990,400
Arizona	112,920	72,268,800	Montana	145,310	92,998,400
Arkansas	53,045	33,948,800	Nebraska	76,185	48,758,400
California	155,980	99,827,200	Nevada	109,740	70,233,600
Colorado	103,645	66,332,800	New Hampshire	9,005	5,763,200
Connecticut	4,845	3,100 800	New Jersey	7,455	4,771,200
Dakota	147,700	94,528,000	New Mexico	122,460	78,374,400
Delaware	1,960	1,254 400	New York	47,620	30,476,400
District of Columbia	60	38,400	North Carolina	48,580	31,091,200
Florida	54,240	34.713,600	Ohio	40,760	26,086,400
Georgia	58,980	37,747,200	Oregon	94,560	60,518,400
Idaho	84,200	54,745,600	Pennsylvania	44,980	28,690,400
Illinois	56,000	35,840,000	Rhode Island	1,085	694,400
Indiana	35,910	22,982,400	South Carolina	30,170	19,308,800
Indian Territory	64 090	41.017.600	Tennessee	41,750	26,720,000
Iowa	55,475	35,504,000	Texas	262,290	167,865,600
Kansas	81,700	52,288,000	Utah	82,190	52,582,400
Kentucky	40,000	25.600,000	Vermont	9,135	5,876,400
Louisiana	45,420	29.068,800	Virginia	40,125	25,680,000
Maine	29,895	19,132,800	Washington Terr'y	66,880	42,903,200
Maryland	9,860	5,310,400	West Virginia	24,645	15,772,800
Massachusetts	8,040	5,145,600	Wisconsin	54,450	34,848,000
Michigan	57,430	36,755,200	Wyoming	97,575	62,448,000
Minnesota	79,205	50,691,200	Unorganized	5,740	3,673,600
Mississippi	46,340	29,657,600			

UNLAWFUL ENCLOSURES.

An evil of great magnitude which confronted the public land officials on their coming into power was found in the unlawful enclosure with fences of vast bodies of the public domain by great organized syndicates of cattle men who defied the law and forcibly repelled home-seekers from settling on lands within the enclosures or adjacent thereto. Commissioner Sparks, ably backed by Secretary Lamar, set to

work, at once, to remedy this evil, if possible. The result of their action is shown by the following extract from the annual report of the land office of the year ending June 30, 1887.

"Up to the present time 465 inclosures aggregating nearly 7,000,000 acres have been brought to the attention of this office.

"Proceedings have been instituted to compel removal in 133 cases, aggregating 3,275 443 acres, and 165 cases aggregating 3,394,766 acres. The special agents report that the fences were removed or were being removed when last examined.

"The practice of controlling the public land by fencing has been very largely broken up, and the larger inclosures have either been removed or suits to compel removal are now pending in the courts."

Since June 30, 1887, the work has been going on so that up to date, fully 5,000,000 acres have been restored to settlement by the removal of these inclosures, although the lands covered thereby cannot be, technically, said to have been restored to the public domain, inasmuch as the appropriation being illegal, they cannot be said to have been withdrawn from entry. Practically, however, would-be settlers were much more effectually excluded from these lands than they would have been by prior settlers.

TIMBER DEPREDATIONS.

In addition to the unlawful inclosures, the Special Agents of the General Land Office have done good work in preventing depredations on the timber lands of the government, and, where depredations have actually been committed, in bringing prompt action in the courts to recover damages therefor, as is shown by the following statement obtained from the General Land Office:

STATEMENT SHOWING ACTUAL RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE SPECIAL SERVICE DIVISION OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE FROM MARCH 4, 1885, TO APRIL 30, 1888.

Legal proceedings recommended for timber trespass:

	Civil.	Am't Involved.	Criminal.
M'ch 4, 1885, to June 30, 1885	41	$ 215,147.83	61
July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1886	275	5,774,272.84	679
July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1887	222	2,082,236.72	493
July 1, 1887, to April 30, 1888	372	3,011,206.72	579
Total	910	$11,082,864.11	1,812

Amount recovered on account of timber trespass:

March 4, 1885, to June 30, 1885, estimated	$30,000.00
July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1886, from official records	101,086.44
July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1887, from official records	128,642.00
July 1, 1887, to April 30, 1888, from official records	49,946.88
July 1, 1887, to April 30, 1888, estimated amount recovered not yet reported	90,000.00
Total amount recovered	$399,675.32

Civil suits pending June 30, 1887.....323—involving $6,907,830.55
Criminal suits pending June 30, 1887.....436

These figures are taken from the United States Attorneys' reports to the Land Office. A statement of suits pending to a later date (except almost entirely by estimate) can be made, as but few of the United States Attorneys' reports have been received for any portion of this fiscal year.

LAND OFFICE POLICY.

Mr. Stockslager, now Commissioner of the General Land Office, in a speech in the House March 2, 1895, reviewed the policy of the two parties on the question of the public lands in an exhaustive speech, from which the following extracts are taken:

"Mr. Speaker, it is the second time in the history of our country that this question has loomed up until it is considered one of transcendent importance. As far back as 1849 it was a prominent question in American politics. In that year, on the 24th day of December, the first homestead bill was introduced in the House by Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, and a similar bill was introduced in the Senate on the 7th day of January, 1850, by Andrew Johnson. The agitation of the subject continued, and such measures were supported by such able and distinguished legislators as Douglas, Pendleton, Holman and Cox.

"When the Republican party met in national convention at Chicago in 1860 and put forth its platform, conspicuous among its principles therein enunciated was the following:

"'That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.'

"Thus recognizing the bill passed by the Democrats in the House as the correct principle upon the subject of public lands.

"It is a part of the political history of the country that the Republican party was successful in that campaign, electing its President and securing control of Congress. It carried out its pledge to the people by the enactment of a homestead law. This was a beneficent law, and I am frank to confess that if it had been carried out in good faith and the principles contained in it applied for all time to our public domain, it would have been one of the greatest and most far-reaching measures ever enacted by a legislative assembly on earth.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"But the representatives of the people, in violation of their pledges to the people and in betrayal of a high trust, began a reckless and wholesale system of giving away the public lands that before had never been dreamed of. The American people were amazed when they learned that on the 1st day of July, 1862, just forty-one days after the homestead law was approved, the same Congress granted to the Union and Central Pacific Railroads a magnificent belt of land forty miles wide, extending from the Missouri River to near the Bay of San Francisco.

"Thus the homestead law was violated, disregarded, and set aside, and a most gigantic system of reckless squandering of the lands inaugurated. This was an entire change in our land system, both in the manner of disposing of the public lands and of the amounts to be given. Before that date not a single acre of the public domain was ever granted to a railroad or other corporation. Donations of the public lands had been made from time to time to the States, aggregating in all 31,600,846 acres, for the purpose of being disposed of by the States in aid of education, for military roads, for internal improvements, and for railroads. But the grants were all to the States.

"The first grant to a State for railroad purposes was to the State of Illinois, in 1850, for the Illinois Central Railroad, and was of the even sections, six sections in width on each side of the road. That State in making the grant to the railroad wisely reserved to herself seven per cent. of the gross earnings of this road, from which she is now deriving nearly a half million dollars annually, and which will for all time to come contribute largely to the payment of the expense of the State Government. The grants which followed, up to 1862, were restricted to actual settlers on one hundred and sixty acres each at $2.50 per acre.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"Let us see what the effect of this ominously wrong system has been upon the agriculturists of this country.

"The following table exhibits the number of farms of different sizes held in the United States and Territories in 1870 and 1880 respectively:

NUMBER OF FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE CENSUS YEARS 1870 AND 1880.

	1880.	1870.	Increase. Decrease.
Under three acres	4,352	6,875	2,523
Three to ten acres	134,889	172,021	33,132
Ten to twenty acres	254,749	294,607	39,858
Twenty to fifty acres	781,474	847,614	66,140
Total decrease in the number of small farms in ten years			140,653
Fifty to one hundred acres	1,032,910	754 221	278,689
One hundred to five hundred acres	1,695,983	565,054	130,929
Five hundred to one thousand acres	75,972	15,875	60,097
From one thousand nine hundred acres up	28,578	3,720	24,858
Total number of farms	4,008,907	2,659,985	1,348,922
Total increase in the number of large farms in ten years			494,586

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"We have not only made great land monopolists of corporations, but aliens and foreign corporations are gradually absorbing vast tracts of our best land, until we find that already it is little trouble to set out a list of owners of an aggregate of more than twenty millions of acres in tracts ranging from 5,000 to 5,000,000 each. I append a list of a few of such alien holders. I doubt not that careful examination of the subject would develop a list much more extensive than the one given below:

An English syndicate, No. 3, in Texas	3,000,000
The Holiant Company, New Mexico	4,500,000
Sir Edward Reid, and a syndicate, in Florida	2,000,000
English syndicate in Mississippi	1,000,000
Marquis of Tweedale	1,750,000
Phillips, Marshall & Co., London	1,200,000
German syndicate	1,100,000
Anglo-American syndicate, Mr. Rogers, president, London	750,000
Bryan H. Evans, of London, in Mississippi	700,000
Duke of Sutherland	425,000
British Land Company, in Kansas	330,000
William Walley, M. P., Peterboro, England	310,000
Missouri Land Company, Edinburgh, Scotland	300,000
Robert Tennant, of London	290,000
Dundee Land Company, Scotland	247,000
Lord Dundore	190,000
Benjamin Newgas, Liverpool	100,000
Lord Houghton, in Florida	60,000
Lord Dunravin, in Colorado	60,000
English Land Company, in Florida	50,000
English Land Company, in Arkansas	50,000
Albert Peel, M. P., Leicestershire, England	10,000
Sir J. M. Ray, Yorkshire, England	5,000
Alexander Grant, of London, in Kansas	35,000
English syndicate (represented by Close Bros.), Wisconsin	110,000
M. Ellerhauser, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in West Virginia	600,000
A Scotch Syndicate, in Florida	50,000
Missouri Land Company, of Edinburgh, Scotland	165,000
Total	20,747,000

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"With all the curses which we have heard heaped upon the land system of England and the land monopoly of England and Wales, it is no comparison to our own. The great landholders of England are mere "pygmies" when compared with our "giants." In a recent

work entitled "Land and Labor in the United States," by William C. Moody, the author, at page 88 of his book, gives the following as the size of English land holding:

"'The following is a list of the whole number of land-owners in England and Wales who are possessed of 50,000 and more acres of land each, and the actual amount of their holding, by which it will be seen that there are but three who own more than 100,000 acres each, and no one has an estate that reaches 200,000 acres:

SIZE OF ENGLISH LAND HOLDINGS.

Names of owners.	Acres.
Marquis of Ailesbury	55,051
Duke of Beaufort	51,085
Duke of Bedford	87,507
Earl of Brownlow	57,799
Earl of Carlisle	78,540
Earl of Cawdor	51,538
Duke of Cleveland	106,650
Earl of Derby	56,598
Duke of Devonshire	148,639
Lord Leconfield	66,101
Lord Londesborough	52,655
Lord Lonsdale	67,950
Duke of Northumberland	191,180
Duke of Portland	55,259
Earl of Powis	70,039
Lady Willoughby	59,912
Sir W. W. Winn	91,032
Earl of Yarborough	55,370

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THE RECORD OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

"But, Mr. Speaker, let us look at the record of the Democratic party upon this subject. I have already shown that the first homestead bill ever introduced in this House was introduced by Stephen A. Douglass, and the first bill ever introduced in the Senate was by Andrew Johnson, both of whom were at the time leaders in the Democratic party. I have also seen that the Democratic party passed through this House the first homestead bill which was ever passed in it. I have also seen that the Democratic party, during the nearly sixty years of its power in government, never granted an acre of the public lands to a corporation. Hence, when that party surrendered power March 4, 1861, it did so with a homestead bill passed the previous Congress and our magnificent public domain carefully husbanded.

"The uniform policy of that party has been to acquire and husband the public lands for the benefit of the Government and the people. The people having decided, at the last election, that the Republican party was unworthy and elected a large majority of Democrats to this body, it became the duty of that party to respond to the voice of the people and restore to the public domain such of the public lands as were not earned and beyond the reach of forfeiture of the Government, to attempt, in some degree at least, to right the great wrong done them by the Republican party in violation of its pledges, and which it refused to right in the last Congress. How well that party has adhered to its antecedents and kept faith with the people, a glance at our calendar will show."

THE PERALTA CLAIM.

This pretended claim is located in Southern Arizona. It is based upon an alleged grant by Mexico to one Michael Peralta in 1758, although no attempt was ever made to assert any such claim until about five years ago. The claim is now engineered by a powerful combination of capitalists. It covers some 4,000,000 acres of the best lands in Arizona, a tract larger than the entire State of Connecticut and

Rhode Island and almost as large as Massachusetts or New Jersey. Although no record evidence of any such grant can be found either in Spain or Mexico, certain papers have been deposited in the office of the Surveyor-General of Arizona upon which a colorable claim is based. The Department refused to recognize the claim. Another attempt was made to give the claimants standing by ordering a prelimary survey to be made of the lands claimed.

The effect of such an order would have been to withdraw the lands involved from entry and to give the claimants the exclusive possession and control of the tract, whereupon they would begin a system of forcing those who have settled upon and improved portions of the land, built towns thereon, opened mines, &c., to "compromise" with the claimants by buying up their supposed rights in the land. The Land Office steadfastly refused to depart from the position taken by his predecessor, and on the date above mentioned, by official decision, refused to direct the Surveyor-General to make the survey, thus establishing an important precedent, and, at the same time saving thousands of citizens in Arizona from being harrassed with regard to their homes

CALIFORNIA TIMBER LANDS.

So, also, in the California Redwood Claims, the Commissioner placed himself on record as the friend of law and the enemy of fraudulent operations. He decided March 29, 1888, that forty-one entries of valuable redwood timber lands should be canceled because they were fraudulently made in the interest of the Humboldt Redwood Company, a corporation organized in Scotland for the purpose of obtaining control of the valuable redwood forests of California. By this one decision these lands, amounting in value to $11,000,000, were rescued from fraudulent disposition. Suits to vacate patents in one hundred and fifty-one (151) such cases have also been recommended and other cancellations will follow.

These acts indicate the policy of the General Land Office which will be continued under Democratic administration, and are but carrying out, in good faith, the pledges it made to the people to use every means to protect the public domain for *bona fide* home-seekers.

RECAPITULATION OF ACTUAL RESULTS.

The Democratic party can go to the country with a most creditable record in public land matters, showing it to be the friend of the people and the enemy of land monopolists and corporations. The following reforms, among many others have been made by it:

1. It has put a stop to the improvident and wrongful granting of the public domain to corporations.

2. It has insisted upon interpreting grants already made to corporations in the interests of the people instead of the corporation.

3. It has enforced, as far as possible, the terms of contracts with corporations by which grants should lapse to the government upon failure by the grantee to comply with their conditions.

4. It has made an actual restoration to the public domain of over **eighty millions** acres wrongfully abstracted therefrom.

5. It has in process of restoration over **sixty-five millions** acres more.

6. It has boldly rescinded the pernicious orders of Republican executive officials withdrawing lands from settlement and entry within the indemnity limits of railroad grants.

7. It has torn down the unlawful fences of cattle kings and allowed honest settlers an opportunity to enjoy the privilege which the law gives of going anywhere, upon the public domain, they choose.

9. It has insisted upon an honest compliance with the terms of the law on the part of those who made entries of public lands, and has fearlessly protected the "honest settler," however poor and obscure, from every attack, however powerful or rich the attacking party may be.

10. It has wrested the Redwood Forests of California from the clutches of greedy foreign corporations.

11. It has begun the good work of rejecting false and fraudulent private land claims.

12. It is, to-day, doing *more work* and *better work* in the General Land Office and the Interior Department, than was ever done, under any former administration with an equivalent force.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GUILFORD MILLER'S FARM.

HOW THE RIGHTS OF ACTUAL SETTLERS ON PUBLIC LANDS HAVE BEEN PROTECTED BY THIS ADMINISTRATION

Guilford Miller and Two Thousand Other Honorable Settlers Declared to Have a Good Title to Their Lands— A Railroad's Rapacity Checked.

In accordance with the request of President Cleveland in his letter to Secretary Lamar concerning the lands claimed by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company in the case of Guilford Miller, Secretary Vilas gave the matter very careful consideration, and on August 2, 1888, rendered a long and exhaustive decision denying the claims of the railroad compay upon the lands of Miller. By this decision Guilford Miller not only gets his own land, but about 2,000 other settlers on land claimed by the Northern Pacific Railroad get theirs, thus assuring them of their homes without let or hindrance as well as without cloud upon their titles.

In his letter to the Commissioner of the General Land Office the Secretary reviews the whole case at length and with much ability. He says in stating the case:

NEW FACTS IN THE CASE.

After the appeal had brought the case from your office to this Department, my immediate predecessor, on the 9th of October, 1886, transmitted the papers to the Attorney-General for his opinion upon the points involved. On the 14th of March, 1887, the Attorney-General's opinion was received, in response to that request, to the effect that the withdrawal was valid and operated to exclude the land from settlement and entry, and that Miller's entry should, therefore, be canceled. After receiving that opinion no further action was taken by this Department, and it remains for me to dispose of the appeal. I have given the facts and the points of law involved careful consideration, and it appears that material facts were not shown in the papers transmitted to the Attorney-General, and that a different conclusion might probably have been reached by him had all these facts been before him. I do not suppose that it is obligatory upon me to decide in accordance with that opinion, for this and other reasons which I shall discuss; and, after very careful examination, my convictions of the right of the case are so strong that I am unable to do it.

HOW THE RAILROAD COMPANY CHANGED ITS ROUTES.

The Secretary then quotes at sufficient length the different acts granting lands to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, including the provisions relating to the filing of plats of proposed line, surveys, exemption and withdrawal from settlement, together with the times fixed for the completion of the road, extensions of time and of grant to new branches, &c.

He then reviews fully the action of the company in filing plats or maps of the proposed line of the road from the first action of this kind, on March 6, 1865, only a few months after the passage of the act of incorporation, down through the various efforts it has made to enlarge the boundaries of its grants, and to secure indemnity for lands taken by actual settlers, as provided by law. The first maps were not accurate plats of the country over which the road was to pass, but mere rough drafts. One "map was," in the language of the Secretary,

A very general indication of a line as a practicable' railroad line, as surveyed by Governor Stevens, and indicated in the Territories of Dakota and Montana another line as 'worthy an examination for a railroad route.' The map bears no mark of approval and the line indicated on it is not marked with sufficient definiteness to indicate through what townships even, much less sections, the line of the road would pass. There is not even sufficient representation of the topographical features of the country to define the location, except on portions of the line."

The Railroad Company continued for more than thirteen years to file amended maps or charts, and to request, at each amendment, the withdrawal of lands alleged to be within the land grant limits of the new routes. But the Secretary finds that

"These do not affect the land claimed by Miller, and only serve to illustrate the consequences of the theory of authority in the Land Office, to make such withdrawal."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The land claimed by Guilford Miller was entirely without the limits of the withdrawal made upon the line of general route in 1870; it fell within the forty-mile limits of the line of general route filed in 1872, and it lies without the limits of forty miles from the line of definite location, and between the forty and fifty-mile limits, thus falling within the indemnity belt.

NO BILL OF PARTICULARS AS TO LOST LANDS.

The Northern Pacific Railroad Company filed in the United States Land Office at Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, on the 15th of December, 1883, a list of lands (marked list No. 2 of selections of public lands made by the N. P. R. R. Co., inuring to it under the grants of July 2, 1864, and May 31, 1870, within the indemnity limits of the Colfax, Spokane Falls, land district), which it claimed to select from the indemnity limits; in such list a total number of six hundred and fifty tracts, aggregating 59,548.74 acres, is claimed, and the one hundred and forty-ninth number is the quarter section homesteaded by Miller. This selection list was accompanied by no statement showing what lands were lost from the granted limits in lieu of which selections are claimed, and no fact was stated beyond the mere claim of selection to justify it. The register and receiver allowed and approved the filing on the 17th of December, and appear to have dated it upon that day.

MILLER'S LAND NOT INCLUDED IN THE RAILROAD'S ORIGINAL DEMAND.

On the 26th of October, 1887, the company filed in the Walla Walla land office, Washington Territory, a list called a "specification of losses in place covered by indemnity selections, List No. 2, Spokane Falls land district, now Walla Walla in part, Washington Territory." It begins with a declaration of selection specified as being numbers 1 to 650 inclusive, in the following words: "All those certain tracts or parcels of land embraced in selection list No. 2, comprising in the aggregate 59,548.74 acres;" then follows a specification of lands, lying north of the base line and east of the Willamette principal meridian, within forty miles of the line of the railroad, describing thirty different tracts as having been patented or certified, or otherwise taken up on claims, amounting, in total, to 4,011.04 acres.

No further definite specification of losses is made, but there follows a list generally of certain sections indicated by numbers, and unsurveyed, in three townships; and then a specification of all odd-numbered sections in three other townships, in the Yakima Indian Reservation, aggregating in all, as stated in the list, 55,680 acres, making a total of alleged losses of 59,691.04 acres. But it is obvious that this latter gross specification does not dis-

close the true description of acreage of any lost land with accuracy, the alleged acreage being computed at the rate of 640 acres to the section, without reference to actual quantity; and the sections being only guessed at in large degree. The 4,011.04 acres, specifically shown to have been excepted from the grant, would be entirely satisfied by the appropriation in compensation of the first fifty or sixty numbers of the tracts listed in the original list No. 2.

No action has been taken by the General Land Office or the Department in approval, or determination, of this claim of selection. * * * The alleged date of the first settlement by Miller is not contradicted by any proofs offered, and for the purposes of this opinion, it may be accepted as true. If there be any question of his right upon the facts, which must be further inquired into when final proofs shall be offered, it can be subsequently determined. Nothing has yet appeared that should affect the views I take of the case as it stands.

ILLEGAL ACTION OF THE LAND OFFICE IN 1872.

The Secretary then proceeds to discuss, very fully, the two general questions whether upon the facts Miller must be denied the benefit of his settlement or of his homestead entry, because in contravention of law as applicable to the condition of the land when made; and whether the selection of the company ought, in any case, to be approved to the deprivation of his claim under that entry.

The maps filed, the changes of route made from time to time are clearly set forth, the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States cited and the illegal action of the General Land Office in withdrawing, at the demand of the company made in 1872, lands within the forty-mile limit of a new line in the eastern part of Washington Territory, a map of which was filed with the acting Land Commissioner. The lands were withdrawn by the acting Commissioner of the General Land Office without submitting the question to the Secretary of the Interior, who, as the representative of the President, is, under the law, invested with this authority. Secretary Vilas deems this withdrawal by the acting Commissioner invalid so far, at least, that it could not deprive a settler of the rights given him by the statutes. The Secretary continues:

THE PRIVILEGES CLAIMED BY THE COMPANY.

This peculiar privilege given to this company to lay a line of general route as a basis for withdrawal of its granted lands, to be followed at some later time by fixing a line of definite location for the purpose of construction, is analogous to a franchise given by a special charter to a railroad company to locate and build a railroad between designated points. Of such franchises it has always been held that one location, definitely fixed, exhausts the franchise, and that a chartered company cannot, after one exercise of such a privilege, again re-locate and reconstruct its line.

There is nothing in the fixing of the general route to require a different governing principle from the fixing of the final location. The consequences declared by the statute to attach in the one case as much attach as in the other; and so soon as the statute has thus become applicable, its force is unchangeable but by the creator of it, and there is an end of the privilege.

If this interpretation of the act of Congress be correct, it must follow that the Department, much less the acting Commissioner of the General Land Office, could not alter it by any action of its own. In every just sense, the so-called withdrawal by the Department is only a notification to the public of the effect of the act of Congress itself. The law was exhaustive; the Department could only act to give application to its provisions to the land and notice to the world thereof. And so the Supreme Court said in the case of this company already referred to, of the withdrawal made on another portion of the line—

"This notification did not add to the force of the act itself, but it gave notice to all "parties seeking to make a pre-emption settlement that lands within certain defined limits "might be appropriated for the roads."

ONLY ONE BELT OF LAND CAN BE WITHDRAWN.

This reading of the statute limits the power of the Commissioner as much in one aspect as the other; he could neither by his order terminate, suspend or alter the vigor of the expressed will of Congress in respect to what lands were to be withdrawn, or for what period to remain so; nor could he by his order give any added force to a law which *proprio vigore* accomplished independently of, and prior to his order, all which could be effected. To hold otherwise would be to declare that the force of the act of Congress was terminable or alterable, with respect to the specific lands to which it related, at the pleasure of the Commissioner of the General Land Office; a conclusion for which neither this act nor any other statute furnishes the least foundation. He could not restore in the market, rightfully, lands which the act of Congress had withdrawn for a period the duration of which extended by clear and necessary implication beyond the time when he undertook to restore them: and, if he could not restore these lands to market by his order, contrary to that statute, it is impossible to uphold the exercise of an assumed authority, in the face of the plan and purposes of this act, to withdraw again another belt of eighty miles in width. The law intended that but one such belt should be withdrawn before definite location should give fixity to the grant. To permit him to withdraw another is manifestly to recognize an act contrary to the purpose of the Congress.

WOULD PUT A BLIGHT ON PROGRESS AND SETTLEMENT.

This interpretation of the statute, as affecting the authority of the Land Office, results from the application of well-established canons of construction, and is arrived at without respect to the *argumentum ad inconvenienti*. If, however, attention be directed to the serious and inequitable consequences which such a theory, as pursued, necessarily involves, it becomes still more impossible to suppose that the Congress could ever have designed such effects. The projected line of this railroad extended from east of the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, leaving open to the company's choice any route north of the 25th parallel of latitude. If what was done to the eastern portion of Washington Territory were legally done, it might have been as well inflicted upon any portion of that entire expanse of the northwestern country.

A line of general route is fixed by the company, accepted by the Department, and the act of Congress declared applicable, so that half of the public lands are withdrawn from the use of settlers throughout a belt of eighty miles wide, and the other half are to be purchased only at double minimum price. Such a condition of things remains for years, the road, meantime, not being constructed; a serious blight upon the progress and settlement is necessarily inflicted; but many, adventurously pushing into the new country and expecting the coming of a railroad, buy lands at the price fixed upon the basis of such an expectation.

Is all this to be rendered worse than vain at the mere option of the company with the compliance of the Land Office, and another belt of eighty miles in width to be again marked with these effects? The Commissioner undertakes, indeed, to unloose the withdrawal of the lands within the first and to open them to market; but they are necessarily left charged with the cloud already placed upon them and with the injustice arising from the disappointment to those who have paid a double price in reliance upon a justifiable expectation.

It must be noted also that unless the restriction on the power to change and re-locate the line of general route be applicable to the first location, there is no limitation whatever. If the second location and withdrawal were authorized, so was the third, or any number.

Instead of this great enterprise proving an inducement to settlement and a promoter of development, under such a course of action it could not but be a mighty agent of wrong to individuals and injury to the public, retarding instead of exhilarating the course of advancing civilization. These consequences were *a priori* so obvious and the privilege proffered to this company, within its strictest limitations, so extensive and unusual, that it must be regarded as having been clearly within the legislative purpose to confine the exercise of such a privilege strictly to its boundaries as expressed by the Act, with no latitude of authority in any officer of the Government to amplify and enlarge them.

The conviction of the correctness of the foregoing propositions is so strong in my mind that I feel entirely content to rest upon them the affirmance of the conclusion reached by your office upon other grounds, it being apparent from the facts stated that, unless the withdrawal of 1872 was valid to forbid the exercise by a settler of the rights given by the pre-emption and homestead laws upon any public lands otherwise subject to them, Miller secured, by his settlement in 1878 and his residence thereafter, such a right as would prevent the selection by the company, if otherwise valid, from attaching to the quarter section taken by him.

THE COMMISSION DID NOT REVOKE FORMER WITHDRAWAL.

It has been seen from this statement of the facts, that, when the line of definite location was made and approved, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, while assuming to make no withdrawal of the lands within the indemnity limits, beyond forty and within fifty miles distant from the line of definite location, yet refrained from revoking the withdrawal of so much of the indemnity limits as happened to fall within the withdrawal made in 1872, upon the basis of the second establishment of a general route.

I am unwilling to accept the conclusion that there was any force whatever, independently of the statute, in the order of the acting commissioner of the 30th of March, 1872; or that, properly construed, it was designed to mean any more than a direction to the local officers to comply with the granting act.

INDEMNITY LANDS OPEN TO SETTLEMENT UNTIL SELECTED BY THE RAILROAD.

The consequence is, that until a valid selection by the grantee is made from the lands within the indemnity limits, they are entirely open to disposition by the United States or to appropriation under the laws of the United States for the disposition of the public lands. There is nothing in the line bounding the indemnity limits to distinguish lands within it from any other public lands; the only purpose of that being to place a boundary upon the right of selection in the grantee to make good losses sustained within granted limits. This effect has been most explicitly declared by the Supreme Court in the case of the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company *vs.* the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company (112 U. S., 414), and in other cases. In that case, the Court said of an order of the Commissioner of the General Land Office similar to this, so far as applicable to indemnity limits:

"The order of withdrawal of lands along the 'probable lines' of the defendant's road, "made on the 13th of March, 1863, by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, affected "no rights which without it would have been acquired to the lands, nor in any respect con- "trolled the subsequent grant."

It also said of the indemnity limits under discussion there:

"From what was thus expected (from the granted limits) other lands were to be selected "from adjacent lands, *if any then remained, to which no other valid claims had originated.* But "what unappropriated lands would thus be found and selected could not be known before "actual selection. A right to select them within certain limits, in case of deficiency within "the ten-mile limit, was alone conferred, not a right to any specific land or lands capable "of identification by any principles of law or rules of measurement. Neither locality nor "quantity is given from which such lands could be ascertained. If, therefore, when such "selection was to be made, the lands from which the deficiency was to be supplied had "been appropriated by Congress to other purposes, the right of selection became a *barren* "*right*, for until selection was made the title remained in the government subject to its dis- "posal at its pleasure."

NO POWER TO MAKE THE WITHDRAWAL.

It was in view of this difference and its consequences, that the language of the granting act was employed by Congress, by which it was explicitly provided that the provisions of the pre-emption and homestead laws "shall be, and the same are hereby extended to all other lands on the line of said road, when surveyed, excepting those hereby granted to said company."

If lands within the indemnity limits are to be regarded as "on the line of said road," this declaration appears to me prohibitory of any withdrawal, for the benefit of this road. It might be that such lands could be withdrawn for some other public purpose, within executive authority to provide for, such, for example, as to constitute a reservation for Indians.

But this language was introduced into the same section which declared the granted lands not to be liable to sale, etc., and immediately following that declaration, and in the same sentence, so as obviously to mark the legislative intent to make clearly distinguishable the lands beyond the granted limits as being liable to disposition under those laws. Having so explicitly declared, it was not necessary to add a prohibition upon executive officers against withdrawal for the benefit of the road. It gave to any person entitled under the pre-emption or homestead laws to take any such lands the absolute right to acquire any proper quantity thereof, in accordance therewith; and this right an executive officer could not deprive the settler of. The act as much makes that his right as it makes it the right of the company to take the others.

I cannot be satisfied with the idea that this language was so introduced, in immediate qualification of and distinction upon the words rendering lands in the granted limits "not liable to sale or entry," for the mere purpose of declaring "what was already enacted by general laws." The general laws applied without this declaration, and they applied more extensively than this would apply them, since by the general laws entries of other kinds might, if conditions concurred, be also made. The aim of this language was, as I am forced to read it, towards the availability to settlement of all lands not granted. It was a vast grant, and even as so limited, a threatening shadow to fall on the settlement of the Northwest. Well might Congress say, "the lands granted you shall have, but you shall tie up no more from the actual settler to the prevention of development."

HOW THE LAND OFFICE FORMERLY CONSTRUED THE LAW.

Inasmuch, however, as I cannot regard the original order of withdrawal in 1872 as obligatory to deny Miller's rights for the other reasons given, it is unnecessary further to press the argument that when his land fell within the indemnity limits of the road it was open to his appropriation under the homestead law, until selected by the Company.

In the view I have taken, it may not be necessary now to dispose of the claim of the Company to select this land, other than to say it has been validly entered under the homestead law by Miller, and any right it may have must be subject to his right to make final proof.

Yet I think it proper to draw your attention to the manner in which this claim of selection has been made. And, first, I think it should be observed that a mere claim of selection, not based upon such foundation as the law and the regulations of the Department require, cannot give a right. The selection must be one which is both well-founded in the necessity for it and the manner of making it, and, therefore, one within the direction and approval of the Secretary of the Interior. In this case, the original selection list gave no indication of the basis upon which a right of selection of this tract could be claimed. It proceeded upon the assumption that the Company might "select" as many lands as it saw fit, and make proof of its losses afterwards. This practice was, indeed, permitted for some time in the General Land Office, and thus it has happened that some railroad companies have selected, in lieu of lost lands, and procured certification of, lands much in excess in acreage of their losses for which the selections were admissible. It was also specially allowed in the case of this Company. But it was so allowed only upon condition that the basis was subsequently to be supplied, and no selection was valid until approved after such basis should be determined. It was thus only a question of the order of procedure.

THE ROAD MUST PROVE ITS CLAIM.

This practice was of doubtful validity, at least to give a right from date of first selection, and was changed some time since by departmental regulation. The act is explicit that, whenever, prior to the definite location of the line, "Any of said sections or parts of sections, shall have been granted, sold, reserved, occupied by homestead settlers, or pre-empted, or otherwise disposed of, other lands shall be selected by said Company *in lieu thereof*, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior," etc., etc.

Manifestly it was necessary to point out the section, or the part of a section, which had thus been lost to the grant, and the manner of its loss, in order to authorize the taking of another tract of land in place of it. The Department ought, before approval of a selection, first to determine whether the land lost to the grant was so previously appropriated as to

furnish the basis of a selection, and it ought to be particularly shown for what specific lands lost specific selections were made. Until these facts appear, the Company has not established the right to appropriate from the body of lands open to its choice, but is confined to those specifically granted.

In accordance with this rule, my predecessor (Mr. Lamar) on the 4th of August, 1885, approved a circular from your office to the local officers, in which they were directed as follows:

"Before admitting railroad indemnity selections in any case, you will require preliminary lists to be filed, specifying the particular deficiencies for which indemnity is claimed. * * Where indemnity selections have heretofore been made without specification of losses, you will require the companies to designate the deficiencies for which such indemnity is to be applied before further selections are allowed."

HOW TITLES MAY BE CLOUDED.

It was in obedience to the last clause that this company filed on the 25th of October, 1887, the list of particular deficiencies upon which the claim of selections in list number two, before mentioned, was based. That list excellently illustrates the necessity for the rule mentioned. Since 1883 the claim of this Company to take the 58,000 acres in list number two has remained a cloud upon all the lands embraced within it. Yet when called upon to specify particular lands lost from the granted limits, for which such a right of selection can exist, only 4,011 acres are shown, except by claiming indemnity for about 53,000 acres of lands, for the most part not particularly defined, lying within the Yakima Indian Reservation. But that Indian Reservation lies about two hundred miles southwesterly from the land of Miller. * * * No absolute right to granted lands exists, and no right of selection for lands lost from the granted lands can possibly arise, until the line of definite location is made. It is unnecessary to elaborate so clear a proposition.

MILLER'S LAND NOT IN THE INDEMNITY LIMITS, AS CLAIMED.

The entire extent, then, to which a right of selection can now be accorded to this company, on the basis upon which they have claimed it in this list, is to indemnify the loss of about 4,011 acres. If the lands which they have chosen to select in this list number two be applied in the order in which they have named them for selection, to this deficiency, the entire right is satisfied by the lands in the first fifty or sixty tracts designated; while the land of Guilford Miller is, as has been stated, the one hundred and forty-ninth tract claimed. There does not appear, therefore, from any showing yet made by the company, that it has any right, whatever, to claim this land because of anything lost from the granted limits; nor has it, to this time, made any such claim, other than in this list number two.

Meantime, whatever may have been the validity of the order of withdrawal, it was revoked on the 15th of August last. If I were bound to regard Miller's homestead entry as irregular because in conflict with the subsisting withdrawal at the time it was made, yet, inasmuch as that withdrawal has entirely ceased, and no objection remains in any right of the company, or otherwise, so far as known to the Department, to his taking this land, and, inasmuch as his settlement and long residence (assuming his claims in respect thereto will be established by final proofs) entitle him to equitable consideration, it would appear to be not an improper exercise of discretion to now direct the allowance of his application for a homestead entry.

MILLER'S EQUITABLE AS WELL AS A LEGAL CLAIM.

I do not, however, for the reasons already so elaborately given, find myself under any necessity to sustain his claim upon any tender principles of merely equitable nature. He stands, in my judgment, upon a solid legal foundation in his claim upon the Government to the recognition of his right as a homesteader, and his entry should remain intact. Your decision to this effect is affirmed, and the papers in the case herewith transmitted.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE INDIAN BUREAU.

A CAREFUL BUSINESS POLICY ADOPTED IN DEALING WITH THE WARDS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

A Decline in the Number of Indian Outbreaks and a Marked Improvement in the Service.

The President has always manifested the closest interest in the treatment, condition and welfare of the Indians. In his first annual message he treated the question at some length, and, as the following extracts will show, with great intelligence and earnestness:

It is useless to dilate upon the wrongs of the Indians, and as useless to indulge in the heartless belief that because their wrongs are revenged in their own atrocious manner, therefore they should be exterminated.

They are within the care of our Government, and their rights are, or should be, protected from invasion by the most solemn obligations. They are properly enough called the wards of the Government; and it should be borne in mind that this guardianship involves, on our part, efforts for the improvement of their condition and the enforcement of their rights. There seems to be general concurrence in the proposition that the ultimate object of their treatment should be their civilization and citizenship. Fitted by these to keep pace in the march of progress with the advanced civilization about them, they will readily assimilate with the mass of our population, assuming the responsibilities and receiving the protection incident to this condition. The difficulty appears to be in the selection of the means to be at present employed toward the attainment of this result.

THE DESIRE OF THE INDIANS THEMSELVES.

Our Indian population, exclusive of those in Alaska, is reported as numbering 260,000, nearly all being located on lands set apart for their use and occupation, aggregating over one hundred and thirty-four millions of acres. These lands are included in the boundaries of one hundred and seventy-one reservations of different dimensions, scattered in twenty-one States and Territories, presenting great variations in climate and in the kind and quality of their soils. Among the Indians upon these several reservations there exist the most marked differences in natural traits and disposition and in their progress toward civilization. While some are lazy, vicious and stupid, others are industrious, peaceful and intelligent; while a portion of them are self-supporting and independent, and have so far advanced in civilization that they make their own laws, administered through officers of their own choice, and educate their children in schools of their own establishment and maintenance, others still retain, in squalor and dependence, almost the savagery of their natural state.

In dealing with this question the desires manifested by the Indians should not be ignored. Here, again, we find a great diversity. With some the tribal relation is cherished with the utmost tenacity, while its hold upon others is considerably relaxed; the love of home is strong with all, and yet there are those whose attachment to a particular locality is by no means unyielding; the ownership of their lands in severalty is much desired by some, while by others, and sometimes among the most civilized, such a distribution would be bitterly opposed.

The variation of their wants, growing out of and connected with the character of their several locations, should be regarded. Some are upon reservations most fit for grazing, but without flocks or herds; and some, on arable land, have no agricultural implements; while some of the reservations are double the size necessary to maintain the number of Indians now upon them; in a few cases perhaps, they should be enlarged.

THE EFFECT OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING.

The history of all the progress which has been made in the civilization of the Indian, I think will disclose the fact, that the beginning has been religious teaching, followed by or accompanying secular education. While the self-sacrificing and pious men and women who have aided in this good work by their independent endeavor, have for their reward the beneficent results of their labor and the consciousness of Christian duty well performed, their valuable services should be fully acknowledged by all who, under the law, are charged with the control and management of our Indian wards.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A REFORMED SYSTEM.

I recommend the passage of a law authorizing the appointment of six commissioners, three of whom shall be detailed from the Army, to be charged with the duty of a careful inspection from time to time of all the Indians upon our reservations or subject to the care and control of the Government, with a view of discovering their exact condition and needs, and determining what steps shall be taken on behalf of the Government to improve their situation in the direction of their self-support and complete civilization; that they ascertain from such inspection what, if any, of the reservations may be reduced in area, and in such cases what part, not needed for Indian occupation, may be purchased by the Government from the Indians, and disposed of for their benefit; what, if any, Indians may, with their consent, be removed to other reservations, with a view of their concentration and the sale on their behalf of their abandoned reservations; what Indian lands now held in common should be allotted in severalty; in what manner and to what extent the Indians upon the reservations can be placed under the protection of our laws and subjected to their penalties; and which, if any, Indians should be invested with the right of citizenship. The powers and functions of the commissioners in regard to these subjects should be clearly defined, though they should, in conjunction with the Secretary of the Interior, be given all the authority to deal definitely with the questions presented, deemed safe and consistent.

They should be also charged with the duty of ascertaining the Indians who might properly be furnished with implements of agriculture, and of what kind; in what cases the support of the Government should be withdrawn; where the present plan of distributing Indian supplies should be changed; where schools may be established, and where discontinued; the conduct, methods and fitness of agents in charge of reservations; the extent to which such reservations are occupied or intruded upon by unauthorized persons; and generally all matters related to the welfare and improvement of the Indian.

They should advise with the Secretary of the Interior concerning these matters of detail in management, and he should be given power to deal with them fully, if he is not now invested with such power.

This plan contemplates the selection of persons for commissioners who are interested in the Indian question, and who have practical ideas upon the subject of their treatment.

In his second annual message he considered the whole question more fully and in line with his former recommendations, as shown by the following extracts:

THE AGENCY SYSTEM LONG OUTGROWN.

The present system of agencies, while absolutely necessary and well adapted for the management of our Indian affairs and for the ends in view, when it was adopted, is in the present stage of Indian management inadequate, standing alone for the accomplishment of an object which has become pressing in its importance—the more rapid transition from tribal organizations to citizenship, of such portions of the Indians as are capable of civilized life.

When the existing system was adopted the Indian race was outside of the limits of organized States and Territories, and beyond the immediate reach and operation of civilization; and all efforts were mainly directed to the maintenance of friendly relations and the preservation of peace and quiet on the frontier. All this is now changed. There is no such thing as the Indian frontier. Civilization, with the busy hum of industry and the influences of Christianity, surrounds these people at every point. None of the tribes are outside of the bounds of organized government and society, except that the territorial system has not been extended over that portion of the country known as the Indian Territory. As a race the Indians are no longer hostile, but may be considered as submissive to the control of the Government; few of them only are troublesome. Except the fragments of several bands all are now gathered upon reservations.

SHOULD BE INCORPORATED WITH OUR PEOPLE.

It is no longer possible for them to subsist by the chase and the spontaneous productions of the earth. With an abundance of land, if furnished with the means and implements for profitable husbandry, their life of entire dependence upon Government rations from day to day is no longer defensible. Their inclination, long fostered by a defective system of control, is to cling to the habits and customs of their ancestors and struggle with persistence against the change of life which their altered circumstances press upon them. But barbarism and civilization cannot live together. It is impossible that such incongruous conditions should coexist on the same soil.

They are a portion of our people, are under the authority of our Government, and have a peculiar claim upon and are entitled to the fostering care and protection of the nation. The Government cannot relieve itself of this responsibility until they are so far trained and civilized as to be able wholly to manage and care for themselves. The paths in which they should walk must be clearly marked out for them, and they must be led or guided until they are familiar with the way and competent to assume the duties and responsibilities of our citizenship.

Progress in this great work will continue only at the present slow pace and at great expense, unless the system and methods of management are improved to meet the changed conditions and urgent demands of the service.

A CHANGE OF SYSTEM AGAIN ENFORCED.

Hence the necessity for a supplemental agency or system, directed to the end of promoting the general and more rapid transition of the tribes from habits and customs of barbarism to the ways of civilization.

With an anxious desire to devise some plan of operation by which to secure the welfare of the Indians, and to relieve the Treasury as far as possible from the support of an idle and dependent population, I recommended in my previous annual message the passage of a law authorizing the appointment of a commission as an instrumentality auxiliary to those already established, for the care of the Indians. It was designed that this commission should be composed of six intelligent and capable persons—three to be detailed from the Army—having practical ideas upon the subject of the treatment of Indians, and interested in their welfare; and that it should be charged, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, with the management of such matters of detail as cannot with the present organization be properly and successfully conducted, and which present different phases, as the Indians themselves differ, in their progress, needs, disposition, and capacity for improvement or immediate self-support.

By the aid of such a commission much unwise and useless expenditure of money, waste of materials, and unavailing efforts might be avoided; and it is hoped that this or

some measure which the wisdom of Congress may better devise, to supply the deficiency of the present system, may receive your consideration, and the appropriate legislation be provided. The time is ripe for the work of such an agency.

THE GOOD RESULTS SURE TO FOLLOW.

There is less opposition to the education and training of the Indian youth, as shown by the increased attendance upon the schools, and there is a yielding tendency for the individual holding of lands. Development and advancement in these directions are essential, and should have every encouragement. As the rising generation are taught the language of civilization and trained in habits of industry, they should assume the duties, privileges, and responsibilities of citizenship.

No obstacle should hinder the location and settlement of any Indian willing to take land in severalty; on the contrary, the inclination to do so should be stimulated at all times when proper and expedient. But there is no authority of law for making allotments on some of the reservations, and on others the allotments provided for are so small, that the Indians, though ready and desiring to settle down, are not willing to accept such small areas, when their reservations contain ample lands to afford them homesteads of sufficient size to meet their present and future needs.

These inequalities of existing special laws and treaties, should be corrected and some general legislation on the subject should be provided, so that the more progressive members of the different tribes may be settled upon homesteads, and by their example lead others to follow, breaking away from tribal customs and substituting therefor the love of home, the interest of the family, and the rule of the State.

The Indian character and nature are such that they are not easily led while brooding over unadjusted wrongs. This is especially so regarding their lands. Matters arising from the construction and operation of railroads across some of the reservations, and claims of title and right of occupancy set up by white persons to some of the best land within other reservations, require legislation for their final adjustment.

The settlement of these matters will remove many embarrassments to progress in the work of leading the Indians to the adoption of our institutions and bringing them under the operation, the influence, and the protection of the universal laws of our country.

PROGRESS MADE BY INDIANS UNDER PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

A marked improvement in the condition and prospects of the Indians since the commencement of the present administration is apparent. It is not necessary to enter into statistical statements to establish this fact, as their substantial progress toward civilization and self-support is easily observed by all who turn their attention in that direction. The number who have abandoned the blanket and teepee or the dress and dwelling of the white man is so great that but a small percentage still hold on to these evidences of barbarism.

Farming is now so general among them as to promise soon to be the universal pursuit of every family. The increase in acreage of land under cultivation by Indians is great. They are clamorous for agricultural implements, stock, seeds, etc., and agents are held responsible now that their Indians know how to use what is given to them and to take good care of it, so that it is not now necessary to fit out an Indian farmer with a complete new set of tools, seeds, etc., each spring, as formerly. Tribes and bands are constantly being added to the list of those who are not only self-supporting, but in a fair way to establish permanent comfortable homes.

This is mainly the result of the present system. Expensive and useless agency farms have been discontinued, and practical farmers located among the Indians at various points on the several reservations to show them how to farm, take good care

of stock, etc., are required to report to this office monthly; a very great improvement on the old method, and promises to completely and satisfactorily solve the important "Indian question."

The present plan, if faithfully carried out, will soon relieve the Government from the necessity for all gratuitous appropriations for Indians, and those who take a lively interest in their welfare and progress will have much to gratify them.

Schools among the Indians and for them at points outside of reservations have been largely increased and the attendance is growing every day, so that it will soon be a rare exception to find an Indian child of school age who does not attend, and the English language will soon be universal with them.

All this has been accomplished by the present administration, not only without additional expense to the Government, but a great saving has been the result of its management, which will appear when it is considered that although the entire amount Congress was asked to appropriate for the Indian Department for the next fiscal year was some $120,000 less than for the preceding year, and nearly $1,950,000 less than that estimated for for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, the amount to be used for school purposes during the year ending June 30, 1889, is nearly $200,000 greater than that for the year 1886, making a total saving from funds formerly required for support, etc., of the Indians of about $2,150,000 per annum.

The burden of all reports from inspectors, agents, special agents and agency farmers is the steady and remarkable increase of the interest taken by Indians in their farming operations and other civilized pursuits; their willingness to send their children to school, and their general thrifty, contented and prosperous conditions, compared with a few years ago.

THE INDIANS MORE QUIET THAN EVER.

As the result of a wise, precautionary policy inaugurated with the incoming of the present administration, the first year of its control was passed with but a single case of serious disorder among the 260,000 Indians for whose management, care and protection the Indian Bureau is held responsible.

The escape from the San Carlos reservation of some forty Chiricahua bucks and a few women and children, under Chief Geronimo, the history of whose murders, depredations and pillaging is well remembered by the public, affords the one case of Indian outlawry for the entire year (1885), and the Indian office, under its present control, cannot be held responsible for that, inasmuch as the police control of the Chiricahuas was then entirely in the hands of the military. Furthermore, the very unwise policy of congregating large bodies of wild Indians on the San Carlos, herded like cattle by the Republican administration, under immediate charge of the military, and fed in comparative idleness, led to serious disturbances in 1882–3, of which the Geronimo outbreak was merely a continuation; so that, as a matter of fact, the Chiricahua troubles were entailed upon the new administration by the preceding one.

After the surrender of the whole band of Chiricahua Apaches, numbering between 300 and 400 men, women and children, were removed to Florida by the War Department, and there has not been a single case of open hostility on the part of any band or tribe throughout the length and breadth of the country since the Geronimo outbreak, which occurred over three years ago, nor has there been any serious

disturbance or disorder, if we except the very singular occurrence among the peaceful Crows, at the Crow Agency, in Montana, in October last, when, as will be remembered, a handful of young bucks led away by a crazy-headed "medicine man," feigned an hostile demonstration against the Agency, and in a spirit of surprising bravado, defied the Agent's authority and challenged the military to attack them, the outcome of which was the troops did attack, compelling an almost instant surrender, and putting an end to the disturbance.

That the Indians have had very frequent and bitter provocations, there can be no question.

KEEPING DOWN INDIAN WARS BY MAKING NO AGGRESSIONS.

When President Cleveland was inaugurated, the powerful tribe of Navajoes were chafing under serious grievances and threatening trouble. A portion of their reservation had been wrongfully taken from them the year before, without their consent, and they were suffering for water to supply their countless herds and flocks of sheep, the only available stream of water having been segregated from their reservation, and the adjoining land occupied by the whites, cutting the Indians completely off. Upon the recommendation of the Indian office, these lands were restored to the Navajoes, and a threatened bloody outbreak thereby prevented.

In the same way the greater portion of the Crow, Creek and Winnebago Reservations in Dakota had been wrested from the Sioux, without authority of law, or the consent of the Indians. Upon the recommendation of the Indian office, the lands were again restored to the Indians, it being one of President Cleveland's first official acts. Here again was serious trouble averted.

The continued interference with the Indians in their fishery rights on the Columbia River, in Oregon, the attempted occupation of the Zuni lands, in New Mexico, and also the Klamath River Reservation, in California, by white settlers, came very near provoking violence on the part of the Indians, but timely action by the Indian Office prevented trouble. So with the Colville and Coeur d'Alene Reservation, which would have been overrun by miners and prospectors, with the almost certain result of war, but for the prompt action of the Indian office.

It has been the policy of the Indian Bureau since March, 1885, to call upon the military whenever and wherever trouble has been anticipated, and by the timely and always hearty co-operation of the War Department, peace has been maintained, and white trespassers everywhere have been made to understand that they cannot encroach upon the Indians with impunity, and the Indians have learned that, while they may expect protection from the Government, they will not be allowed to interfere with the whites.

Moreover, the Indians have been encouraged in the peaceful pursuits of civilized life as never before, and they have turned their attention to farming and stock-raising with a zeal hitherto unknown.

Perhaps nothing has contributed so much to the universal peace and tranquility which now prevails among the Indian tribes, as the action of the Indian Office in requiring Indian Agents everywhere, on pain of removal from office, to encourage, aid and assist the Indians by every means in their power, to settle down and engage in agricultural pursuits and farm life.

As early as March, 1886, Indian Agents were instructed as follows:

"The one great object this Department has now in view, is the civilization of the Indian, and to enable him to support himself by agriculture as soon as possible. I therefore expect, and will require all Indian Agents and agency employes who wish to be retained in the service, to use every means at their command to instruct, encourage and assist the Indians to this end, and their marked progress in successful agriculture, commencing with the current year, is indispensably necessary to prove the agent and employes of an agency qualified for their positions. Nothing less than a very great improvement over former years will be satisfactory. That the area of land cultivated by Indians may be increased this year, to its utmost possible extent, those who have already made a beginning, in a small way, must be encouraged to enlarge their operations, and those who have as yet made no effort toward cultivating even a small piece of land, must be urged to make a commencement, and give all possible advice and assistance, that they may need, to encourage them."

The effect of the application of this system was magical. The acreage of cultivated lands has been increased enormously, and the beneficial effect upon the Indians has been correspondingly great, so that no serious Indian troubles are to be apprehended so long as this humane and sensible policy is carried out.

CARE EXERCISED IN THE CHOICE OF AGENCY CLERKS AND OTHER EMPOYES.

Under previous administrations little attention was paid by the Indian Office to the qualifications of Agency Clerks, their selection and appointment being left to the various Agents. Under such rule an agency could easily be conducted so that neither Inspectors nor Special Agents could ascertain the true condition of affairs, much less could the office have any accurate or reliable information in relation to the business at any agency in case the Agent and Clerk should combine to perpetrate a fraud upon the Indian Government.

In order to do away with this inducement to dishonesty and source of reproach, the present administration determined to have the Agency Clerks appointed by the Office, care being exercised to appoint only competent, efficient men, thoroughly honest and trustworthy. In order to secure men properly qualified, the Office requires not only the strongest recommendations and endorsements as to character and ability, but before an appointment is made a letter is addressed to the applicant, requiring him to make application for the place by a letter in his own composition, in his own handwriting, stating his age, business qualifications and experience. He is also furnished with a synopsis of the qualifications and duties of an Agency Clerk and directed to state whether he will accept the place, subject to the conditions named therein.

AGENCY PHYSICIANS.

The selection of physicians at Indian Agencies has, for many years, been reserved to the Indian Office, but previous to the present administration but little attention was paid to this branch of the service further than simply to make the appointments. No restrictions were imposed in regard to engaging in private practice off the reservations, the consequence being that many physicians neglected their proper official duties to attend to outside patients, in order to increase their income. This, of course, led to many complaints on the part of the Indians and Agency employes who were neglected, and caused so much trouble that it was determined to improve the existing state of affairs by prohibiting Agency Physicians from engaging in private practice.

The same care is used in selecting physicians as in choosing clerks, and no appointment is made until the applicant is furnished with a synopsis of qualifications and duties, and required to furnish the information called for therein, and state by a letter of his own composition, in his own handwriting, whether he will accept the position, subject to all the conditions imposed.

ADDITIONAL FARMERS.

For several years past Congress has appropriated funds for the pay of practical farmers in the Indian service, to be employed by the Secretary of the Interior, in addition to the regular Agency farmers. Under instructions of the Secretary of the Interior, the selection of persons for these places has been made by the Indian Office, the points to which they are sent being determined by the Secretary.

Great care is exercised to secure only competent practical farmers for these places, men who not only understand farming in all its branches, including the use and care of machinery and care of stock, but who have been actually engaged in farming for at least five years previous to appointment.

As in the case of clerk and physician, an applicant is furnished with a memorandum showing what will be expected and required in event of his appointment and stating the necessary qualifications, and required to signify his willingness to accept the place, subject to all the conditions imposed.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST DECEPTION.

When any appointment, other than that of agent, is made to a position at an agency, the appointee is told that he must defray his own expenses in reaching his post of duty, as the appointment does not take effect until he reports in person to the agent. This fact, in connection with the certainty of dismissal in the event of being found incompetent or unfitted in any way for service, thus necessitating the expenditure of more money for traveling expenses, tends to prevent attempts to deceive the office or obtain appointments by false representations.

AGENTS' RELATIVES.

Under former administrations agents were not required, as now, to certify on the sheet upon which nominations are submitted, the relationship, if any, which the appointee might sustain to the agent. The consequence was that a number of agents surrounded themselves with their relatives, giving them the most lucrative positions at their disposal. This practice has been broken up, and agents now certify after each nomination whether or not the person nominated is related to him or to his bondsmen. In no instance is an agent or superintendent allowed to nominate more than one member of his family or one kinsman in any degree.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE.

Formerly much suffering, and in many cases death, resulted from granting leaves of absence to agency physicians and allowing them to leave their posts of duty without making any provision for the care of such cases as might occur during their absence. Under the present rule no physician in the service is granted leave of

absence without being required to leave a properly qualified substitute to attend to urgent cases.

This ruling has, without doubt, been of immense benefit to the Indians and agency employees, has prevented much suffering and saved many lives.

INDIAN SCHOOLS.

When the present administration took charge of the Indian office it was the almost universal custom to allow the agents and superintendents of schools to select the entire corps of employees. There were no regulations requiring any information to be filed as to qualifications, experience, relationship or character of the parties appointed. The names of those removed and appointed were merely reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and were recorded on the "Record of Employees" without any question.

The new Commissioner, soon after taking charge, formulated a rule by which the agents and superintendents were required to make a statement of the qualifications of every person nominated for a position in a school, and to state the reasons for every dismissal made. In October, 1885, a circular was issued to all persons having charge of Indian schools, instructing them to furnish this information, and in January, 1886, another circular was issued requiring a statement in advance of changes proposed in employees, giving in full the reasons and the good expected to be accomplished, and it was stated that no discharge or nomination would be approved unless the previous approval of the Indian Office had been obtained for such discharge or nomination.

Instructions were also issued providing that, in an exigency, changes might be made, and that a full statement of the facts in such cases must be immediately forwarded to the Indian Office, and the agents were informed that they would be held strictly responsible for the recommendations they might make, and would be held responsible for any injury to the service caused by any one appointed on their recommendations who proved inefficient.

It is now required that applicants for positions in the school service shall file evidence of their fitness. These testimonials are filed in the Indian Office, and can be referred to at any time. The employees are thus held responsible to the authorities at Washington for the performance of their duties, and have the assurance that they will be protected so long as they faithfully perform their duties. The wisdom of this change in the manner of making appointments is evidenced by the increased interest manifested by all school employees, and the consequent increased efficiency of the schools.

At the present time the schools are filled to their utmost capacity, and the only reason why more children are not in school is because there are no accommodations for them. The average attendance since the advent of the present admistration has more than doubled, being in 1884, 6,115, and in 1887, 14,333, while during the current fiscal year it has increased at least 20 per cent.

EXPENDITURES FOR INDIAN SERVICE.

Statements showing the cost of Indian Service, the efficiency of Indian Schools, Attendance, etc.

1882, 1883 and 1884	$19,518,613 06
1886, 1887 and 1888	18,872,791 55
Saving in favor of 1886, 1887 and 1888	$645,821 51

Out of the above expenditures the following sums were used for the support of Indian Schools:

1882, 1883 and 1884	$1,149,024 88
1886, 1887 and 1888	3,215,430 39
Excess over 1882, 1883 and 1884 for educational purposes	$2,066,405 51

Table showing comparative average attendance at Indian Schools during the years mentioned:

YEAR.	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE.	YEAR.	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE.
1882	4,066	1886	9,630
1883	4,002	1887	10,520
1884	6,115	*1888	13,150

*The figures for 1888 are estimated. All returns are not yet received, but, from those received, it is safe to say that the increase over 1887 has been at least 25 per cent. This is the actual average attendance. The enrollment is nearly 16,000.

LAST THREE YEARS OF ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

	TOTAL EXPENDITURES.	SCHOOL EXPENDITURES.
Fiscal year 1882	$6,350,592 86	$90,000 00
Fiscal year 1883	6,853,366 56	466,506 60
Fiscal year 1884	6,314,653 64	592,518 28
Total for three years	$19,518,613 06	$1,149,024 88

FIRST THREE YEARS OF CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

	TOTAL EXPENDITURES.	SCHOOL EXPENDITURES.
Fiscal year 1886	$6,286,984 84	$962,340 25
Fiscal year 1887	6,212,407 76	1,150,097 77
Fiscal year 1888	6,373,399 55	1,102,992 37
Total for three years	$18,872,791 55	$3,215,430 39

CHAPTER XX.

THE PATENT OFFICE.

THE EFFICIENT WORK WHICH HAS BEEN DONE IN ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUS.

In this important bureau of the Interior Department the same salutary reforms and changes have characterized the advent of the Democratic party to power.

The country was met with what seemed to be a very plausible and vehement objection at first, that a change of administration would work disastrously to the business of the departments and bureaus. It was charged that turning out old and trusted officials and putting in new ones would have the effect of impairing the public service. That this was believed by many sincere and patriotic people cannot be doubted; but the change came and with it a change in the officials at the head of the Patent Office.

Time has contradicted these misgivings and forebodings that a change would impair the public service, and it is certain that in no bureau has such a charge been more plainly and clearly contradicted than in the Patent Office. There has been a steady growth, both of the business of the office and the respect in which it is held by the inventors of the country; and that this steady growth, this keeping up in its full vigor the business of the office has been accomplished under many disadvantageous circumstances.

HIGH ORDER OF MERIT IN DECISIONS.

The decisions of this office take a high rank. Indeed, so marked has been the judicial ability displayed by Commissioner Hall, that it has drawn from the leading papers of the Republican party many worthy tributes of this efficient and scholarly official. Prominent among recognitions in the Republican party of the efficiency and capacity with which this office is now conducted, is one taken from the New York *Tribune* of October 1, 1887, and expresses the sentiments of all. It says:

"In brief he seems to recognize the fact that the Patent Office is not a political office; that it is supported by the men of a particular class, the inventors—so well supported in short that the yearly dividend of twenty per cent. is realized from the fees paid in while there is an accumulated surplus of three millions of dollars in the Treasury.

"Every week's issue of the *Official Gazette* contains from one to three of the Commissioner's decisions on points of office practice, designed to bring uniformity in the same among the different divisions. If the story told by the attorneys is to be believed something of that kind is badly needed."

The *Scientific American*, the ablest industrial journal in the world, then comments upon this as follows:

"The encomium of the *Tribune* on Commissioner Hall is just, and reminds one of the Patent Office administration under the Commissionerships of Judge Mason and Judge Holt, which was a good while ago, but whom the few of us live to remember with satisfaction."

CORPORATE POWER AND THE PATENT LAWS.

Corporate power, grown to an alarming size during the past quarter of a century by special class legislation and the many privileges given to it during the Republican regime, has pushed its baleful influences even into the industrial arts.

For years it has been known that the real inventors of the country, most of them humble but skilled mechanics in the industrial arts, have utterly failed to reap the benefits of their inventive genius. Seldom has it been that the real inventor has reaped the harvest of his patience and his skill. Almost every invention represents years of some ingenious mechanic's life, is immediately seized upon by some monopoly or other, the interest of the inventor bought for a song, and the benefits of the invention, which the spirit of the patent laws intended should go to the public at large, has been held for the advantage of the special few, to be doled out by corporations to the general public at enormous profits to the managers.

Benton J. Hall, the incumbent of the Commissioner's office, among other suggestions for reform, said in his last annual report that the statute enables rich and influential parties to keep the applications for patents, of which they are the assignees, pending in the office for years before their patent is issued. In the meantime they are engaged in manufacturing and putting upon the market the article or improvement, but warning the public that the patent is "applied for," the effect of which is to give them the absolute control of the monopoly of the invention and to deter all other inventors from entering the same field of invention and manufacturing the same article. The Commissioner recommended to Congress that this section should be modified, and that there be vested in the Commissioner a discretion to declare any application forfeited for want of prosecution whenever he is satisfied that such should be done.

In harmony with this suggestion, the Commissioner also recommended that patents should be limited by the exercise on the part of the Government of a certain discretion vested in the Commissioner.

The abuse alluded to affects the farmer directly when it is remembered that barb-wire is made the basis of the barb-wire syndicates, whose enormous profits must be paid by the farmer; it affects the mechanic who is compelled to pay a profit by way of royalty upon the very tools he uses, to some powerful syndicate; it affects the poor seamstress, whose daily bread comes to her from the use of the sewing machine; it affects the mass of people who are compelled to pay enormous royalties upon inventions held and controlled by capital and monopolies.

The Commissioner thus formulates his conclusion.

"I suggest for the consideration of Congress the propriety of providing that all patents hereafter issuing shall contain a provision that they may be extinguished by the government at any time upon the payment to the owners of the property, whether the patentee or his assigns, of a reasonable sum of money, such sum to be determined by arbitration or otherwise, as may seem appropriate to Congress. * * * * * *

"The profits which are enjoyed by the owners of property of this character are rather the result of having control of the market and being everywhere firmly established in the business of manufacturing the patented article."

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF WORK DONE.

The following tabulated statement, comparing the records of the office for the first three years of democratic administration with the corresponding three years of the last Republican administration, will show the work of the office during these periods:

	APPLICATIONS.	CAVEATS.	PATENTS AND REISSUES.	CASH RECEIVED.	CASH EXPENDED.
1881	26,059	2,406	16,584	$ 853,665.89	$ 605,173.28
1882	31,522	2,553	19,267	1,009,219.45	683,867.67
1883	35,577	2,741	22,383	1,146,340.00	675,234.86
1885	35,717	2,552	24,233	1,188,098.15	1,024,378.85
1886	35,968	2,513	22,508	1,154,551.40	992,503.40
1887	35,613	2,622	21,477	1,144,509.60	994,472.22

In comparing the work of the Patent Office at different periods, it must be borne in mind that the labor employed in examining in any given year the same number of applications, is necessarily greater than that required in previous years. This is owing to the fact that the field of invention is continually expanding and growing wider, and each year adds to the patented inventions that must be examined in succeeding years.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

THE LEGAL BUSINESS CONDUCTED WITH ECONOMY AND THE LAWS STRICTLY ENFORCED IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

This Department, to whose hands is entrusted the vast litigation incidental to the business of the Government, has demonstrated in the highest degree the wisdom of the great political change of 1884. In the face of an enormous increase of law business growing out of new and far-reaching legislation, and of augmented activity in the various executive departments, the work of prosecuting suits has been accomplished with marked success and without an increase of force.

The following acts, passed in the second session of the 49th Congress alone, will give some idea of the new business which has been thrown upon the shoulders of the Attorney-General and his subordinates:

The Act of February 4, 1887, creating the Inter-state Commerce Commission.

The Act of February 23, 1887, prohibiting the importation of opium.

The Act of March 2, 1887, giving the United States courts jurisdiction over crimes against the Indian Police.

The Act of March 3, 1887, giving the United States courts concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Claims, over suits against the Government.

The Act of March 3, 1887, establishing the Railroad Commission.

The Act of March 3, 1887, providing for the adjustment of Land Grants to railroads, and for the forfeiture of unearned lands.

The Act of March 3, 1887 (Anti-Polygamy Act), in relation to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and including the annulment of the charters and forfeiture of a large amount of property.

ENFORCING THE LAWS.

Many important laws had for years lain dormant. The people had inferred that the mere passage of the laws for needed reform had effected the result intended, whereas, in many instances, it had only silenced public complaint and left the wrong unremedied.

The Department of Justice under President Cleveland inaugurated a new era—that reform should be in fact and not in form only; in deed and not in mere word. A faithful enforcement of the laws found upon the statute books was determined upon, and proper action taken in pursuance thereof. Among the results so secured, the Mormon people have declared, both by word and deed, that polygamy shall be no more.

In the landed States and Territories fraudulent entries have become less frequent.

Timber trespasses have become unprofitable.

Bank wrecking has become dangerously odious.

In all parts of the country all the laws of the United States are recognized as of binding force.

In all the landed States and Territories proceedings are pending for the recovery of vast bodies of valuable land, unlawfully withheld from the public domain by railroads and other corporations, and by individuals. Whatever success may attend the efforts of the administration for the recovery of these lands, the Department of Justice is entitled to its share.

The same is true in suits for timber trespass. In the calendar year of 1887, 594 criminal prosecutions were instituted at the request of the Interior Department, and 336 civil suits for the value of the timber, were brought aggregating in money value two million four hundred and nine thousand one hundred and sixty-two dollars and twenty-five cents ($2,409,162 25.)

In addition to these, there are pending civil suits against the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, the Montana Improvement Company, and others, in the territories of Washington, Idaho and Montana, for two million dollars ($2,000,000) value of lumber unlawfully cut and removed from the public domain. Also against the Sierra Lumber Company, in California, for an equal amount, and numerous other suits in the different landed judicial districts, amounting, all told, to seven or eight million dollars.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS IN THE SOUTH.

One of the most noteworthy features of the present administration is the total absence of scandal on the part of the Marshals in the South. In former administrations each recurring election was the signal for habitual invasion of the rights of the people on the part of these officials, but not an incident of the kind has occurred on the part of Mr. Cleveland's appointees.

The federal officers throughout the country have set the example of obedience to the laws.

COURT EXPENSES.

The annexed tables will exemplify the strict attention to economy which rules the present administration of the Department of Justice.

Taking the three years of Mr. Garland's incumbency as a basis of comparison with the last three of Mr. Brewster's administration, it will be seen that the criminal business alone (irrespective of the civil suits of which an accurate report is not now available), has increased from 27,828 cases during 1882, 1883 and 1884, to 39,361 cases for 1885, 1886 and 1887—an increase of nearly fifty per cent.; while the increase in the court expenses for the same period from $9,811,425.18, to $10,078,500.20, is an increase of but two and two-thirds per cent.

THREE YEARS OF ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

Statement of the number of criminal prosecutions terminated in the District and Circuit Courts of the United States during the fiscal years 1882, 1883, and 1884.

	Customs.	Internal Revenue.	Post Office.	Election Laws.	Civ. R'ts Acts.	Naturalization Acts.	Intercourse Laws.	Pension Laws.	Embezzlement.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1882.	184	4611	244	265	8	4	377	114	29	1658	7494
1883.	235	4663	446	287	9	2	535	100	37	1478	7792
1884.	491	5026	758	190	23	5	682	260	38	5069	12542
Total	910	14300	1448	742	40	11	1594	474	104	8205	27828

THREE YEARS OF CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

Statement of the number of criminal prosecutions terminated in the District and Circuit Courts of the United States during the fiscal years 1885, 1886, and 1887.

	Customs	Internal Revenue	Post Office.	Election Laws.	Civil Rights Act.	Naturalization Acts.	Intercourse Laws.	Pension Laws.	Embezzlement.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1885	142	4,738	502	283	.....	2	459	187	41	5,623	11,977
1886	136	6,243	565	47	10	.....	526	251	45	6,656	14,479
1887	227	5,064	540	96	6	.....	398	175	36	6,463	12,905
Total	505	16,045	1,607	426	16	2	1,283	613	123	18,742	39,361

COURT EXPENSES.

Statement of the expenses of United States Courts for the fiscal years 1882-'83-'84.		Statement of the expenses of United States Courts for the fiscal years 1885-'86-'87.	
1882	$3,192,393 67	1885	$3,299,703 28
1883	3,372,465 45	1886	3,561,134 39
1884	3,246,566 06	1887	3,217,672 58
Total	$9,811,425 18	Total	$10,078,500 20

UNITED STATES JUDGES APPOINTED SINCE MARCH 4, 1885.

Justices of Supreme Court:

Name.	Date of Com.
Chief Justice, Melville W. Fuller	July 20, 1888
Associate Justice, L. Q. C. Lamar	January 16, 1888

Circuit Judges:

Circuit.	Name.	Date of Com.
Sixth Circuit	Howell E. Jackson	April 12, 1886.
Second Circuit	Emile H. Lacombe	February 28, 1888.

District Judges:

District.	Name.	Date of Com.
West Michigan	Henry F. Severens	May 25, 1886
South Carolina	C. H. Simonton	January 13, 1887
North Georgia	Wm. T. Newman	January 13, 1887
South Alabama	H. T. Toulmin	January 13, 1887
South California	E. M. Ross	January 13, 1887
East Missouri	A. M. Thayer	February 26, 1887
South Illinois	Wm. J. Allen	January 19, 1888
West Texas	Thomas S. Maxey	June 25, 1888
West Missouri	John F. Philips	June 25, 1888
East Wisconsin	James G. Jenkins	July 2, 1886

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

THE EXCELLENT RECORD MADE DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS IN PROMOTING THE PROSPERITY OF THE FARMER.

The Interests of Agriculture Have Been Looked After With an Intelligence Never Manifested—The History of the Department.

I.

The present administration of this Department became responsible for its management April 4th, 1885. Norman J. Colman of Missouri, the gentleman selected by President Cleveland for the office of Commissioner, had been identified for many years with agricultural progress and thoroughly appreciated the value of science to agricultural operations.

At the very outset of his administration there was found an embarrassment in the matter of exhausted appropriations in some of the divisions of the Department, and it became necessary to immediately furlough a large portion of the force. After the beginning of the new fiscal year—July 1st, 1885—the real work of the Department—so far as the present administration is concerned—began.

RELATIONS WITH COLLEGES AND EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

The Commissioner had always believed that the problems of agriculture were only to be solved by means of a liberal scientific and industrial education. He knew that the several State Agricultural Colleges, endowed by Congress, were not accomplishing the results which would be possible through a harmonious co-operation with the Department of Agriculture; and which, could their work be co ordinated and the results of their experiments unified, edited and published as a whole, would at once become a power for good whose measure could not be easily taken.

A convention of delegates from the Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations of the country was therefore called by the Commissioner to meet in the Department building early in July. It was a bold undertaking to attempt to convene a successful gathering of such a character in the city of Washington in midsummer; but the agricultural needs of the country fully warranted the undertaking,

and the colleges of the several States being honored with their first attention on the part of the new administration of the affairs of the Department, responded almost unanimously by accepting the invitation and sending delegates. The outcome of that convention was the fullest endorsement of the Department's aims and efforts. Among the results which attended the convention may be mentioned the following, and their importance to the farmer will be readily recognized:

1. A better understanding among the colleges and experiment stations, and a general mapping out, after conference and discussion, of lines of work for the future.

2. The adoption of plans which when put in operation would prevent unnecessary duplication of work.

3. The resolution to exchange results of experiments, through a central station, in order that experiments might have more than a local value.

4. The success of the legislative committee of the convention in securing the passage of a bill establishing experiment stations in the several States and Territories, with an annual appropriation of $15,000 each for their maintenance.

5. The benefit to the whole country which accrues. Every section, State, county and town, and the individual farmer must sooner or later be benefited directly, as they are already indirectly, by reason of this action.

These and other results were anticipated by the present administration when the convention was called, and its satisfaction has just been crowned by legislation at the present Congress, approved by the President July 18th, which places in its hands the organization of a bureau in the Department of Agriculture which is to act as a clearing-house for the several colleges and stations—thus enabling it to diffuse among the farmers of the country a vast amount of information affecting their business.

INVESTIGATING ADULTERATIONS AND IMITATIONS.

The first order given to a subordinate by the new administration was given to the Chemist. He was directed to proceed at once with an investigation into the subject of adulteration of foods and food products. Enough was done in the earliest stages of the examination to show the pernicious extent of the adulteration of dairy products, and the attention of Congress was called to the matter in the first report of the Department made under the present administration. The agitation of this subject resulted in a bill originating in a Democratic House of Representatives which was approved by a Democratic President before he had been eighteen months in office, regulating the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine. The enactment of that law was hailed with delight by every dairyman and friend of pure butter, and its beneficial results to dairymen are too well known to require repetition. Bulletins have been published by the Department on the subject of butter substitutes; impure wines and liquors; adulteration of spices and condiments, etc., and it is the intention of the administration to analyze and publish every article of consumption, whether it be a substitute in whole or in part, which competes with or reflects upon the handiwork of the honest farmer.

STAMPING OUT CATTLE DISEASES.

The present administration was confronted from the beginning by momentous problems arising from the existence of contagious diseases of cattle. Pleuro-pneumonia, the most dreaded cattle plague of Europe, had been introduced into the

United States and allowed to propagate itself almost without hindrance in various States on the Atlantic seaboard. For years the cattle raisers of the Mississippi Valley and of the Western States and Territories had been alarmed at its steady increase, and had secured the adoption of local laws and regulations which threatened to destroy inter-state commerce in cattle, while for the same reason Great Britain had for five years prohibited our cattle from going inland and required them to be slaughtered at the docks where landed. To make the matter still worse, this dreaded disease had very recently been carried to the great cattle raising States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and Missouri, and the people were in consternation at its presence

This burden upon our domestic and foreign commerce was at the same time a menace to one of the most important sources of our food supply and reacted with serious effect upon the agricultural interests. It demanded immediate attention and prompt action.

By co-operation with State authorities, the general Government has completely eradicated the contagion from the States west of the Alleghany mountains. In New York it has also eradicated it from Washington and Delaware counties and from the greater part of Westchester and Richmond counties. In New Jersey the plague is now confined to a very small section of the State. In Pennsylvania it is practically eradicated. In Maryland it is confined to a single county. In the District of Columbia and Virginia it has been completely eradicated.

This greatly feared danger has, therefore, been removed from nearly all parts of the country where it existed, and trade and commerce have been relieved of the necessity of embarrassing restrictions outside of the seven or eight counties to which the disease is now confined. In these counties the regulations are still strictly enforced, every bovine animal is numbered and registered by the officers of the Bureau of Animal Industry, not one can be moved from its owner's premises without a written permit, and each herd in which the malady appears is slaughtered as soon as its presence is discovered, and the premises are then disinfected. By the careful and constant enforcement of these regulations this imported plague is rapidly disappearing, and there is every reason to believe that by continuing them for a short time our country will be rescued from this danger and the restrictions removed from our trade in live cattle.

It is worthy of remark that few countries have ever succeeded in extirpating this destructive plague after it was once introduced, and none have made such rapid progress as has been shown here during the last two years. Within this time it has been necessary to inspect 31,446 herds of cattle, and to number, register and keep a history of the 283,270 individual animals which they contained. The success of the work has required the slaughter of 10,600 head of cattle, and the disinfection of 1,743 stables. The total expense of this great work has been less than $700,000.

SIGNAL SERVICE STATIONS FOR FARMERS.

Among the recommendations made to Congress the first year of the present administration for the welfare of the farmer and the advancement of his interests, may be mentioned the establishment of the Signal Service Station in connection with each agricultural college, and experiment station for the purpose of investigating meteorological conditions affecting the health and growth of plants; the

introduction of medical plants; the investigation of the agricultural capabilities of Alaska; the completion of a report on wool, giving a scientific endorsement of American grown wool; increased attention to matters of forestry, etc. Several of these were met with appropriate legislation and the results have been laid before the country. Congress also provided for increased duties in certain branches of Departmental work, and in new fields, which required careful direction in their inauguration.

GENERAL EXTENSION OF THE DEPARTMENT WORK.

It was not long under the new *regime* before this infusion of new life began to be manifest in every division, and the Department itself began to reach that eminence which its founders had hoped for. Instead of being the butt of the newspaper paragrapher, the object of ridicule among a portion of the agricultural press, the useless appendage of the Government in scientific minds, its work began to inspire the confidence of all. Its scientific branches were consulted more and more by those whom the Department was established to benefit, its deductions began to be received with confidence and with credit, and its standard began to rise to a plane commensurate with a Department intended to assist in the protection and promotion of the greatest of all industries. And, as these scientific investigations increased, and were stimulated by increasing inquiry on the part of the country for that class of information, new fields for investigation were entered, and in certain cases new divisions and sections were established in the Department to keep pace with the progress that was being made.

Thus a new division was created to take charge of the interests of the dairy, preliminary steps were taken to stimulate the pomological and horticultural interests of the country, a section for experiments in silk-reeling was organized, and other investigations inaugurated of more or less note. The most important experiment during the year, and one that is destined to favorably affect the future of this country, was that conducted by the Department of manufacturing sugar from sorghum by the diffusion process. Silk-reeling experiments were instituted in the District of Columbia in order to ascertain if the reeling of silk from the cocoons might be made profitable in this country; and investigations of the diseases of fruits and vegetables were prosecuted, a separate section being organized for the purpose. A most important reform was introduced in the Seed Division. Prior to the advent of this administration no test of seed distributed by the Government had ever been made to prove its purity, its freshness, or its freedom from the germs of disease or of noxious weeds or insects. A system was adopted which absolutely prevents the distribution of any seed untrue to name, wanting in vitality or containing any element which the Government ought not to distribute throughout the country. This has proven a great boon to the farmers, as will be readily acknowledged, and as thousands of letters amply testify.

A change in the Annual Report of the Department—a document of which there are now published 400,000 copies, the largest edition by far of any report published by the Government—deserves a notice. For several years the report has been confined exclusively to the operations of each division of the Department. The First Annual Report under the new administration contained besides the above other articles of popular interest to all classes of our farmer citizens. Among them was an article upon "Wheat Culture in India" and another upon "Truck Farming."

THE OLDER DIVISIONS MADE MORE EFFECTIVE.

The older divisions were by no means idle while these new departures were being made. Indeed the same progressive policy and spirit controlled and directed them. Activity was apparent everywhere, better organization was noticeable, better discipline was maintained, every effort was made to bring the investigations and studies nearer to the farmer, and the farmer's best interests nearer to the Department, and the first year ended under most favorable and gratifying auspices.

In 1886 the result of the special investigation to promote the Pomological industry, heretofore alluded to, was such as to secure from Congress authority to establish a division in the Department devoted exclusively to this question, and thus another important division was added to the Department to foster this great and growing industry.

In the same year the attention of Congress was directed, through the President, to the subject of irrigation. The Department had completed and distributed an exhausted report upon the subject. The Department also compiled in this year and made ready for publication an important treatise on tobacco; it completed and distributed the report on wool, heretofore alluded to; it enlarged the section which had been organized to investigate the matter of the diseases of fruits, and it established a Division of Ornithology and Mammalogy, whose duty it was made to study the habits of birds and mammals in their relation to agriculture.

VALUABLE EXPERIMENTS IN SUGAR FROM SORGHUM.

But of more importance perhaps than all other subjects combined was the investigation made into the manufacture of sugar from sorghum, and sugar cane, by what is called the diffusion process. Most astounding results were obtained. The old process secured between forty and fifty per cent., or at the utmost but sixty per cent. of the juice of the plant. The new process secured practically all. Whitney's cotton gin was of no more importance to cotton-growers than was the diffusion battery to the sorghum grower. An increase of fifty per cent. meant that sorghum, the growers of which had become discouraged and disheartened over repeated failures to secure profitable results, was to be rescued and placed in the very front rank of sugar-yielding plants, that interest in it was to be revived, that its cultivation was to be profitable to the farmer, that it was to open a new industry to him, that it was to be as sure a crop as any on the farm, that the increase in yield of sugar from southern cane would be nearly double what it had been, and that a revolution in the sugar output of the United States was impending.

CLOSER RELATIONS WITH PRACTICAL FARMERS.

During the year the Department's agents were sent into all sections of the country to meet and confer with the people, called together to discuss the problems of agriculture. In this way the immediate wants of the farmers were made known to the Administration, and information in the possession of the Department was imparted and explained by word of mouth as well as through books and correspondence; scientific bodies were invited to hold their annual conventions at the Department, in order that the Department's officials might partake of the benefits derived from the discussions, and in turn impart the information to the farmers

through various publications; advantage was taken of the journeys abroad, of citizens identified with the agriculture of this country, to secure such valuable information as might be obtained in foreign countries of interest to our farming community; and in short the Department was constantly on the alert for the leading agricultural thought of the world.

During the past year the work of the Department has been vigorously prosecuted, and the policy of extending the influence and usefulness of the Department continued, as the result and its reports abundantly prove. The last vestige of difficulty in the matter of making sugar from sorghum was removed, apparently, and sugar was made from both northern and southern-grown cane successfully, practically and commercially by the diffusion process—a process developed, improved and applied wholly by this administration—and so successfully as to eclipse all prior attempts to make sugar profitable in northern sections, or to increase the yield of sugar in southern sections of the country, and to make the year 1887 illustrious in the history of the country. The farmers of the north, east and west are now able to take their place in the sugar markets of the world in the same relation that they have enjoyed in markets dealing with their own products, and the sugar planters of the South have also to be grateful for so important a discovery.

STILL FURTHER REFORMS SUGGESTED.

In his last report the Commissioner of Agriculture made many suggestions which were valuable. Principal among these is that on the subject of irrigation. It suggested, among other things, the building of reservoirs among the mountains in the arid regions for the purpose of storing the water now wasted in spring floods. The purpose was two-fold; first it looked to the redemption of arid tracts, and second to the protection of those sections which are annually devastated by the floods of spring. This suggestion seems to have been considered wise, as the present Senate has appropriated to the Geological Survey $250,000 for preliminary surveys for portions of this work. Thus must the present administration have the credit for suggesting an attempt to increase the resources of the cultivators of the Rocky Mountain slope, and for this endeavor to develop the arid regions to make them inhabitable for immigrants and practicable for the manufacturer, and to make it possible to combine the hand-maidens of commerce—agriculture and manufacture—in the heart of the "Great American Desert," while at the same time protecting the homes, the property and the crops from the devastation of floods.

A GENERAL RECORD OF ITS WORK.

To briefly summarize the operations of the Department, the reforms inaugurated and the improvements made, it can be said that its work has been simplified, systematized and made effective; its researches and investigations have been along lines both practical and popular; it has divided divisions, and created new sections in order that new investigations might not interrupt those already in progress, or distract attention therefrom; it has established new divisions for the promotion of new studies; it has sent to the country more information upon timely topics than ever before in the history of the Department; it has maintained State agencies in several States, and one in Europe for personal investigation of agricultural capabilities and prospects; its continued study of the grasses of the country has been of

the utmost importance, and has prompted an appropriation by the present Congress for the especial purpose of establishing experimental grass stations; its investigation of destructive insects and methods for destroying them, as well as of the habits of useful insects to agriculture, has been vigorous and useful to all sections; its studies of animal diseases have been such as to reflect credit upon this or any scientific institution; its investigation into the utility of American grown cocoons promises results of far-reaching importance; its investigation into diseases of fruits and vegetables has created wide-spread interest; its investigation into food adulterations; its triumph in sorghum sugar making; its victory in stamping out a disease among cattle, which threatened the ranges of the West, and its continued success in decreasing the boundaries in which the disease is confined, fully attest how useful this Department can be made. It has publicly recognized the work of its 10,000 correspondents, and encouraged them to more vigilant efforts and more correct return of crop statistics; it has revived a system of foreign exchanges with the library, which was abolished by a prior administration; it has not only vastly improved the quality of seed sent out, but it has largely increased the quantity; it has distributed more seed for less money than ever before; it has abolished positions which existed under former administrations and which were useless, and increased them where useful to the country; it has diffused among the people more information upon a greater number of topics than was ever before sent out to the people; it has established intimate relations with scientific bodies and institutions; it has answered a larger correspondence than ever before on a greater variety of subjects; it has so conducted its affairs as to receive the plaudits of the press, both agricultural and commercial; its reports have been copiously extracted by the press of foreign countries, and favorably criticised; its scientific articles have been translated into many languages; it has received the praise of the leading agricultural thinkers of this country, irrespective of politics; and its work has been complimented not only by agricultural organizations, but in public debate, upon the floor of the Senate by a Senator of an opposite political faith; it has adopted methods for a better protection of public property in its charge, for a better system of accounts, and a more prompt rendering of them to proper accounting officers; the conventions called under its auspices have been better attended than before, and, measured by the test of the confidence expressed by Congress in annual appropriations, and of the people who are demanding its publications; its administration has been useful, influential, business-like, economical, successful, and in accordance with the principles of true democracy. Indeed nothing better illustrates the character of the administration than the fact that each year since its inauguration the appropriations granted for its work have increased, as follows:

For 1885-86	$598,452.
For 1886-87	$668,684.
For 1887-88	$1,046,730.
For 1888-89	$1,746,000 (including $585,000 for experiment stations).

A table hereto appended also shows a flattering increase in the demand of the country for the publications of the Department. This table abundantly proves the activity of the Department in all branches of its studies, and the work which it has accomplished during the present administration is commended to those whose interests are identified with the Department, those who are interested in the welfare of

this important institution, those who love their country and who are gratified to see its affairs administered wisely and well.

DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS ASKED FOR.

Table of Bulletins and Reports issued by the Department of Agriculture during the years 1884, 1885, 1886 and 1887:

	1884.		1885.		1886.		1887.	
DIVISION.	No. of Buls.	No. of Copies.	No. of Buls.	No. of Copies.	No. of Buls.	No. of Copies.	No. of Buls.	No. of Copies.
Entomological	1	3,000	6	8,500	4	8,700	6	17,300
Statistical	9	108,000	11	151,000	11	165,000	12	189,500
Chemical	3	10,500	2	12,500	6	14,500	6	38,000
Botanical	1	3,000			1	5,000	5	42,000
Forestry			1	5,000			2	6,300
Pomological							2	35,000
Miscellaneous	4	21,000	6	20,000	2	13,500	3	16,000
Total		145,500		197,000		206,700		358,800

II.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON OLEOMARGARINE—THE CARE TO BE EXERCISED IN PROTECTING THE INTERESTS OF AGRICULTURE.

On August 2, 1886, the President signed the bill imposing an internal revenue tax upon oleomargarine, filing with it a memorandum, from which the following extract is made to show its spirit and his intelligent interest in matters of interest to the agriculturist as well as to the consumer:

"There is certainly no industry better entitled to the incidental advantages which may follow this legislation than our farming and dairy interests; and to none of our people should they be less begrudged than our farmers and dairymen. The present depression of their occupations, the hard, steady and often unremunerative toil which such occupations exact, and the burdens of taxation which our agriculturists necessarily bear, entitle them to every legitimate consideration.

"Nor should there be opposition to the incidental effect of this legislation on the part of those who profess to be engaged honestly and fairly in the manufacture and sale of a wholesome and valuable article of food, which by its provisions may be subject to taxation. As long as their business is carried on under cover and by false pretences, such men have bad companions in those whose manufactures, however vile and harmful, take their place without challenge with the better sort, in a common crusade of deceit against the public. But if this occupation and its methods are forced into the light and all these manufactures must thus either stand upon their merits or fall, the good and bad must soon part company, and the fittest only will survive.

"Not the least important incident related to this legislation is the defense afforded to the consumer against the fraudulent substitution and sale of an imitation for a genuine article of food of very general household use. Notwithstanding the immense quantity of the article described in this bill which is sold to the people for their consumption as food,

and notwithstanding the claim made that its manufacture supplies a cheap substitute for butter, I venture to say that hardly a pound ever entered a poor man's house under its real name and in its true character.

"While in its relation to an article of this description there should be no governmental regulation of what the citizen shall eat, it is certainly not a cause of regret if by legislation of this character he is afforded a means by which he may better protect himself against imposition in meeting the needs and wants of his daily life.

"Having entered upon this legislation, it is manifestly a duty to render it as effective as possible in the accomplishment of all the good which should legitimately follow in its train."

SPECIAL COMMENDATION OF THE DEPARTMENT.

In his first annual message, sent to Congress December 8, 1885, the President thus referred to the work of the Department of Agriculture:

"The agricultural interest of the country demands just recognition and liberal encouragement. It sustains with certainty and unfailing strength, our nation's prosperity by the products of its steady toil, and bears its full share of the burden of taxation without complaint. Our agriculturists have but slight personal representation in the councils of the nation, and are generally content with the humbler duties of citizenship and willing to trust to the bounty of nature for a reward of their labor. But the magnitude and value of this industry are appreciated, when the statement is made that of our total annual exports more than three-fourths are the products of agriculture, and of our total population nearly one-half are exclusively engaged in that occupation.

"The Department of Agriculture was created for the purpose of acquiring anddiffusing among the people useful information respecting the subjects it has in charge, and aiding in the cause of intelligent and progressive farming, by the collection of statistics, by testing the value and usefulness of new seeds and plants, and distributing such as are found desirable, among agriculturists. This and other powers and duties with which this Department is invested are of the utmost importance, and if wisely exercised must be of great benefit to the country. The aim of our beneficent Government is the improvement of the people in every station, and the amelioration of their condition. Surely our agriculturists should not be neglected. The instrumentality established in aid of the farmers of the land should not only be well equipped for the accomplishment of its purpose, but those for whose benefit it has been adopted should be encouraged to avail themselves fully of its advantages."

AGAIN COMMENDING IT TO ATTENTION.

In his annual message for 1886 he referred to the Department and its works in these terms:

"The Department of Agriculture, representing the oldest and largest of our national industries, is subserving well the purposes of its organization. By the introduction of new subjects of farming enterprise, and by opening new sources of agricultural wealth and the dissemination of early information concerning production and prices, it has contributed largely to the country's prosperity. Through this agency, advanced thought and investigation touching the subjects it has in charge should, among other things, be practically applied to the home production at a low cost of articles of food which are now imported from abroad. Such an innovation will necessarily of course in the beginning be within the domain of intelligent experiment; and the subject in every stage should receive all possible encouragement from the Government.

"The interests of millions of our citizens engaged in agriculture are involved in an enlargement and improvement of the results of their labor; and a zealous regard for their welfare should be a willing tribute to those whose productive returns are a main source of our progress and power."

On March 27, 1888, the President sent a message to Congress recommending additional legislation prohibiting the importation of swine or their products from certain countries. The message was as follows:

I transmit herewith a report from Hon. George H. Pendleton, our minister to Germany, dated January 30, 1888, from which it appears that trichinosis prevails to a considerable extent in certain parts of Germany, and that a number of persons have already died from the effects of eating the meat of deceased hogs which were grown in that country.

I also transmit a report from our consul at Marseilles, dated February 4, 1888, representing that for a number of months a highly contagious and fatal disease has prevailed among the swine of a large section of France, which disease is thought to be very similar to hog cholera by the Commissioner of Agriculture, whose statement is herewith submitted.

It is extremely doubtful if the law passed April 29, 1878, entitled "An act to prevent the introduction of contagious or infectious diseases into the United States," meets cases of this description.

In view of the danger to the health and lives of our people and the contagion that may be spread to the live-stock of the country by the importation of swine or hog products from either of the countries named, I recommend the passage of a law prohibiting such importation, with proper regulations as to the continuance of such prohibition, and permitting such further prohibitions in other future cases of a like character as safety and prudence may require.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

MANAGED WITH CARE AND CONSERVATISM—PUTTING DOWN FAVORITISM—THE BATTLE FLAG INCIDENT.

Under the present administration the Department of War, which deals with the military establishment of the country and directs the movements of the regular army, has been conducted with economy and efficiency. Its administration has been free from that reproach or favoritism which too often scandalized some of its predecessors, and there has been no suspicion even of the fraudulent practices and shameful corruption which so deeply stained this department of the Government some years ago.

The conservative spirit which has restrained frequent removals in this department has been respected; and comparatively few changes have been made in the force of the office. The labors of the Pension Department, to secure prompt action on cases submitted for adjudication, have had valuable auxiliary in the War Department; and in all its divisions administrative work has been dispatched with great promptitude. The catastrophe of Indian wars has been averted by sagacious anticipated frontier disturbances; the numbers of the regular army have been maintained; its discipline promoted, and all the routine business of the War Office has been faithfully done.

DOING AWAY WITH FAVORITISM.

The President deserves much credit for breaking up the discreditable system of favoritism which had existed for many years before the advent of the Cleveland administration. It was the policy of Secretaries of War in preceding administrations to yield to the pressure brought by political and personal friends of officers and thus keep a certain small coterie at the pleasant stations on the Atlantic or Pacific coasts, or in the Department at Washington.

The result was that there were some officers of the army who had not seen service with their regiments for many years. This vicious system has been so thoroughly broken up that the discipline of the army was never more perfect than now, and its efficiency has, as a consequence, been greatly improved.

THE BATTLE FLAGS INCIDENT.

General R. C. Drum is the Adjutant-General of the Army appointed by Mr. Hayes. His tenure is irrevocably fixed by law. He has been so strong a Republican that, in spite of the supposed non-partisanship of the men in his arm of the service, he sent to General Harrison, whose military adviser he is said to have been during the latter's term of service in the Senate, the following congratulatory dispatch:

WASHINGTON, June 26, 1888.

General Benjamin Harrison, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Accept my sincere congratulations.

R. C. DRUM.

In April, 1887, this officer sent the following letter to the Secretary of War:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, April 30, 1887.

SIR: I have the honor to state that there are now in this office (stored in one of the attic rooms of the building) a number of Union flags captured in action but recovered on the fall of the Confederacy and forwarded to the War Department for safe keeping, together with a number of Confederate flags which the fortunes of war placed in our hands during the late civil war.

While in the past favorable action has been taken on applications properly supported for the return of Union flags to organizations representing the survivors of the military regiment in the service of the government, I beg to submit that it would be a graceful act to anticipate future requests of this nature, and venture to suggest the propriety of returning all the flags, Union and Confederate, to the authorities of the respective States in which the regiments which bore these colors were organized, for such final disposition as they may determine. While in all the civilized nations of the world trophies taken in the war against foreign enemies have been carefully preserved and exhibited as proud mementoes of the nation's military glories, wise and obvious reasons have always excepted from the rule evidences of past internecine troubles which by appeal to the arbitrament of the sword have disturbed the peaceful march of a people to its destiny.

Over twenty years have elapsed since the termination of the late civil war. Many of the prominent leaders, civil and military, of the late Confederate States are now honored representatives of the people in the national councils, or in other eminent positions lend the aid of their talents to the wise administration of the affairs of the whole country, and the people of the several States composing the Union are now united, treading the broader roads to a glorious future.

Impressed with these views, I have the honor to submit the suggestions made in this letter for the careful consideration it will receive at your hands.

R. C. DRUM, Adjutant-General.

Hon. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT, Secretary of War.

TO PROHIBIT THE PRESIDENT'S ONLY ACTION.

Thereupon, without any action being taken by the President or the Cabinet, General Drum wrote letters to the Governors of all the States offering to return all Confederate flags stored in the War Department. The President never signed a letter, order or document of any kind suggesting the return or offering to return, or endorsing the return of any flag, except the following order to the Secretary of War:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 16, 1887.

I have to-day considered with more care than when the subject was orally presented me, the action of your Department directing letters to be addressed to the Governors of all the States offering to return, if desired, to the loyal States the flags captured in the war of the rebellion by the Confederate forces, and afterwards recovered by Government troops, and to the Confederate States the flags captured by the Union forces, all of which have been packed in boxes and stored in the cellar and attic of the War Department.

I am of the opinion that the return of these flags in the manner thus contemplated is not authorized by existing law nor justified as an executive act.

I request, therefore, that no further steps be taken in the matter, except to examine and inventory these flags and adopt proper measures for their preservation. Any direction as to final disposition of them should originate with Congress.

Yours, truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

The President cannot remove an officer of the Army, but this order shows how promptly he rescinded the action of a subordinate. Not only have no Confederate flags ever been returned by President Cleveland or his administration, but it is a well-known fact that under the administration of Edwin M. Stanton twenty-one such flags were surrendered.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DEMOCRACY AND THE SOLDIER.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S CONSISTENT SUPPORT OF EVERY WELL-CONSIDERED MEASURE IN THE SOLDIER'S INTEREST.

Every Pension Agent Appointed by Him an Ex-Soldier—Unexampled Increase in the Grant of Pensions—Liberality and Promptness in the Relief of Worthy Applicants—The Vetoes of Questionable Private Pension Bills—Acts of Justice to Deserving Pensioners.

I.

MORE PENSIONS GRANTED.

A LARGER NUMBER OF CASES CONSIDERED AND ALLOWED THAN EVER BEFORE.

In no phase of the exercise of his executive functions has the Democratic President exhibited greater patriotism, more unerring discrimination, larger intelligence and more untiring industry than in the consideration and determination of all matters touching the relations of the Federal Government with the Union soldiers of the late war. Every well-considered measure for the equalization and enlargement of bounty rendered to them from their grateful fellow-countrymen has had his approval and support; every movement to honor their memory and perpetuate their glory has had his individual and official aid; the Pension Department under his administration has been organized especially with a view to the expedition of the business which it conducts, and it has been administered with unprecedented liberality and promptitude.

Especially in the exercise of his veto power has the President been watchful for the true interest of the deserving soldiers; and all of his executive acts have been characterized by what General Grant's closest friend pronounces an effort "TO MAKE THE PENSION LIST A ROLL OF HONOR AND EVERY PENSION CERTIFICATE A TOKEN OF VALOR AND PATRIOTISM."

Next to the denial of worthy claims nothing works greater injustice to the soldiers who fairly earned the gratitude and liberal rewards of the Government than the grant of pensions to unworthy applicants, impostors, deserters and shirkers. In no respect has the President gained the confidence and the admiration of the soldiers and citizens of the country more effectually than in the detection and exposure of numerous frauds attempted upon Congress and the country, to the discredit and damage of honest pensioners and gallant soldiers.

THE PENSION AGENTS—SOLDIERS IN OFFICE.

To the head of the Department of Pensions President Cleveland appointed Gen. John C. Black, a gallant Union soldier of Illinois, whose military record was one of the highest and best in the entire history of the war, and whose signal executive qualities have given to the work of his department a dispatch and thoroughness never before known in its history. As pointed out in a speech on the floor of the House, August 3, 1888, by Representative McKinney, of New Hampshire, besides General Black,

"President Cleveland has appointed to office: General Rosecrans, General Corse, General Sigel, General Bragg, General Buell, General McMahon, General Franklin, General Davis, General Bartlett, Colonel McLean and Colonel Denby, and hundreds of others who have been appointed as postmasters and to fill offices in various departments of the Government, and *there never was a time in the history of the Government since the war when there were more* soldiers employed in the service than now.

"Of the seventeen pension agents appointed by President Cleveland, *sixteen were soldiers in the Union Army, and the seventeenth, Mrs. M. A. Mulligan, is the widow of a distinguished Federal soldier who was killed in battle.* Mr. S. L. Wilson, the eighteenth pension agent, appointed by President Arthur, who lost both legs at the battle of Gettysburg, *has been continued in office by the present administration.* Thus every dollar of the nearly $80,000,000 distributed each year to soldiers by the Government passes through the hands of veterans who defended the Union."

II.

DEPARTMENT WORK.

INCREASED EFFICIENCY AND UNPRECEDENTED LIBERALITY UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE PENSION OFFICE.

For years, prior to the accession of the Democratic party to National power, one of the stock arguments of the Republican press and speakers in every campaign was, that should the Democratic party be entrusted with the administration of national affairs, the interests of Union soldiers in the matter of pensions would be seriously jeopardized. The Democratic party has now been in power for more than three years, and what do the official records show has been done in the way of pensions for Union soldiers, their widows, orphans and dependent relatives? Compare the new with the old, as shown by the official records of the Pension Bureau.

The annual reports of the Commissioner of Pensions for the fiscal years 1883, 1884 and 1885, show that during those years 108,121 original, 79,268 increase and 3,852 miscellaneous certificates were issued. Total claims admitted during the last three years of Republican rule, 191,221.

The annual reports of the Commissioner of Pensions for the fiscal years 1886 and 1887 and the records of the Pension Bureau for the fiscal year 1888 (the annual report of the Commissioner for the last year not having yet been made), show that during those three years 156,226 original, 181,173 increase and 22,055 miscellaneous certificates were issued. Total claims admitted during the first three years of Democratic rule, 359,452. *Excess of certificates issued by the Democrats*, 168,231.

In order that the public may be satisfied of the accuracy of this statement, there is appended the official figures taken from the records of the Pension Department:

LAST THREE YEARS OF DUDLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

FISCAL YEAR 1883.

Claims Admitted.	
Original	38,162
Increase	22,746
Miscellaneous	796
Total	61,704

FISCAL YEAR 1884.

Claims Admitted.	
Original	34,192
Increase	22,517
Miscellaneous	1,221
Total	57,930

FISCAL YEAR 1885.

Claims Admitted.	
Original	35,767
Increase	33,965
Miscellaneous	1,835
Total	71,567
Grand total, claims admitted for three years	191,221

FIRST THREE YEARS OF BLACK'S ADMINISTRATION.

FISCAL YEAR 1886.

Claims Admitted.	
Original	40,857
Increase	113,271
Miscellaneous	2,229
Total	156,357

FISCAL YEAR 1887.

Claims Admitted.	
Original	55,194
Increase	32,107
Miscellaneous	2,707
Total	90,008

FISCAL YEAR 1888.

Claims Admitted.	
Original	60,173
Increase	35,795
Miscellaneous	17,119
Total	113,087

Grand total, claims admitted for three years	359,452

Excess of certificates issued during first three fiscal years of Commissioner Black's administration of the Pension Bureau over the number issued during the last three years of Commissioner Dudley's administration	168,231

NET INCREASE TO PENSION ROLLS.

The net increase to the rolls during the fiscal years 1883, 1884 and 1885 was 59,428. The net increase to the pension rolls during the fiscal years 1886, 1887 and 1888 was 105,875.

Fiscal year 1883	17,961
" 1884	19,098
" 1885	22,369
Total	59,428

Fiscal Year, 1886	20,658
" 1887	40,224
" 1888 (approximate)	44,993
Total	105,875

Excess of net increase during first three years of Commissioner Black's administration over that of the last three years of Commissioner Dudley's administration	46,447

FUNDS DISBURSED ON ACCOUNT OF PENSIONS.

During the fiscal years 1883, 1884 and 1885, $183,399,216.31 were disbursed on account of pensions. During the fiscal years 1886, 1887 and 1888, $217,399,757.30 were disbursed on account of pensions.

Fiscal Year, 1883	$60,431,972 85
" 1884	57,273,536 74
" 1885	65,693,706 72
Total	$183,399,216 31
Fiscal Year, 1886	$64,584,270 45
" 1887	74,815,486 85
" 1888 (approximate)	78,000,000 00
Total	$217,399,757 30

Excess of disbursements during first three years of Commissioner Black's administration over the amount disbursed during last three years of Commissioner Dudley's administration.. $34,000,540 99

NEW NAMES ADDED TO PENSION ROLLS.

The total number of new names (original certificates) added to the rolls during the last three fiscal years of Commissioner Dudley's administration (which include the names of 15,906 new names added to the rolls by General Black from March 17, 1885, to June 30, 1885, the last three and one-half months of the fiscal year 1885) was 108,121.

The total number of new names added to the rolls during the first three fiscal years of General Black's administration as Commissioner of Pensions, from July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, was 156,226. If we add to this 156,226, the 15,906 new names put upon the rolls by General Black from March 17th, 1885, the day on which he assumed charge of the Pension Bureau, to June 30, 1885, it makes a total of 172,132 new names added to the rolls since Commissioner Black assumed charge of the Pension Bureau. Giving the Republican administration the benefit of the 15,906 new names added to the rolls during the last three and a half months of the fiscal year 1885, during which time the Pension Bureau was under Democratic control, we find that the excess of new names added to the rolls by the Democratic administration during its first three years *exceeds those added to the rolls during the last three years of Republican administration by* 48,105.

ANNUAL VALUE OF PENSIONS AND THE INCREASE.

At the close of the last Republican administration the annual value of all pensions was	$38,090,965 28
At the close of the first fiscal year of the Cleveland administration the annual value was	44,708,027 44
At the close of 1887 the annual value was	52,824,641 22
Increase in annual value of pensions between June 30, 1885, and June 30, 1887.	$14,733,655 94

General John C. Black, Commissioner of Pensions, said in a recent speech:

"The Democracy has held sacred and has far advanced the claims of the pensioner as the common debt of the common people, to be sacredly, honestly and munificently paid. Never since the tender hand of peace first bound up the wounds of rugged war; never since the awful fruit of battle cumbered the red earth; never since men died and women wept, and children sorrowed, has greater munificence or more eager willingness been manifest than has been shown to the pensioners by the triumphant democracy—which, God willing, shall for many years pour the nation's reviving streams by the stricken and desolate."

THE WORK OF THE EXAMINERS.

In the same speech of Representative McKinney, from which quotations have been made, are presented other undeniable figures to show the vastly greater efficiency of the Pension Department now than under any Republican administration:

With no increase of force in the Department, but with a decrease, without superior opportunity for collecting evidence, the administration of General Black has shown almost 100 per cent. of increase of work performed and of certificates issued. The work of the Department has been brought up to date; old claims have been disposed of; and the bureau is now doing current work, and every claim is assured of prompt consideration when the claimant presents the necessary evidence required by law. If we will turn to the workings of the special examiner's division we will find the comparison equally favorable to the present administration.

The comparison is made between the years 1884 and 1885, under Commissioner Dudley, with the years 1886 and 1887, under Commissioner Black. The reason for not comparing with the three full years is because the report of the Commissioner for 1888 is not yet complete.

UNDER REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

For 1884:	
Examiners in field	351
Cases investigated	7,452
Reports made	2,187
Depositions taken	18,484
For 1885:	
Examiners in field	306
Cases investigated	9,881
Reports made	29,224
Depositions taken	189,743
Credibility reports	23,623

Expense account for the two years, $514,269.18. Of this sum $343,551 was charged as traveling expenses; average cost of investigating, $52.31 per case.

UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

For 1886:	
Examiners in field	277
Cases investigated	12,715
Reports made	29,395
Depositions taken	171,380
Credibility reports	23,246
For 1887:	
Examiners in field	253
Cases investigated	31,010
Reports made	26,399
Depositions taken	140,544
Credibility reports	33,192

Total expenses for two years, $127,404. Of which sum $153,180.20 was charged for traveling expenses. Average cost of investigation, $13.78 per case.

"This work was done with an average force of sixty-four examiners less than were employed by Mr. Dudley. The result was the investigation under Mr. Black of 43,725 cases as against 17,283 cases under Mr. Dudley, a saving in traveling expenses alone of $190,271; a saving in total expense account to the Government of $86,865; a saving in each case investigated of $38.53. In other words, it costs under the present administration only 26½ per cent. as much to investigate a special case as it did under Mr. Dudley. It seems to me that every honest man must admit by this comparison that both the soldier and the Treasury have been greatly benefited by a Democratic administration, as compared with the administration preceding it. I heard two Republicans now on this floor make the statement that every facility was offered under the present Commissioner for a speedy adjudication of pension claims. One of the best friends of the soldier in the United States Senate, a Republican, told me that during the fourteen years he had been in Congress the Pension Bureau had never been in so good condition, nor the ruling of the Department so liberal and just to the soldier as it is under General Black.

MORE EX-SOLDIERS APPOINTED TO OFFICE.

"If we turn to the record of appointments under the present administration of the Pension Bureau we will find the comparison is not to the glory of the Republican party. Of 416 appointments made by General Black from March 17, 1885, to June 30, 1887, 230 were soldiers or soldiers' kindred, and 186 were civilians—a net difference in favor of soldiers of 44, or about 24 per cent. General Black has appointed 20 ex-Union soldiers in excess of the total number dropped from the rolls by death, discharge, resignation, or otherwise; and this with 150 employes less than were on the rolls during the fiscal years of the previous administration would make a net difference in favor of the soldier of 179, or about 12 per cent. more soldiers, sailors, or their widows and kindred upon the pay-rolls than were ever upon the rolls in the history of the office. Three hundred and seventy soldiers or their kindred occupy the higher positions in the Bureau, paying $1,200 a year and upwards, against 292 civilians—a difference in favor of the soldier of 27 per cent."

III.

CLEVELAND AND THE SOLDIER.

AS MAYOR OF BUFFALO AND GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK HE NEVER FAILED TO REVERE THEIR MEMORY AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THEIR COMFORT.

The record of President Cleveland shows that his interest in the soldiers who went to battle in defense of the Union, is not alone confined to words. He has never failed in any respect to give such assistance to the veteran soldiers as lay in his power, either as a public official or as a private citizen. When unable to give his sanction to the use of public moneys for the erection of a soldier's monument, as the chief executive of Buffalo, he led the movement for the procurement of the funds necessary for the purpose, by heading the subscription list as a private citizen.

When unable to sign an ordinance voting away public moneys for decoration day purposes without disregarding his official oath and violating the law, he individually headed a subscription for the purpose with a liberal sum, and, with a hearty co-operation of citizens approving his action, the desired fund was raised promptly without resort to public moneys.

As Governor of New York he promptly signed the bill passed in 1883 (chap. 247, N. Y Laws of 1883), entitled "An act to amend chap. 203 of the Laws of 1881,

entitled 'An act to authorize the burial of the bodies of any honorably discharged soldier, sailor or marine who shall hereafter die without leaving means sufficient to defray funeral expenses.' " This act took soldiers and sailors who died indigent out of the pauper class and gave them honorable burial at public expense, and a headstone to their graves.

He approved the acts of the New York Legislature giving ex-soldiers and sailors preference in public employment; providing for the completion of the records of New York volunteers of the war of the rebellion on file in the office of the adjutant-general of the State of New York, and for the safe-keeping thereof.

SPEECH BEFORE THE GRAND ARMY.

In the following speech is expressed the pride he takes in the achievements of the soldiers of the State of New York, and the regret over the lives of her sons sacrificed in the cause. It was the response of Governor Cleveland to the toast "The State of New York," at the Grand Army of the Republic Banquet, in honor of the unveiling of the Soldiers' Monument at Buffalo, July 4, 1884:

I am almost inclined to complain because the sentiment to which I am requested to respond is not one which permits me to speak at length of the city which, for more than twenty-nine years, has been my home. You bid me speak of the State, while everything that surrounds me and all that has been done to-day, reminds me of other things. I cannot fail to remember most vividly, to-night, that exactly two years ago I felt that much of the responsibility of a certain celebration rested on my shoulders. I suppose there were others who did more than I to make the occasion a success, but I know that I considered myself an important factor, and that when, after weeks of planning and preparation, the day came and finally passed, I felt as much relieved as if the greatest effort of my life had been a complete success.

On that day we laid the corner-stone of the monument which has to-day been unveiled in token of its completion. We celebrated too, the semi-centennial of our city's life. I was proud then to be its chief executive, and everthing connected with its interests and prosperity was dear to me. To-night I am still proud to be a citizen of Buffalo, and my fellow-townsmen cannot, if they will, prevent the affection I feel for my city and its people But my theme is a broader one, and one that stirs the heart of every citizen of the State

The State of New York, in all that is great, is easily the leader of all the States. Its history is filled with glorious deeds and its life is bound up with all that makes the nation great. From the first of the nation's existence our State has been the constant and generous contributor to its life and growth and vigor.

But to the exclusion of every other thought to-night, there is one passage in the history of the State that crowds upon my mind.

There came a time when discord reached the family circle of States, threatening the nation's life. Can we forget how wildly New York sprang forward to protect and preserve what she had done so much to create and build up! Four hundred and fifty thousand men left her borders to stay the tide of destruction.

During the bloody affray which followed, nearly fourteen thousand and five hundred of her sons were killed in battle or died of wounds. Their bones lie in every State where the war for the Union was waged. Add to these nearly seventeen thousand and five hundred of her soldiers, who, within that sad time, died of disease, and then contemplate the pledges of New York's devotion to a united country, and the proofs of her faith in the supreme destiny of the sisterhood of States.

And there returned to her thousands of her sons who fought and came home laden with the honors of patriotism, many of whom still survive, and, like the minstrels of old, tell us of heroic deeds and battles won, which saved the nation's life.

When our monument, which should commemorate the sufferings and death of their comrades, was begun, the veterans of New York were here. To-day they come again and view complete its fair proportions, which in the years to come shall be a token that the patriotic dead are not forgotten.

The State of New York is rich in her soldier dead, and she is rich in her veterans of the war. Those who still survive, and the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, hold in trust for the State blessed memories which connect her with her dead; and these memories we know will be kept alive and green.

Long may the State have her veterans of the war; and long may she hold them in grateful and chastened remembrance. And as often as her greatness and her grandeur are told, let these be called the chief jewels in her crown.

As Governor of New York he disapproved the act to prevent persons from unlawfully using or wearing the G. A. R. badge, because it was so loosely drawn that it made the use of the badge, even without ill intent and in the most innocent manner, a crime, and that a child of a soldier, having a pride in the record of the services of a deceased father in defense of the Union, and of which this badge is a token and the testimony, would have been prevented from manifesting that honorable pride by displaying it upon his person. Governor Cleveland said: "The object sought to be gained by the measure is praiseworthy; the means by which it was attempted to gain the end defeated the object and made it of doubtful utility."

Another bill vetoed was entitled "An act to require the Secretary of State to procure a suitable plate, to print certificates, to be presented to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines who served in the Union army and navy from the State of New York. For this purpose an utterly inadequate amount was appropriated; and the Governor declined to sign it unless its provisions were made practical.

IV.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SOLDIERS.

MR. CLEVELAND'S UNIFORM SUPPORT DURING HIS PRESIDENTIAL TERM OF LIBERAL PENSIONS FAIRLY AWARDED.

As President of the United States he has been as urgent and zealous to promote every effort for the aid and relief of deserving ex-soldiers, as he has been prompt to detect and rebuke schemes to deplete and despoil the public treasury, for undeserving applicants and unworthy purposes.

A careful perusal of the President's messages, letters and vetoes, published elsewhere in this volume, will disclose in a most striking manner the liberal and patriotic spirit with which he has approached and considered all the so-called soldier and pension legislation, and with what untiring patience and generosity he has weighed the merits of the general and private bills presented for his consideration.

In his first annual message he said:

While there is no expenditure of the public funds which the people more cheerfully approve than that made in recognition of the services of our soldiers, living and dead, the sentiment underlying the subject should not be vitiated by the introduction of any fraudulent practices. Therefore it is fully as important that the rolls should be cleansed of all those who by fraud have secured a place thereon, as that meritorious claims should be speedily examined and adjusted. The reforms in the methods of doing the business of this bureau which have lately been inaugurated promise better results in both these directions.

In his second annual message he said:

The American people, with a patriotic and grateful regard for our ex-soldiers—too broad and too sacred to be monopolized by any special advocates—are not only willing but anxious that equal and exact justice should be done to all honest claimants for pensions. In their sight the friendless and destitute soldier, dependent on public charity, if otherwise entitled, has precisely the same right to share in the provision made for those who fought their country's battles as those better able, through friends and influence, to push their claims. Every pension that is granted under our present plan upon any other grounds than actual service and injury or disease incurred in such service, and every instance of the many in which pensions are increased on other grounds than the merits of the claim, work an injustice to the brave and crippled, but poor and friendless soldier, who is entirely neglected or who must be content with the smallest sum allowed under general laws.

There are far too many neighborhoods in which are found glaring cases of inequality of treatment in the matter of pensions; and they are largely due to a yielding in the Pension Bureau to importunity on the part of those, other than the pensioner, who are especially interested, or they arise from special acts passed for the benefit of individuals.

The men who fought side by side should stand side by side when they participate in a grateful nation's kind remembrance.

Every consideration of fairness and justice to our ex-soldiers, and the protection of the patriotic instinct of our citizens from perversion and violation, point to the adoption of a pension system broad and comprehensive enough to cover every contingency and which shall make unnecessary an objectionable volume of special legislation.

PENSION ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT.

He approved the act of March 19, 1886, which has increased to $12 per month the pensions of 102,568 widows, minors and dependent relatives of Union soldiers. The total annual increase in money granted to these 102,568 pensioners, by reason of this approval, is $4,923,964.

He approved the act of August 4, 1886, which has increased the pensions of 10,092 crippled and maimed Union soldiers of the late war from $24 to $30, from $30 to $36, and $30 and $37.50 to $45 per month. The average increase in these cases is estimated to be $9 per month, or $108 per year, and the total annual increase in money granted to these 10,092 pensioners, by reason of his approval of said act of August 4, 1886, is therefore $1,080,936. He approved the act of January 29, 1887, which has placed on the pension rolls 21,704 survivors and widows of the war with Mexico, at $8 per month, or $96 per year. The annual amount in money which these 21,704 Mexican pensioners will receive is $2,083,584.

He approved the act of June 7, 1888, granting arrears of pensions to widows from the date of their husband's death, in all cases filed subsequent to June 30, 1880. All those filed prior to July 1, 1880, were entitled from date of death of husband under the arrears laws of 1879, provided, of course, they establish their right to such pension. The approval of this act of June 7, 1888, will immediately affect some 10,000 widows of the late war, whose claims have already been allowed from the date of the filing of the same. The average amount of money which these 10,000 will receive, by reason of his approval of this act, will amount, it is estimated, to an average of $108 in each case, making a total of $1,080,000, and the allowances of widow's cases, which have been filed since June 30, 1880, during the present fiscal year, will probably increase the amount paid to such pensioners during the present fiscal year to over $1,500,000.

So it will be seen that since the inauguration of President Cleveland he has approved general pension acts which directly and pecuniarily benefit some 144,364

ex-Union and Mexican war soldiers, their widows, orphans and dependent relatives, and that the money value of this benefit will be over $9,000,000 per annum.

Since the inauguration of President Cleveland, he has approved or allowed to become laws by limitation, over 1,264 private acts granting pensions, while but 1,524 private pension acts were approved, or allowed to become laws by limitation, during the entire twenty-four years that the republican party was in power. There is little doubt that before the present Congress adjourns he will have approved or allowed to become a law by limitation, nearly or quite *as many private pension acts as all of the Republican presidents from Lincoln to Arthur.*

THE FIGURES.

Number of private pension bills approved and allowed to become laws by limitation by President Grant in 8 years	425
Number of private pension bills approved and allowed to become laws by limitation by President Hayes in 4 years	305
Number of private pension bills approved and allowed to become laws by limitation by President Arthur	736
Number of private pension bills approved and allowed to become laws by limitation by President Cleveland to July 24, '88	1351
Average per year under Grant	60
Average per year under Hayes	75
Average per year under Arthur	184
Average per year under Cleveland	360

The above figures, taken from the official records, show beyond cavil or question that no such liberality to ex-soldiers, their widows, orphans and dependent relatives in the matter of pensions, was ever shown by any administration in the history of the republic, and that no former administration has ever extended the munificence of the government to so many of the beneficiaries of the pension laws as has the administration of President Cleveland.

FAVORING FOREIGN PENSIONERS.

President Cleveland discovered that under all previous administrations the consular officers of the government abroad had charged our pensioners now residing abroad for verifying their papers. He thereupon issued this order directing that such service should be rendered them free of charge:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 5, 1886.

The consular fee "for authenticating all the vouchers and other papers necessary for drawing a pension," prescribed by the Consular Regulations of 1888 (Fee No. 18), is hereby abolished as an official fee.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

HONORING THE VETERANS.

To the committee having in charge the dedication of the soldiers' monument, New Haven, Conn., June 17, 1887, he wrote as follows:

I sincerely regret that I am now obliged to relinquish the anticipations of joining in these interesting exercises which will serve as a tribute of love and veneration to the patriotism of the sons of Connecticut illustrated in all the wars of our country.

The citizens of a State so rich as yours in honorable traditions, so related to heroic sacrifice, and so full of the sturdiness which a hardy love of liberty teaches, do well to erect to the memory of her fallen heroes monuments which shall constantly remind future generations that all they have and all they enjoy was dearly bought, and that their inheritance of peaceful prosperity is charged with an obligation of honor and affection for those from whom it descended, and with a duty of its preservation by the exercise of patriotic citizenship.

V.

MR. CLEVELAND'S VETOES.

REPUBLICAN APPROVAL OF THE DEPENDENT PENSION BILL VETO GIVEN FREELY AND FRANKLY AT THE TIME IT WAS MADE.

Second only to this generous support and liberal approval of all worthy measures for the relief and honor of the veteran soldiers' has been the service rendered to them by Mr. Cleveland's denunciation and disapproval of the measures by which the undeserving sought to share their honors and gratuities.

In his annual message of 1886 the President said:

Every patriotic heart responds to a tender consideration for those who, having served their country long and well, are reduced to destitution and dependence, not as an incident of their service, but with advancing age or through sickness or misfortune. We are all tempted by the contemplation of such a condition to supply relief, and are often impatient of the limitations of public duty. Yielding to no one in the desire to indulge this feeling of consideration, I cannot rid myself of the conviction that if these ex-soldiers are to be relieved, they and their cause are entitled to the benefit of an enactment, under which relief may be claimed as a right, and that such relief should be granted under the sanction of law, not in evasion of it; nor should such worthy objects of care, all equally entitled, be remitted to the unequal operation of sympathy, or the tender mercies of social and political influence with their unjust discriminations.

For reasons recognized by nearly all the discriminating citizens and organs of public opinion throughout the country as sufficient and unanswerable, the President, February 11, 1887, vetoed what was known as the Dependent Pension Bill, the first general bill sanctioned by the Congress since the close of the late civil war, permitting a pension to the soldiers and sailors who served in that war upon the ground of service and present disability alone, and *in the entire absence of any injuries received by the casualties or incidents of such service.*

Among the reasons he gave for his veto were these:

Hitherto such relief has been granted to surviving soldiers few in number, venerable in age, after a long lapse of time since their military service, and as a parting benefaction tendered by a grateful people.

I cannot believe that the vast peaceful army of Union soldiers, who having contentedly resumed their places in the ordinary avocations of life, cherish as sacred the memory of patriotic service, or who, having been disabled by the casualties of war, justly regard the present pension-roll, on which appear their names, as a roll of honor, desire at this time and in the present exigency, to be confounded with those who, through such a bill as this, are willing to be objects of simple charity and to gain a place upon the pension-roll through alleged dependence.

Recent personal observation and experience constrain me to refer to another result which will inevitably follow the passage of this bill. It is sad, but nevertheless true, that already in the matter of procuring pensions there exists a widespread disregard of truth and good faith, stimulated by those who, as agents, undertake to establish claims for pensions, heedlessly entered upon by the expectant beneficiary, and encouraged or at least not condemned by those unwilling to obstruct a neighbor's plans.

In the execution of this proposed law under any interpretation, a wide field of inquiry would be opened for the establishment of facts largely within the knowledge of the claimants alone; and there can be no doubt that the race after the pensions offered by this bill, would not only stimulate weakness and pretended incapacity for labor, but put a further premium on dishonesty and mendacity.

REPUBLICAN TESTIMONY IN HIS FAVOR.

While a few unthinking people recklessly assailed this veto and some malignant partisans seized upon as a pretext to attack the president's motives, the great body of sensible citizens heartily approved it, and some of the leading members of the opposition proclaimed their entire sympathy with Mr. Cleveland's position.

Hon. M. S. Quay, then Senator-elect from Pennsylvania and now *chairman of the Republican National Committee*, conducting the Harrison campaign, said:

"I haven't a vote in the Senate this session. But he has the right idea about that bill. At least he speaks the sentiments of every real soldier I have heard express an opinion on the subject. **The men who did the actual fighting and have some pride in their record as soldiers don't want to be pauperized.** There is not a man in my Grand Army Post in favor of it. I don't think any considerable number of Grand Army posts can be got to support the movement to pass the bill over the President's veto. **That veto message is the best thing President Cleveland has put his hand to, and if I were in the Senate I would vote to sustain him.**"

General Sherman wrote to the G. A. R., St. Louis, June 12, 1887:

"Honest men differ widely on this question of pensions to our old and feeble comrades. We all want to do what is right, but differ as to the means. All we know is that afte twenty-odd years after the civil war the Government of the United States under Republican and Democratic rule pays out to our old soldiers of the Union Army about $60,000,000 per year, and a few thousand to the Mexican war veterans, regardless of locality, and not one cent to the rebels of the South whom we fought in the civil war. We old soldiers of the civil war have not yet just cause to make an issue on the question of pensions to our infirm and wounded comrades."

"The bill was very imperfect," said ex-Congressman Negley, of Pennsylvania, a leading Republican of that State, "and the President, I think, showed mature judgment in writing the veto he did. It was an improper bill."

General H. V. Boynton, the veteran Republican correspondent at Washington, who was a brave soldier during the war, talks in a similar strain:

"To me the bill seems to be a mixture of good and bad, with the bad predominating. The claims of dependent parents do not need argument. There is also a large class of dependent soldiers, many—to the disgrace of the country—in poor-houses; many more dependent on relations, who, however willing, are sorely burdened with their charge. A nation which has been saved by the aid of such men ought not to hesitate to contribute liberally to their support. But the trouble is that while the bill aids these classes, it also opens a wide door for the undeserving, the shirks, and similar classes, with whom good soldiers have nothing in common. The pernicious features of the bill are such as now constantly arise from that view of a pension bill which prompts too many politicians to ask as the first question how a bill can be framed to catch the most votes, either for themselves or their party. With such attempts at legislation the honorable soldiers of the country never had the least sympathy."

VI.

THE REPUBLICAN PRESS ON THE VETO.

WHAT THE PARTY NEWSPAPERS OF HIS OPPONENTS FOUND TO SAY IN PRAISE OF HIS ACTION.

Extracts from leading Republican newspapers of the country about the same time show with equal force how favorably this veto was received:

Undoubtedly the country is with him—*Buffalo Express, Rep.*

The President did well to veto it.—*Wheeling Intelligencer, Rep.*

President Cleveland's veto of the pauper pension bill will be generally approved.—*Philadelphia Bulletin, Rep.*

In vetoing the pauper pension bill the President has performed a brave and worthy act.—*Philadelphia Enquirer, Rep.*

That was a good place for a veto. Public sentiment will sustain this act of the Executive.—*Minneapolis Journal, Rep.*

In common fairness and justice to the President we must heartily commend his action.—*Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph, Rep.*

President Cleveland's reasons for declining to approve the dependent-pension bill are sound and sufficient.—*Worcester (Mass.) Spy, Rep.*

There is a very general disposition to give the President credit for his veto of the dependent-pension bill.—*Norristown (Pa.) Herald, Republican.*

The objection to the bill was that it opened the door for vast abuses. The way these could come to pass is strongly stated by the President.—*Cincinnati Commercial, Rep.*

President Cleveland is entitled to credit and thanks for the manly and sensible stand he has taken, and we are sure the country will applaud and sustain him in it.—*Albany Express, Rep.*

The veto will be generally approved by public sentiment throughout the country. For the position finally taken he deserves credit, and it will be freely extended to him on every hand.—*Troy Times, Rep.*

This is an entirely new departure in the matter of pensions (except where many years have intervened), and one which does not receive the approval of the majority of the veterans of the war or of the public generally.—*Hartford Courant, Rep.*

The country is with him in reprobating the present tendency of Congress to pension extravagance. The President's veto, being sanctioned by the country, will probably operate as a check to this form of extravagance, and prove in consequence a great public service.—*Philadelphia Press, Rep.*

President Cleveland has vetoed the pauper pension bill which a truckling Congress passed. The premises are sound and the conclusions irresistible. Now, what is Congress going to do about it? There will undoubtedly be an effort to pass the bill over the veto, but it does not seem possible that it can succeed.—*From the Rochester Herald, Republican.*

President Cleveland vetoes the so-called dependent-pension bill. The claim agents would fatten anew on the opportunities so flexible a measure would present. Veterans all over the country have spoken out against this measure. There was perceptible nowhere, except among demagogues and claim agents, a demand for it.—*From the Utica Herald, Republican.*

It must be admitted that a bill so broad and generous, even lavish in its provisions as this is, must needs open a wide door to fraud and deception of various degrees of magnitude. Briefly, the bill is open to an indefinite variety of constructions. It was certain to encourage fraud. It would not reach so many of the deserving as of the undeserving.—*From the Newark Daily Advertiser.*

The nearly unanimous voice of the press of the country, reflecting the prevalent opinion, is heeded by the President in his veto of the dependent-pension bill. Congress was not courageous enough to face the claim agents' lobby. Now that it has heard the voice of the nation it will not presume to exercise again the power it seemed to have, and a wholesome check will be put upon such sweeping pension legislation.—*Syracuse Journal Republican.*

The people of the United States owe recognition to the courage of President Cleveland for his action in refusing to sign the dependent-pension bill. All parties desire to honor and treat fairly and liberally those who fought in defense of their country, but this has already been done. When the pension appropriation is equal to two-thirds of the cost of the entire military establishment of Germany, it is certainly time to stop.—*From the Poughkeepsie Eagle, Republican.*

President Cleveland yesterday did what all good citizens, and especially all patriotic ex-soldiers and sailors, expected he would do. This bill is the worst and most extravagant of a number of excessively extravagant pension bills that have been enacted in a spirit of demagogism, and it is little better than an insult to every man who served in the Federal Army or Navy during the civil war for better reasons than those strictly relating to bounty, wages, and opportunities for plunder.—*From the Philadelphia Telegraph, Republican.*

The veto by the President of the dependent-pension bill will be generally approved by public sentiment throughout the country. It was, indeed, the wisest act with which he can be credited during his administration thus far. For the position finally taken he deserves credit, and it will be freely extended to him on every hand. Dissatisfaction will find expression chiefly among the claim agents and attorneys who originated this intended "strike" upon the Treasury, and expected to make large gains by it.—*Troy Times, Republican.*

The dependent-pension bill was passed by both Houses of Congress without very careful scrutiny, and its full bearings were not clearly understood by the country until it was in a fair way of becoming a law. The result of the general study of the measure that has been going on since then is that public sentiment, so far as it is reflected by the press of the country, is almost wholly against it. The objections to the measure raised by Republican and Democratic papers alike are substantially those set forth at length in the President's veto message. The bill was loosely drawn, and in its present form ought not to have received the approval of Congress.—*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, Republican.*

Whatever clamor is raised against President Cleveland for manfully discharging his duty by vetoing hasty and shambling legislation for the purpose of catching a few thousand soldier votes, will not survive a careful reading of the reasons which Mr. Cleveland gives as justifying his negative of the dependent-pension bill.

The President discusses this whole question of pension granting in a dispassionate manner, as one who holds the scales fairly between the old soldier and the general community who must pay the taxes.—*Boston Transcript, Independent Republican.*

The pauper-pension bill was wrong in principle, and would have led to endless abuses in practice. It was not demanded by the soldiers who did the fighting, and who do not ask a penny in charity from the Government. In plain English it was "a levy on the rifle-pits for the benefit of the ambulance brigade," and any veteran knows what that means. It would have increased taxation by about $70,000,000 a year, but this was a secondary consideration not sufficient to condemn the bill had it been just. Pension laws need amending, but this would have been a dangerous departure.—*Cincinnati Times-Star, Republican, edited by a soldier.*

President Cleveland's veto of the dependent-pension bill will be heartily approved by the sober sense of the Republic. It will of course be condemned by those whom it disappoints, and unscrupulous demagogues of the baser sort may try to make party capital out

: thoughtful and intelligent citizens of both parties will rejoice that the President e moral courage to put this check upon a movement which threatened not only pt the Treasury, but to demoralize the public mind, to destroy the spirit of manly nce in thousands of now self-supporting men, and to set the stigma of mendicancy rism upon the honored veterans of the war of the rebellion.—*From the Philadel- American, Republican.*

'resident has done himself credit by vetoing the dependent-pension bill, and will of the esteem of self-respecting veterans than the politicians who advocated for it. The country can pardon a good many minor errors in a chief magistrate ıe courage to perform such an act of duty against clamor, misrepresentation, ken sentiment. There will be no use in trying to make political capital out of ent's veto of the dependent-pensions bill. The country has had such an experi- the arrears-of-pensions bills in the amount of the expense and the injurious ɔn the recipients of the bounty that it distrusts these measures and will approve ıt. The President has done the country a good service, and will get the credit for e and patriotism from all right-thinking citizens irrespective of party.—*Providence rnal, Independent Republican.*

ident Cleveland's message returning the dependent-pension bill to Congress is by ıe ablest state paper the President has written. The document is remarkable, r close, clear analysis, strong reasoning, and unimpeachable conclusions. Since ete exposure the President has made of this loosely drawn and dangerous bill ɔcrat who votes to pass it over the veto will very likely incur a judgment of leath at the hands of his party, and Republicans who yield it demagogic support nuch better reasons than they have yet made public to justify themselves before ɔ.

ıs a courageous act for Mr. Cleveland to face the demagogues in Congress 'eto of a general outdoor-relief pension bill, but he has done it without hesitation, led himself at every point. The bill involves a "tremendous addition" to the f the Government and the imposition on the laboring and tax-paying classes, and he present tax for pensions would make a load heavier than the support of any ırmy in Europe. In point of demagogy, fraud, waste, injustice, and appalling) the people of the United States, this bill transcends anything ever passed in or by the Parliament of any other country. Let every man, whether he has r against the bill, read the veto message carefully before he expresses any opinion htfulness of the Executive negative.—*Chicago Tribune, Republican.*

THE PRESIDENT TO THE GRAND ARMY.

d Army of the Republic Posts in various parts of the country passed ıs, endorsing the veto and thanking the President for his manly, coura- triotic and intelligent stand.

18, 1887, the President wrote a letter acknowledging the receipt of hand- ıgrossed resolutions of General U. S. Grant Post 13, of Wilmington, Del., g his executive action in vetoing the dependent-pension bill. He said:

ɔmetimes happens that official conduct, clearly demanded by an imperative ı of public duty, is made difficult by counter influences and inclinations ow out of sympathy, or by a disposition to follow with ease and comfort 'ent current of popular opinion.

se of our citizens not holding office and those entirely free from the solemn ı of protecting the interests of the people, often fail to realize that their 'vants are to a large extent detained in official action from the indulgence charitable impulse, which in private life is not only harmless but com-

"While this disposition should be regarded as one of the stern incidents of a faithful performance of official duty, and while it should be endowed with the resignation arising from an unfaltering faith in the ultimate justice of the American people, it is, nevertheless, gratifying to review such expressions as are contained in the resolutions now before me."

VII.

THE PRIVATE PENSION VETOES.

THE PRESIDENT'S IMPREGNABEE REASONS FOR DEFEATING SOME UNWORTHY MEASURES REJECTED BY REPUBLICAN COMMISSIONERS.

It has been shown that there have been approved or allowed to become laws by President Cleveland, nearly as many private pension bills in the past three years of his administration as under the entire twenty-four years of his Republican predecessors. It is not to be wondered at that in this flood-tide of legislation, passed with reckless haste by Congress, and without proper examination of the merits in either House, a vast number of unworthy and undeserving objects of the Government's bounty should be poured in upon the President. Instead of recklessly and blindly signing them all, with infinite labor and care, and with anxious zeal to discriminate the good from the bad, he has examined these cases, and with due regard for the meritorious that he approved, he has vetoed the undeserving, which constitute about 14 per cent of the whole number submitted to him. In all of these his motives have been so praiseworthy and his reasons so forcible, that *not a single one of these bills have been passed over his veto.*

The actual number thus disposed of is shown by the following statement:

PENSION BILLS VETOED.

1st Session,	49th	Congress			115
2nd "	"	"			30
1st "	50th	"	to July 26th		54
					199

FAILED FOR WANT OF SIGNATURE.

1st Session,	49th	Congress		46
2nd "	"	"		9
				55

As was said by Mr. McKinney in the speech previously quoted:

Had he desired to show his opposition to pensioning soldiers how much better he could have done it by vetoing the 1,264 and allowing the 199 to pass.

I do not believe there is a single Representative on this floor that believes the President has selected these 199 soldiers and soldiers' widows in order that he might show his opposition or contempt for the Union soldier; nor is there a Representative who would dare risk his reputation before the country on such a statement. The President's only thought has been justice to the worthy soldiers who did honest service for the country and who are justly entitled to recognition from the Government. He has freely expressed himself in his

veto messages as desiring to show every consideration to those who are justly entitled to a pension, but he has refused to approve pensions for those who have utterly failed to show any connection between their present disabilities and their army service. In this he has been just to those who are deserving.

There is not a member here who does not know that if the President had not given more attention to the bills passed by this House and the Senate than the House and the Senate gave them, great injustice would have been done in many cases. Twice during this present Congress has he received bills the second time for his signature. He has vetoed seven bills passed by Congress where the pensioner was already receiving a larger pension granted by the Pension Bureau than the bill passed by Congress called for. He has vetoed bills that were passed for the relief of soldiers, because on examination of the evidence on file in the Department he was convinced that the soldier would receive justice through the Department and be entitled to arrearages which he would lose by the special act. The veto of Senate bill 7540 saved to the beneficiary $5,760. The veto of Senate bill 1067 saved to the beneficiary $1,074. These amounts were paid to them shortly after the veto through the Pension Office.

Another of the same kind has been adjudicated by the Department, and the soldier is now receiving $50 per month. Four bills were vetoed on the ground of desertion and dishonorable discharge; on the same grounds General Grant vetoed nine special acts, all of this nature that came before him. Seventeen special acts were vetoed because the applicants were not in the military service at the time of the incurrence of the disability for which relief was asked. On the same grounds President Grant vetoed two private acts, all that came before him of this character. Ten were vetoed because the claimant is now receiving pension commensurate with the degree of disability found to exist on examination by a competent board of surgeons. President Grant vetoed three private acts for the same cause, all that came before him of this nature.

A few days ago the President vetoed a private act because the applicant had deserted the Union forces on capture by the Confederates, and served nine months in the Confederate army before recapture. This bill was presented by a Republican friend of the soldier, and is the first attempt to pension those who served in the Confederate army. Yet the Republican party calls President Cleveland an enemy of the Union soldiers for his vetoes; but President Grant, though guilty of the same acts, and for the same cause, was a patriot and a friend of the soldier. Consistency, thou art indeed a jewel: but never found in the Republican party.

These statements alone are sufficient to prove to every honest citizen of this country that President Cleveland has shown more true love for the honest soldier by his careful consideration of their rights than has Congress by its ill-considered and ill-advised legislation for those who could not prove their claim. A Senator said a few days ago, in discussing the President's vetoes, that after the House and Senate had investigated a claim and passed upon it, it was preposterous for the President to set up his judgment against it. Now, that Senator knows, and the members of this House know, that in the average pension claim there is never any investigation either by the House or by the Senate; and I do not believe they are thoroughly investigated by the Pension Committee.

It would be impossible for the committee as a body to investigate every claim. Each case is referred to a sub-committee of one, and I think the committee will not deny that they usually accept the report of the sub-committee. *In a single sitting of seventy minutes the Senate has passed one hundred and forty-seven private pension bills.* What consideration did these bills receive by the members of that body when they were passing them at the rate of more than two a minute? *In this House every Friday night we pass from thirty to forty private bills*, and unless the bill calls for a larger sum than is allowed in such cases by law, there is seldom any discussion upon them. Each member present is satisfied to let the others pass if he can get his own bill through.

THE PRESIDENT'S REASONS—SOME CHARACTERISTIC.

In his message returning to Congress the first pension bill disapproved, that of Andrew J. Hill, vetoed for the reason that the pensioner's name was Alfred J. Hill, and that the proposed bill would be inoperative, the President took occasion to say:

The policy of frequently reversing, by special enactment, the decisions of the bureau invested by law with the examination of pension claims, fully equipped for such examination, and which ought not to be suspected of any lack of liberality to our veteran soldiers, is exceedingly questionable. It may well be doubted if a committee of Congress has a better opportunity than such an agency to judge of the merits of these claims. If, however, there is any lack of power in the Pension Bureau for a full investigation it should be supplied; if the system adopted is inadequate to do full justice to claimants, it should be corrected; and if there is a want of sympathy and consideration for the defenders of our Government the bureau should be reorganized.

The disposition to concede the most generous treatment to the disabled, aged, and needy among our veterans ought not to be restrained; and it must be admitted that in some cases justice and equity cannot be done nor the charitable tendencies of the Government in favor of worthy objects of its care indulged under fixed rules. These conditions sometimes justify a resort to special legislation; but I am convinced that the interposition by special enactment in the granting of pensions should be rare and exceptional. In the nature of things if this is lightly done and upon slight occasion, an invitation is offered for the presentation of claims to Congress, which upon their merits could not survive the test of an examination by the Pension Bureau, and whose only hope of success depends upon sympathy, often misdirected, instead of right and justice. The instrumentality organized by law for the determination of pension claims is thus often overruled and discredited, and there is danger that in the end popular prejudice will be created against those who are worthily entitled to the bounty of the Government.

In another case he says:

We have here presented the case of a soldier who did his duty during his Army service, and who was discharged in 1865 without any record of having suffered with rheumatism and without any claim of disability arising from the same; he returned to his place as a citizen, and in peaceful pursuits, with chances certainly not impaired by the circumstance that he had served his country, he appears to have held his place in the race of life for fifteen years or more. Then, like many another, he was subjected to loss of sight, one of the saddest afflictions known to human life.

Thereupon, and after nineteen years had elapsed since his discharge from the Army, a pension is claimed for him, upon a very shadowy allegation ot the incurrence of rheumatism while in the service, coupled with the startling proposition that this rheumatism resulted, just previous to his application, in blindness. Upon medical examination it appeared that his blindness was caused by amaurosis, which is generally accepted as an affection of the optic nerve.

I am satisfied that a fair examination of the facts in this case justifies the statement that the bill under consideration can rest only upon the grounds that aid should be furnished to this ex-soldier because he served in the army, and because he a long time thereafter became blind, disabled and dependent.

The question is whether we are prepared to adopt this principle and establish this precedent.

None of us are entitled to credit for extreme tenderness and consideration towards those who fought their country's battles; these are sentiments common to all good citizens: they lead to the most benevolent care on the part of the Government and deeds of charity and mercy in private life. The blatant and noisy self-assertion of those who, from motives that may well be suspected, declare themselves above all others friends of the soldier, can not discredit nor belittle the calm, steady, and affectionate regard of a grateful nation.

An appropriation has just been passed setting apart $76,000,000 of the public money for distribution as pensions, under laws liberally constructed, with a view of meeting every meritorious case; more than a million of dollars was added to maintain the Pension Bureau, which is charged with the duty of a fair, just and liberal apportionment of this fund.

Legislation has been at the present session of Congress perfected, considerably increasing the rate of pension in certain cases. Appropriations have also been made of large sums for the support of national homes where sick, disabled or needy soldiers are cared for; and within a few days a liberal sum has been appropriated for the enlargement and increased accommodation and convenience of these institutions.

All this is no more than should be done.

But with all this, and with the hundreds of special acts which have been passed, granting pensions in cases where, for my part, I am willing to confess that sympathy rather than judgment has often led to the discovery of a relation between injury or death and military service, I am constrained by a sense of public duty to interpose against establishing a principle and setting a precedent which must result in unregulated, partial, and unjust gifts of public money under the pretext of indemnifying those who suffered in their means of support as an incident of military service.

Again he says:

In speaking of the promiscuous and ill-advised grants of pensions which have lately been presented to me for approval, I have spoken of their "apparent Congressional sanction" in recognition of the fact that a large proportion of these bills have never been submitted to a majority of either branch of Congress, but are the results of nominal sessions held for the express purpose of their consideration and attended by a small minority of the members of the respective Houses of the legislative branch of Government.

Thus, in considering these bills, I have not felt that I was aided by the deliberate judgment of the Congress; and when I have deemed it my duty to disapprove many of the bills presented, I have hardly regarded my action as a dissent from the conclusions of the people's representatives.

I have not been insensible to the suggestions which should influence every citizen, either in private station or official place, to exhibit not only a just but a generous appreciation of the services of our country's defenders. In reviewing the pension legislation presented to me, many bills have been approved upon the theory that every doubt should be resolved in favor of the proposed beneficiary. I have not, however, been able to entirely divest myself of the idea that the public money appropriated for pensions is the soldiers' fund, which should be devoted to the indemnification of those who, in the defense of the Union and in the nation's service, have worthily suffered, and who, in the days of their dependence resulting from such suffering, are entitled to the benefaction of their Government.

This reflection leads to the bestowal of pensions a kind of sacredness which invites the adoption of such principles and regulations as will exclude perversion as well as insure a liberal and generous application of grateful and benevolent designs. Heedlessness and a disregard of the principle which underlies the granting of pensions is unfair to the wounded, crippled soldier who is honored in the just recognition of his Government. Such a man should never find himself side by side on the pension-roll with those who have been tempted to attribute the natural ills to which humanity is heir to service in the army. Every relaxation of principle in the granting of pensions invites applications without merit and encourages those who for gain urge honest men to become dishonest. Thus is the demoralizing lesson taught the people, that as against the public Treasury the most questionable expedients are allowable.

In another case he says:

I cannot spell out any principle upon which the bounty of the Government is bestowed through the instrumentality of the flood of private pension bills that reach me. The theory seems to have been adopted that no man who served in the army can be the subject of death or impaired health except they are chargeable to his service. Medical theories are set at naught and the most startling relation is claimed between alleged incidents of military service and disability or death. Fatal apoplexy is admitted as the result of quite insignificant wounds, heart disease is attributed to chronic diarrhea, consumption to hernia, and suicide is traced to army service in a wonderfully devious and curious way.

Adjudications of the Pension Bureau are overruled in the most peremptory fashion by these special acts of Congress, since nearly all the beneficiaries named in these bills have unsuccessfully applied to that bureau for relief.

This course of special legislation operates very unfairly.

Those with certain influence or friends to push their claims procure pensions, and those who have neither friends nor influence must be content with their fate under general laws. It operates unfairly by increasing in numerous instances the pensions of those already on the rolls, while many other more deserving cases from the lack of fortunate advocacy are obliged to be content with the sum provided by general laws.

The apprehension may well be entertained that the freedom with which these private pension bills are passed furnishes an inducement to fraud and imposition, while it certainly teaches the vicious lesson to our people that the Treasury of the national Government invites the approach of private need.

None of us should be in the least wanting in regard for the veteran soldier, and I will yield to no man in a desire to see those who defended the Government when it needed defenders liberally treated. Unfriendliness to our veterans is a charge easily and sometimes dishonestly made.

I insist that the true soldier is a good citizen, and that he will be satisfied with generous, fair, and equal consideration for those who are worthily entitled to help.

I have considered the pension list of the Republic a roll of honor bearing names inscribed by national gratitude and not by improvident and indiscriminating alms-giving.

I have conceived the prevention of the complete discredit which must ensue from the unreasonable, unfair, and reckless granting of pensions by special acts to be the best service I can render our veterans.

In the discharge of what has seemed to me my duty as related to legislation and in the interest of all the veterans of the Union Army, I have attempted to stem the tide of improvident pension enactments, though I confess to a full share of responsibility for some of these laws that should not have been passed.

I am far from denying that there are cases of merit which cannot be reached except by special enactment; but I do not believe there is a member of either House of Congress who will not admit that this kind of legislation has been carried too far.

My aim has been at all times, in dealing with bills of this character, to give the applicant for a pension the benefit of any doubt that might arise and which balanced the propriety of granting a pension, if there seemed any just foundation for the application; but when it seemed entirely outside of every rule, in its nature or the proof supporting it, I have supposed I only did my duty in interposing an objection.

It seems to me that it would be well if our general pension laws should be revised with a view of meeting every meritorious case that can arise. Our experience and knowledge of any existing deficiencies ought to make the enactment of a complete pension code possible.

In the absence of such a revision and if pensions are to be granted upon equitable grounds and without regard to general laws, the present methods would be greatly improved by the establishment of some tribunal to examine the facts in every case and determine upon the merits of the application.

Other extracts are as follows:

If such speculations and presumptions as this are to be indulged, we shall find ourselves surrounded and hedged in by the rule that all men entering an army were free from disease or the liability to disease before their enlistment, and every infirmity which is visited upon them thereafter is the consequence of army service.

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Before the passage of the bill herewith returned, the Commissioner of Pensions, in ignorance of the action of Congress, allowed his claim under the general law. As this decision of the Pension Bureau entitles the beneficiary named to draw a pension from the date of filing his application, which, under the provisions of the special bill in his favor, would only accrue from the time of its passage, I am unwilling that one found worthy to be placed upon the pension-rolls by the Bureau to which he properly applied should be an actual loser by reason of a special interposition of Congress in his behalf.

* * * * * * * *

I am by no means insensible to that influence which leads the judgment toward the allowance of every claim alleged to be founded upon patriotic service in the nation's cause. And yet I neither believe it to be a duty nor a kindness to the worthy citizens for whose benefit our scheme of pensions was provided, to permit the diversion of the nation's bounty to objects not within its scope and purpose.

It is not a pleasant thing to interfere in such a case. But we are dealing with pensions and not with gratuities.

* * * * * * * * *

I believe her case to be a pitiable one and wish that I could join in her relief. But unfortunately official duty can not always be well done when directed solely by sympathy and charity.

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A disabled man and wife and family in need are objects which appeal to the sympathy and charitable feelings of any decent man, but it seems to me that it by no means follows that those intrusted with the people's business and the expenditure of the people's money are justified in so executing the pension laws as that they shall furnish a means of relief in every case of distress or hardship.

GRANT'S VETOES.

[*From Senator Voorhees's Speech, April 28, 1888*]

But in the very face of these solid and unassailable facts, demonstrating beyond all possible contradiction the magnificent work accomplished for the soldiers by the executive department of the Government under a Democratic administration, torrents of abuse and calumny have been poured upon the head of the Executive himself, charging a personal hostility on his part to those who defended their country in the Union armies. General Grant vetoed that great measure of absolute justice which passed both branches of Congress, equalizing the bounties of soldiers, a measure in which over two hundred thousand veterans were interested, and which equalized the meager bounties they received in the early days of the war with the larger bounties paid near its close. Those who would have been benefited by this bill were the most meritorious followers of the flag. They rallied to it at the opening roar of the guns; they bore the heat and the burden of the day, and they only asked to be made equal in bounty with those who went in at the eleventh hour and in many instances never saw a line of battle.

But the veto which deprived the best veterans of the war of many millions of justly-earned money was delivered by a Republican President, and the leaders of the Republican party became instantly blind to the rank injustice inflicted on its victims and quietly submitted without a word. If, however, in passing upon more than a thousand private acts of Congress granting pensions to individuals who had failed to make sufficient proof in the Pension Office, a Democratic President has here and there found one he could not approve it has been sufficient to invoke storms, blizzards and cyclones of wrath against him from such as prove their friendship for the soldier by clamorous and scandalous abuse of their political opponents.

"THE PRESIDENT WAS RIGHT."

This is what George W. Childs says of the pension vetoes in the Philadelphia *Ledger*, July 13:

There have been but few Presidents of the United States who have so conspicuously displayed so high a degree of moral courage in the discharge of the duties of their office as Mr. Cleveland has done, and in nothing else has he exhibited his elevated sense of responsi-

bility so much as in his vetoes of sundry private pension bills. This, which should have been universally recognized as meritorious, has been by many of his partisan opponents set down against him as an offense. His motives are impugned, his conduct misrepresented, and he is held up to the contumely of all those who have fought their country's battles as one who is indifferent to their valor, unappreciative of their services, opposed to conceding them the reward which is justly theirs.

There is nothing in the vetoes of the President to prove these grave charges; there is nothing in them to give even the color of credibility to them. So far have the President's political opponents pursued their opposition to him in this respect as to contend that his numerous vetoes of these private pension bills is a flagrant abuse of the constitutional exercise of the veto power, and an insult to the legislative department of the Government. That is as false a contention as could be made; the Constitution is mandatory to the effect that "every bill" passed by the House and Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States If he shall approve it, he shall sign it; but if he shall not approve it, he shall return it to the House in which it originated, with his objections, and then the bill shall become law only by a vote of two thirds of each House.

The known facts regarding these private pension bills similarly determine the propriety of the President's vetoes. He does what neither the Senate nor the House does; he devotes time, labor, and thought to the consideration of every separate pension bill presented to him, and according to their merits or defects he approves or disapproves them. In marked contrast with what the President has done in diligently, carefully inquiring into the merits of the bills presented to him for his approval, is the unconsidered, reckless conduct of the Senate in passing them, illustrated by the uncontested statement of Senator Butler, in yesterday's debate, that in a single session of seventy minutes that body had passed 147 private pension bills.

In one of his veto messages last week the President said that the idea of Congress seems to be "that no man who served in the Army can be the subject of death or impaired health, except that they are chargeable to his service. Medical theories are set at naught, and the most startling relation is claimed between alleged incidents of military service and disability or death. Fatal apoplexy is admitted as the result of quite insignificant wounds, heart disease is attributed to chronic diarrhea, and suicide is traced to Army service in a wonderfully devious and circuitous way. * * * This course of special legislation acts very unfairly. Those with certain influence or friends to push their claims procure pensions, and those who have neither friends nor influence must be content with their fate under general laws."

All this is the truth, as case after case has established it, and yet the hue and cry of unscrupulous partisanship has so perverted the good conscience and devotion to duty of the President as to make him seem an enemy of the soldiers and his conduct an offense to them. No one who has read the President's veto messages in which he has stated his objections to those bills which he has disapproved can fail to perceive that he has, in every case, acted in entire good faith with respect to the claims of our soldiers. The pension list, he said, should be made a roll of honor, a record of the great, heroic deeds of brave men, and be not marred by the appearance of the names upon it of those who are unworthy of the distinction and benefits it should confer.

That the President was right, that Congress was wrong in the matter of the overwhelming proportion of the vetoed bills, is proved by the fact that Congress has recognized except in the very rarest instances, the validity of his objections. It was in its power to set aside his vetoes in any case if it were right and he wrong, but in how many cases has it done so? In so exceedingly small a number as to testify to his general wisdom, courage and integrity in connection with these bills.

In this regard it is worth the while of the people to consider that there is something better than partisan supremacy; that fidelity shown in the administration of the Government is much better, and that there can be no partisan necessity so strong as to warrant the condemnation, through misrepresentation, of the Executive for doing that which it is his duty to do. In this private pension business the President has been engaged in correcting the errors of Congress. He has done it at the risk of having his motives misrepresented, his conduct denounced, his patriotism questioned, his popularity impaired; but, conscious of being right, determined to do right, he has gone resolutely on in the faithful discharge of his duty. That is what he should be encouraged to continue to do, and by no others more than by the brave men who fought the battles of their country, and who should now stand shoulder to shoulder with the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in his efforts to make the pension list a roll of honor and every pension certificate a token of valor and patriotism.

VIII.

THE VETOED BILLS.

A DIGEST SHOWING PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S REASONS FOR THE VETO OF THE PRIVATE PENSION BILLS—PRESERVING THE RIGHTS OF ALL PENSIONERS AND MAINTAINING THE HONOR OF THE PENSION-ROLL—NEARLY EVERY VETO SUSTAINED BY THE ACTION OF REPUBLICAN COMMISSIONERS OF PENSIONS.

ANDREW J. HILL.

Vetoed because proposed beneficiary's name is Alfred J. Hill. The bill would be inoperative.

ABIGAIL SMITH.

Vetoed for the reason that the bill would reduce the pension she is receiving under the general law.

LOUIS MELCHER.

After less than three months' service was discharged August 16, 1861, for "lameness caused by previous repeated ulcerations of the legs, extending deeply among the muscles and impairing their powers and action by cicatrices, all existing before enlistment." Claim consequently rejected by Pension Bureau. The cicatrices showed beyond doubt the previous existence of this difficulty, and the term of service was too short to have developed and healed repeated ulcerations in a location previously healthy. (Veto upholds surgeon's certificate made at time of discharge, and upon which the Pension Office based its action.) Commissioner Dudley rejected this claim in 1884.

ELIZABETH S. DE KRAFFT.

Vetoed to save her arrearages to which she is entitled under the general law. The only effect of this bill would be to reduce her pension.

ELIZABETH LUCE.

Husband applied for pension shortly after his discharge, January, 1864, alleging disability from being thrown forward on pommel of his saddle when in service. No record to that effect and no such evidence could be produced. Surgeon's certificate at discharge states disability arose from "organic stricture" existing at time of enlistment. Claim rejected. Twenty years after he died of chronic gastritis. Soldier's death did not result from disability or injury contracted in military service. Claim for pension rejected in 1868 by Commissioner Barrett; August, 1883, by Commissioner Dudley, and January, 1885, by Commissioner Clarke.

CARTER W. TILLER.

Claim filed in Pension Office, 1877, as dependent father, which was rejected. Claimant enjoyed a fair salary as a policeman ever since his son's death. The latter deserted, and ten months thereafter died. This claim was rejected in July, 1879, by Commissioner Bentley.

ELEANOR C. BANGHAM.

In July, 1885, upon special examination, pensioner admitted her husband suffered from epilepsy from early childhood, and that he committed suicide during a despondent mood following an epileptic fit. Pension withdrawn, it being apparent that his epilepsy was not contracted in service.

DAVID W. HAMILTON.

In his application for pension November, 1879, fourteen years after his final discharge from the Army, and just prior to the expiration of time for filing claims for pension arrearages, and after the death of his family physician, he admitted that he suffered from hydrocele as early as 1856. His claim was rejected by the Pension Office on the ground that his alleged disability existed prior to his enlistment. This claim was rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1883.

JAMES C. CHANDLER.

Applied twice for pension. In his first application, 1869, he alleged that in April, 1862, he was run over by a wagon and injured in his ankle. The records show that he was discharged less than two months afterwards for chronic bronchitis. In his second application he alleged he contracted typhoid fever in May, 1862, resulting in "rheumatism and disease of the back in region of kindneys." Yet in January, 1864, he again enlisted, was pronounced sound, and served until mustered out, September, 1865.

JOHN D. HAM..

Claimed that while riding from his home to join a regiment his horse fell on his ankle and injured him; never joined any regiment, but returned home; the next year was drafted, accepted as physically sound, and served out his term. Seventeen years afterwards applied for a pension for injury to his ankle, which was denied after investigation by the Pension Bureau, by Commissioner Dudley, December, 1883.

EDWARD AYERS.

The application to the Pension Bureau rejected on the ground that investigation proved that the injury complained of was sustained when a boy; that there is no record to show that he was injured in the Army. He deserted in May, 1863, and was subsequently arrested and returned to his regiment. This claim was rejected by Commissioner Baker in 1873, and twice by Commissioner Dudley—1882 and 1884.

DUDLEY B. BRANCH.

Alleged hernia from a fall while getting over a fence June 9, 1862, but served more than a year afterward, and in 1863 was transferred to the invalid corps for an entirely different disability. Did not apply for pension until thirteen and a half years after his fall (December, 1875), and his claim was rejected by Pension Bureau for want of satisfactory evidence. No reason why exception should be made and bureau overruled. Claim rejected June, 1883, by Commissioner Dudley.

REBECCA ELDRIDGE.

Husband was pensioned at $2 per month for slight wound which did not incapacitate him for manual labor. Over fifteen years after his discharge, while working about a building, he fell backward from a ladder, fractured his skull, and died same day. For this the bill proposed to pension widow. Vetoed because not pensionable. This claim was rejected by Commissioner Dudley in August, 1882.

MRS. ANNIE C. OWEN.

Husband mustered as second lieutenant December 14, 1861; discharged October 16, 1862, lived nearly fourteen years afterward and never applied for pension. Twenty-one years after his discharge his widow applied; alleged that he received two shell wounds on July 1, 1862, and died in 1876, from neuralgia of the heart some way caused by such wounds. There is no record of the wounds. Widow's claim was rejected by Pension Office; death not result of army service. Claim was filed in 1883 and rejected by Commissioner Black in 1886.

J. D. HAWORTH.

This bill proposes to pension claimant for disability which had its origin in causes existing prior to enlistment, and not the result of Army service. This claim was rejected by Commissioner Bentley in 1880.

M. ROMAHN.

In 1882 claimed pension alleging that in winter of 1862 he incurred varicose veins from standing guard excessively. No record of his disability appears, and evidence of same being insufficient his claim was rejected by the Pension Bureau. He then made application to Congress and added another allegation, that in May, 1865, he was injured in breast and shoulder by a railroad accident while on detail duty. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1884.

SIMMONS W. HARDIN.

In application filed 1866 alleged he was injured by fall from a wagon while in service. Fourteen years later he claimed that he was afflicted with enlargement of lungs and heart from over-exertion at a review. His Army record makes no mention of either of these troubles, but shows that he had at some time dyspepsia and intermittent fever. (Veto upholds rejection by Pension Office.) This claim was rejected in 1868 by Commissioner Barrett, and again in 1884 by Commissioner Dudley.

THOMAS S. HOPKINS.

Enlisted June, 1862, discharged June, 1865. Filed claim November, 1880, and in June, 1881, was granted $50 per month for debility resulting from malarial fever and chronic diarrhea. This bill proposes to waive the limitation law of 1879 so that the beneficiary may claim $9,000 arrearages. It was subsequently altered to meet President's suggestions, and approved.

JOHN HUNTER.

Discharged July 13, 1865, expiration of term. Served twelve months. Fourteen years after discharge he filed claim for pension because of gunshot wound in leg while in skirmish. Though aided by the Bureau, it could not be shown that the injury was due to the service, and there being no record of his alleged wound his claim was rejected. Evidence recited in House Committee report fails to show continuous disability from wound, even if received. This claim was rejected in December, 1884, by Commissioner Clarke.

JOEL D. MONROE.

Enlisted August, 1864, and mustered out with regiment June, 1865. Fifteen years after filed claim alleging tree fell on him, injuring his eyes; and also that he contracted rheumatism in service. Rejected by Pension Office. No record of either disability, nor proof furnished that either originated in service. Claim rejected by Commissioner Black.

FRED. J. LEESE.

Discharged June 4, 1865, after serving nine months. No record of disability. Eighteen years after discharge he filed claim which is still under investigation in Pension Office.

CORNELIA R. SCHENCK.

Husband enlisted August, 1861, mustered out October, 1864. No record of any disability in service; lived eleven years after discharge; never claimed disability, and died of inflammation of the stomach, etc., December, 1875. Ten years later his widow applies for pension and her claim is now under examination in Pension Bureau.

WILLIAM H. BECK.

Enlisted in 1861; re-enlisted as a veteran volunteer in 1864; mustered out April, 1866. Thirteen years after discharge (1879) filed claim in Pension Office, alleging epilepsy incurred in 1863, caused by jar from heavy firing. Six months after the date of alleged injury he re-enlisted upon a medical certificate of perfect soundness, and served more than two years thereafter. No evidence to support bill. This claim was rejected, 1881, by Commissioner Bentley.

MARY J. NOTTAGE.

Husband enlisted 1861; discharged 1862 for "disease of urinary organs," which had troubled him for years. He died of consumption seventeen years after, without having made any claim for pension. In 1880 widow claimed pension, which was rejected. Disease was not contracted in the service.

JAMES E. O'SHEA.

Enlisted 1861; discharged 1864. Claimed pension for saber wound in head received March, 1862, and gunshot wound in leg in autumn of same year. Records are silent as to wounds, but show that in 1864 he was found guilty of desertion and sentenced to forfeit all pay, etc., for time absent.

JOHN S. WILLIAMS.

Alleged his shoulder was dislocated in 1862 while ferrying troops across a river; served afterwards until 1865. No record of such injury. Claim rejected in 1883 by Commissioner Dudley.

HENRY HIPPLE, JR.

Sixteen years after discharge discovered that during his service in Army, August, 1862 to May, 1863, he contracted rheumatism but received no treatment for it while in the Army nor attendance by physician since discharge. Claim filed 1879. No facts shown to entitle him to pension. Rejected in 1882 by Commissioner Dudley.

JOHN W. FARRIS.

After having been allowed pension in 1885 for chronic diarrhea, claimed increase for sore eyes contracted 1884, in consequence of his previous ailment, etc. The bill contemplated pensioning him for disease of the eyes, which the medical referee of Pension Bureau reports "can not be admitted to be a result of chronic diarrhea."

ELIJAH P. HENSLEY.

In 1868 was granted pension dating from 1865, and drew until 1877, when, upon evidence that the injury for which he was pensioned was not received in line of duty, his name was dropped from rolls. Appealed to Secretary of Interior, who sustained action of Pension Bureau.

ROBERT HALSEY.

Seventeen years after close of the war he filed claim in Pension Office, alleging that in 1863 he contracted fever affecting lungs, kidneys and stomach. A board of surgeons in 1882 found disease of kidneys, but no indication of lung or stomach trouble. Three years later medical referee reported no disease of lungs or trouble since filing claim, and that the kidney difficulty had no relation to Army service. Veto sustains rejection by Pension Commissioner Black.

ALFRED DENNY.

Entered service June, 1863, as captain and assistant quartermaster. After remaining in that position less than a year he resigned to accept a civil position. Twenty years afterwards he filed a claim in Pension Office, alleging that in August, 1863, he was thrown forward on the horn of his saddle, rupturing right side and subsequently of left side. The records disclose no evidence of any accident or disability. Claim rejected in 1884 by Commissioner Dudley.

MARILLA PARSONS.

No claim filed in Pension Office. Her stepson enlisted in 1861, and subsequently died of consumption. No facts even are shown that the disease resulted from military service. Step-parents are not under the law entitled to pensions.

JACKSON STEWARD.

This case is pending in Pension Bureau, and no reason why it should not take its course.

ANNA A. PROBERT.

Husband, who was a druggist, died in Memphis of yellow fever in 1878.

SAMUEL MILLER.

In 1880 filed claim in Pension Office, which was rejected. Board of surgeons failed to discover any evidence of disease. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1883.

CLARK BOON.

Filed claim in 1874, alleging lost his health while prisoner at Tyler, Texas. In October, 1874, filed affidavit that he contracted disease of heart and head in the service. In January, 1878, he abandoned allegations as to disease, and asked for pension on account of gunshot wound in ankle. Pension was granted in 1880 on theory of medical board that it was "possible that applicant was entitled to a small rating for weakness of ankle." Not entitled to an increase. This claim was rejected in 1878 by Commissioner Bentley.

HEZEKIAH TILLMAN.

Claim for increase still pending in Pension Bureau.

CHARLES SHULER.

Claim is pending in Pension Bureau and undetermined.

MARIA HUNTER.

Claimant's petition in Pension Bureau is pending undetermined.

JOSEPH TUTTLE.

Claims as dependent father. When soldier was nine years of age, claimant abandoned the boy, who lived among strangers until 1861, when he enlisted and was killed in action in May, 1862. Claimant exhibited such indifference that he was not aware of his son's decease for two years thereafter. He is not entitled to profit by the death of this patriotic boy. Rejected by Commissioner Black in 1886.

ANDREW J. WILSON.

Drafted February, 1865; discharged following September on account of "chronic nephritis and deafness." In 1882 filed claim in Pension Office, alleging that in June, 1865, he contracted rheumatism. As claims were rejected he repeatedly set up other complaints, none of which were sustained by the evidence. Now under examination by Pension Bureau.

MARY S. WOODSON.

Husband was discharged October, 1863, on account of disease of heart. He left home in 1874 and has not since been heard of. Rejected in 1884 by Commissioner Dudley. There is no other evidence.

SARAH HARBAUGH.

Soldier discharged September, 1864. Received wound in ankle May, 1863. Died of heart disease October, 1881. No connection between cause of death and Army service. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1883.

BRUNO SCHULTZ.

Applied for pension several years ago and rejected. Since then the case has been opened and is now awaiting additional evidence. Rejected in 1877 by Commissioner Bentley.

WILLIAM BISHOP.

Was enrolled as a substitute March 25, 1865, when high bounties were paid. Was admitted to hospital April 3, with measles. Returned to duty May 8, and mustered out with a detachment of unassigned men May, 1865. Fifteen years afterwards (1880) filed claim, alleging measles had affected his eyes and spinal column. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1884.

JULIA CONNELLY.

Husband was mustered into service October 26, 1861. He deserted November 14, 1861. Visited his family December 1, and was found drowned near his home December 30, 1861.

LOUISA C. BEEZELEY.

Husband was enrolled as a farrier in September, 1861. Discharged July, 1862, on account of "old age." Thirteen years afterwards he died. He never claimed pension. In 1877 his widow filed claim that he died from disease contracted in service; which was found to be erroneous. Rejected in 1882 by Commissioner Dudley.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

Enlisted September, 1864. Mustered out June, 1865. Fifteen years thereafter filed claim, alleging disease of kidneys and liver from exposure, October, 1864. There is no record of alleged disease and no proof of its contraction in Army. Rejected in 1884 by Commissioner Dudley.

GILES C. HAWLEY.

Enlisted in August and discharged in November, 1861, "on account of deafness." Seventeen years thereafter (1878) he filed a claim in Pension Office, alleging that from exposure and excessive duty his hearing was seriously affected, which was rejected. Since pensioned under the general law.

MARY ANDERSON.

Husband was pensioned on account of chronic diarrhea. In 1883 he was found dead on the railroad track. Pension Office rejected claim because death was not connected with military service.

HARRIET WELCH.

Husband fell from the cars in 1877 and was killed. The widow's claim was, by the Pension Office, rejected on the ground that death did not result from military service. Rejected in 1884 by Commissioner Dudley.

JAMES BUTLER.

On the 11th of September, 1864, while at his home after enlistment, but before his company was organized, he fell into a cellar, fractured his leg, and was discharged. In December, 1864, his claim for pension was rejected by the Pension Office, and again in 1871. The claimant was never mustered into the service of the United States, and his injury was not received in the performance of duty.

JAMES H. DARLING.

Discharged in 1862. Filed claim in Pension Office alleging rheumatism. Rejected on account of not being result of Army service. Medical examination in 1877 and again in 1882 showed that he was not entitled to pension.

SALLIE WEST.

Disease which produced husband's death had not its origin in his military service.

MARTHA M'ILWAIN.

Husband lost a leg in 1862 and was pensioned for disability. In 1883, while under the influence of liquor, he took morphine, from which he died. The death was not due to military service.

ALICE E. TRAVERS.

Husband was discharged June, 1866. He was a druggist, and was in the habit of taking opiates. He died, 1881, from an overdose of morphine. He never applied for a pension. The claim was properly rejected by the Pension Office in 1886.

WILLIAM H. STARR.

Case is pending in Pension Bureau, awaiting additional evidence. It should be concluded there before special legislation is resorted to.

PHILIP ARNER.

Discharged from service in July, 1864. In fall of 1865 he was taken ill, since which time he has been troubled with lung difficulty. Pension Office rejected claim 1868. Absolutely no allegation of any incident of his service related to his sickness.

MARY NORMAN.

Soldier was mustered out June, 1866. Was drowned while trying to cross Roanoke River in 1868. In 1881 the claim was rejected because death was not due to military service. Rejected in 1881 by Commissioner Bentley.

MARY A. VAN ETTEN.

Soldier was drowned near his residence in New York in 1875. The widow presented her claim ten years after husband's death. Rejected in 1885 by Commissioner Black.

JAMES D. COTTON.

This claim is pending in the Pension Office and undetermined as to the dependence of claimant at date of soldier's death.

DAVID T. ELDERKIN.

Enlisted August, 1862; he was dishonorably discharged June 11, 1863, with forfeiture of all bounty, pay, and allowances. In 1882 he filed claim in Pension Office, which was rejected. Rejected by Commissioner Black.

GEORGE W. GUYER.

Filed claim in Pension Office 1878, alleging gunshot wound received in skirmish, 1863. Examining surgeon, 1884, reports that he finds no indication of gunshot wound. Three of his comrades who originally testified in his behalf afterwards denied that the wound was received in service. The evidence tends to show that he cut his knee after his discharge. The Pension Office properly rejected claim.

MARY ANN MILLER.

Her husband enlisted in 1861 and went into camp near Cincinnati. June 3, 1861, he went into the city on a private affair and was killed in an altercation with some unknown person. His death was not connected with military service. Claim rejected in 1879 by Commissioner Van Aernam.

NEWCOMB PARKER.

Vetoed for claimant's benefit, to save him the pension allowed him prior to passage of bill, of which this act would have deprived him if signed.

JOHN S. KIRKPATRICK.

Sixteen years after discharge alleges varicose veins contracted in 1862, yet served until discharged, 1864. No record of any disability.

WILLIAM BOONE.

While celebrating the Fourth of July at his home was injured by discharge of a cannon. Injury not in line of duty.

WILLIAM DERMODY.

Mustered out July 17, 1865. On July 23 was wounded in personal fight, not in line of duty. Rejected in 1881 by Commissioner Bentley.

ABNER MOREHEAD.

Applies, 1879, to be restored to pension-roll, having been dropped therefrom in 1876 because disability for which he was pensioned was shown to have existed prior to enlistment, and testimony taken afterwards by special examiner conclusively established such fact.

JOSEPH ROMISER.

Was not in a State or United States organization at time of injury for which pension was claimed, and not pensionable.

ARETUS F. LOOMIS.

Vetoed to save pensioner four years pension of which the act as passed would have deprived him.

ROXANA V. ROWLEY.

Husband, after little over three months' service tendered his resignation as first lieutenant on account of incompetency. In 1880, fifteen years after discharge, he applied for pension, alleging disease of liver while in service. The physician attending him before enlistment stated that claimant was so afflicted as early as 1854, and regarded as incurable. Soldier died 1881; his widow applied 1882; her claim rejected by Commissioner Dudley because the disease existed prior to enlistment.

MRS. MARGARET A. JACOBY.

Husband disappeared in 1875, and never heard of by her since. In 1885 she applied for pension on ground that he partially lost his mind from deafness and chronic diarrhea in service. His death from such cause has not a particle of proof to rest upon.

ELIZABETH M'KAY.

Never applied to Pension Bureau; but bill is based on her allegation that husband contracted chronic diarrhea in 1863, and died from effects thereof in 1874. He was discharged June, 1864, with loss of all pay and emoluments; had applied in 1870, alleging various disabilities, none of them of the nature of diarrhea. There is no medical testimony to support widow's claim.

JAMES T. IRWIN.

Applied 1876, rejected 1879, his various allegations not well founded. Again applied September, 1884, alleging disease of heart contracted twenty years prior. Allegations not supported by examining surgeons in three different examinations. Rejected in 1879 by Commissioner Bentley.

WILLIAM H. NEVIL.

Pensioner been drawing since 1865 the same amount provided by this bill. Its passage would be valueless to him.

H. L. KYLER.

Drew pension since 1864 for neuralgia and eye disease. Pension stopped 1880 on proof he had been under treatment for those very ailments five years before entering army. Enlisted for one hundred days only. Dropped from rolls in 1882 by Commissioner Dudley.

FANNIE E. EVANS.

Claimed her husband contracted hernia, 1863. He never claimed pension, and died, 1883, of apoplexy. Rejected, 1884, by Commissioner Dudley.

JAMES CARROLL.

Alleged wound while securing recruits for Company B, Third North Carolina Mounted Volunteers. Name not borne on any of those company rolls, and for that reason his claim was rejected by Pension Bureau. A claim to same effect by one Perkins, claiming same service and injury, was allowed in 1873, but pension stopped, 1877, on same ground as Carroll's. Investigation showed that while plundering their neighborhood with a number of men they had collected they were hunted down by home guards and shot at the time they stated. Claim rejected in 1884 by Commissioner Dudley.

EDWARD M. HARRINGTON.

Filed claim in Pension Bureau, 1879. Injuries not related to army service.

LEWIS W. SCANLAND.

Applied for pension 1884, alleging he contracted chronic diarrhea in Black Hawk war of 1832. On examination by board of surgeons, 1884, he did not claim to have diarrhea for a good many years, but claimed to be affected with constipation, except at times when taking medicine for it. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in December, 1884.

ROBERT H. STAPLETON.

Applied in 1883, alleging injury while acting as lieutenant-colonel in 1862. Examination in 1882 showed three left ribs fractured, which, if result of injury received in 1862, must have been then apparent. By law claims of this description must, to be valid, be successfully prosecuted prior to July 4, 1874. Claimant's delay to apply is not explained. His rank does not indicate his ignorance of the law. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1883.

SALLY ANN BRADLEY.

Husband, after long service, was discharged 1865; afterwards pensioned for gunshot wound, and died 1882 from a cause not claimed as from military service.

MARIA CUNNINGHAM.

Husband applied for pension in 1876, alleging shell wound in head. Claim rejected, as no disability appeared from that cause. Died in 1877 from other causes. Claim rejected by Pension Bureau because cause of soldier's death was not shown to have had its origin in military service. Rejected in 1885 by Commissioner Black.

MRS. CATHARINE M'CARTY.

Filed claim 1886 alleging her husband died in service from overdose of colchicum. Evidence indisputably shows that the day previous to soldier's death a comrade asked him to smell and taste some medicine, which he did, became very sick, and died next morning. Death not result of army service. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1882.

MARGARET D. MARCHAND.

Husband entered the navy in 1828, was retired 1870, and died of heart disease 1875. Claim filed in Pension Office 1883 and rejected because no evidence furnished to prove death resulted from naval service. Rejected in 1883 by Commissioner Dudley.

JOHN TAYLOR.

Has received pension since 1865—has been twice increased, once by Pension Office, and again by special act, 1882. The increase here applied for was denied by Pension Office, because he was already receiving pension "commensurate with his disability."

AUGUSTUS FIELD STEVENS.

Discharged October 3, 1861, after servi[illegible] than two months. Rejected by Pension Bureau in 1882, after full examination. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1883.

MARY KARSTETTER.

Husband drew pension since June, 186[illegible] for gunshot wound in left hand, and died August, 1874, of gastritis and congestion of kidneys. Widow applied 1882, alleging soldier died of wound received in battle, and that he was injured while in army by a horse running over him, which is not supported by evidence and has no necessary connection with cause of husband's death. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1884.

DANIEL H. ROSS.

Filed claim in Pension Bureau and died February, 1886. Bill vetoed so as to save the widow's rights.

JENNETTE DOW.

Husband employed in railroading fifteen years after muster-out; died, 1882, of apoplexy. Widow applied 1883, claiming he died of wound received in army. Pension Office rejected claim.

MARY J. HAGEMAN.

Husband, pensioner for wound, died August, 1884, twenty years after discharge, from typho-malarial fever. His widow's application was rejected by Pension Bureau because the disease was not due to military service. Rejected by Commissioner Black in 1885.

WILLIAM H. WEAVER.

Applied twelve years after discharge. After six special examinations by Pension Bureau to ascertain the truth and deal fairly by this claimant, his claim was rejected because disease for which he claimed pension was shown to have existed prior to his enlistment.

RACHEL BARNES.

Husband committed suicide by hanging. It was proposed in this bill to pension beneficiary as widow by reason of soldier's death. His death, however, is not connected with his military service. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1883.

DUNCAN FORBES.

Increase of pension. Has been liberally pensioned from January, 1865, and served three years in Navy since that time without further disability.

GEORGE W. CUTLER.

After several allegations made at different times, each giving different causes, none substantiated as arisen from the service, his pension claim remains as originally rejected in 1865. Veto upholds rejection. Rejected by Commissioner Barrett in 1865.

ANN KINNEY.

Husband was pensioned, 1865, for wound; died 1875. Widow claimed pension, alleging his death was from effects of the wound. He was addicted to periodical sprees, and in one of these, while creating a disturbance, was taken by city marshal and placed in look-up, where he died suddenly an hour afterward. Rejected by Commissioner Bentley in 1878.

SUSAN HAWES.

In 1883 her son attempted to board a moving freight train, made a misstep, and car-wheel passed over his foot. Two physicians called in, deemed amputation necessary, and administered preparatory anæsthetic, but patient died before amputation, two hours after accident. His death is not attributable to his military service. Rejected by Commissioner Black in 1885.

ABRAHAM POINTS.

Discharged June 28, 1865; in 1878 applied for pension on ground of stiffened elbow joints and sore eyes, contracted in service. No such record of these disabilities, but his neighbors and acquaintances of good repute showed conclusively that these disabilities existed prior to his enlistment. Rejected in February, 1885, by Commissioner Clarke.

MRS. AMELIA C. RICHARDSON.

Remarried in 1858. In 1862 her son by former husband enlisted and died in service in 1865. He had not lived with his mother after her remarriage, and there is no competent evidence that he contributed to her support after that event. At the time of his death his step-father was earning $70 per month and owning considerable property, part of which still remains to him. Not dependent.

WILLIAM DICKENS.

Vetoed to benefit claimant, as the bill, if passed, would have deprived him of back pension already granted him from 1864 to date.

BENJAMIN OBEKIAH.

Beneficiary has already been six months on pension-roll for same amount fixed by this bill.

MRS. MARGARET DUNLAP.

Beneficiary is mother of a soldier who was, in 1864, killed by one of his comrades in a personal row. Rejected in 1872 by Commissioner Baker. The injury was not received in line of duty.

WILLIAM LYNCH.

Discharged 1859. Twenty-four years afterwards, April, 1884, claimed pension for rheumatism contracted in 1857-'58 in Utah. Claim still pending in Pension Bureau.

ALEXANDER FALCONER.

Case is provided for by a general law recently approved.

JAMES BAYLOR.

In this case no advantage would accrue to beneficiary under special act, and justice will be done him under general law. Rejected in 1879 by Commissioner Bentley.

MRS. CATHARINE SATTLER.

Soldier was wounded in battle August, 1864, and discharged by amputation of left forearm March, 1865. Subsequently the same year he was married to beneficiary and pensioned; pension increased 1866. October 31, 1867, drew his monthly pay of $50 as United States watchman at New York city; disappeared that day, and on November 13, 1867, his body was found in North river, New York city. Was strong and healthy at time of death. Nearly seventeen years afterward, in 1884, his widow on above facts applied for pension, which was denied November, 1884, as soldier's death was not due to his military service. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley.

FRANKLIN SWEET.

Already on pension rolls for the same amount named in the bill.

ROBERT K. BENNETT.

Soon after enlistment, September, 1862, was detailed to cook shop, and five months thereafter was received into hospital, from which he was discharged from the service three weeks later for "varicocele to which he was subject four years before enlistment." Seventeen years afterward claimed pension for hernia and piles contracted in service. Claim rejected 1883. Medical examination, made 1882, states no evidence or symptoms of disability resulting from Army service. Rejected in 1883 by Commissioner Dudley.

JESSE CAMPBELL.

His claim, rejected 1881, was reopened January, 1887, and he has been pensioned under the general law.

LOREN BURRITT.

Pensioned since 1886, and now draws $72 monthly pension, the highest under general laws. There are over one thousand other pensioners of this class on the rolls worthy of the same special legislation, and all should be treated alike. Unfair to make two rates for same disability.

ABRAHAM P. GRIGGS.

Enlisted August, 1861, entered hospital January, 1863. Discharged the service therefrom November, 1863. His discharge certificate states "worthlessness, obesity, and imbecility, and laziness," "totally unfit for the Invalid Corps, or for any other military duty." Nearly twenty years after his discharge claimed pension for rheumatism. A board of United States examining surgeons report no pensionable disability existing, and that he is able to work. Claim rejected in 1885 by Commissioner Black.

CUDBERT STONE.

Over sixteen years after discharge claimed pension for piles contracted in service. Claim rejected in October, 1884, by Commissioner Dudley, on ground that disability originated while undergoing court-martial sentence, therefore not in line of duty. The committee recommend pension be granted beneficiary "by reason of faithful service to his country," whereas in his thirty-nine months' service with no record of disability, thirty-five months were passed in desertion or imprisonment therefor.

CHARLOTTE O'NEAL.

Husband resigned from service June, 1862. Seven months thereafter he died of disease which, it is admitted, had no relation to Army service.

JOHN REED, SR.

Filed application in Pension Office, 1887, alleging he was dependent upon deceased soldier for support; that his wife died in 1872, and filed an affidavit of a man who alleged he was present at her death. This was in 1883 rejected. This claimant, in 1859, abandoned his wife and family, and never thereafter contributed to their support. The soldier's mother was granted a pension in 1862, and enjoyed it until 1884, when she died. His claim was false, and was supported by false testimony.

JOHN D. FINCHER.

Twenty years after discharge from service (1882) he filed claim for pension, which was rejected, because in 1882 and again in 1885 he was examined by a board of surgeons, who report no disability.

JACOB SMITH.

Vetoed because this bill proposes to reduce the pension of a worthy soldier.

RACHEL ANN PIERPONT.

Vetoed because its approval would reduce the amount she is now receiving.

MARGARET R. JONES.

Is now receiving the highest pension allowed by law in such cases. No reason for an exception in her case.

ANTHONY M'ROBERTSON.

Applied for pension 1874. In November, 1886, the highest rate allowed by general law was granted him, to date from 1863.

WILLIAM H. MORISHER.

The bill proposes to allow him pay and allowances for a period for which the records show he has already been paid.

ANN WRIGHT.

Vetoed because she receives under general laws the same amount here proposed. Rejected in 1882 by Commissioner Dudley.

SARAH HAMILTON.

Husband of claimant deserted May, 1863. June, 1864, arrested as a deserter; returned to duty September, 1864. In 1872 he applied for pension, alleging injury to left leg, causing varicose veins, sustained in February, 1863, which was granted. He died in 1883 of apoplexy, which had no relation to his injury. Rejected in 1883 by Commissioner Dudley.

HANNAH R. LANGDON.

Husband served six months as an assistant surgeon, when he resigned. In 1880 filed application for pension, alleging chronic diarrhea and piles. Granted pension January, 1881, and died following September of consumption. Widow's claim was rejected by Pension Bureau because death was unconnected with disease for which pension had issued or with his military service. Rejected in 1883 by Commissioner Dudley.

BETSY MANSFIELD.

Filed claim in 1882, alleging dependent parent. Evidence disclosed not dependent.

LAURA A. WRIGHT.

Nearly twenty years after the war her husband committed suicide. No result from wound.

H. BROKENSHAW.

Received at draft rendezvous 25th March, 1865, mustered out 30th June, 1865. Eighteen years after (1883) he filed application, alleging that March 25, 1865, he hurt his ribs in a scuffle with recruits, which was rejected—not incurred in line of duty. Rejected in 1886 by Commissioner Black.

HANNA C. DEWITT.

Vetoed because a precise duplicate of this act was passed by present Congress and signed by the President.

MORRIS T. MANTOR.

Filed claim in Pension Office in 1882, and denied because no pensionable disability existed.

WILLIAM P. WITT.

Enlisted in one hundred days' service. No record of disability. Twenty years later filed claim, alleging chronic diarrhea, rheumatism, liver disease and impaired hearing. No evidence to sustain either complaint, excepting deafness, which did not result from Army service. Rejected in 1886 by Commissioner Black.

CHLOE QUIGGLE.

Husband enlisted in February, 1865, mustered out in September, 1865. In 1883 he died of disease not incident to Army service. Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1884.

WILLIAM H. BRIMMER.

Was a wagon-master; discharged May, 1865; no record of any disability: twenty-three years after filed claim for pension, alleging rupture in 1864. Unsupported by sufficient evidence.

WILLIAM SACKMAN, SR.

His discharge states his disability "caused by falling off his horse near Fredericktown, Mo., while intoxicated." "A discharge would benefit the Government as well as himself." The surgeon who made the certificate in reply to Pension Office, says: "I remember the case distinctly; I made the examination in person, and read the statement to the man, and he consented to have the papers forwarded as they read. The application for pension is fraudulent." Rejected by Commissioner Dudley in 1883.

MARY SULLIVAN.

Vetoed because a precise duplicate of this was signed by the President July 1, 1886. Rejected in 1884 by Commissioner Dudley.

EMILY G. MILLS.

Husband a retired naval officer, was accidentally shot and killed, 1873, by a neighbor who was attempting to shoot an owl. Not a pensionable case.

GEORGIA A. STRICKLETT.

Widow's claim is based upon allegation that he was wounded with buckshot by bushwhackers while recruiting in 1863. No record of such wounds. Soldier made no claim for pension. The evidence shows that he was killed by a pistol shot in an altercation with another man. Rejected in 1885 by Commissioner Black.

THEORORA M. PIATT.

Her husband served in the volunteer army as major, and afterwards entered the regular Army and was subsequently placed on the retired list, where he remained until April 1885, when he died by suicide. He was practicing law in Kentucky. Not pensionable.

NANCY F. JENNINGS.

Her husband was discharged June 24, 1862. Never applied for pension. Died, 1877, of apoplexy. Not result of Army service. Rejected in 1886 by Commissioner Black.

SALLY A. RANDALL.

Her first husband enlisted in the war of 1812 and was discharged in 1814. Died April 12, 1831. Never applied for pension. Death not result from military service.

CYRENIUS G. STRYKER.

Filed claim 1879, alleging injury to spine September, 1862. Repeated medical examination failed to reveal any disability, and was rejected accordingly. Rejected by Commissioner Black in 1886.

WILLIAM H. HESTER.

Claims injury to eyes by sand blowing into them in a storm in 1865. It is conceded in the report of the committee to which this bill was referred that the claim was largely supported by perjury and forgery, but that claimant was believed to be innocent. The evidence in the Pension Office clearly establishes the whole case to be fraudulent and sustained wholly by perjury.

ROYAL J. HIAR.

Alleged disease not result of army service. Rejected March, 1885, by Commissioner Clarke.

ELLEN SHEA.

Soldier never claimed pension. No record of any disability. In 1884 lost his life in a snow-slide in Colorado. Not a result of Army service. Rejected January, 1885, by Commissioner Clarke.

FARNAREN BALL.

Soldier died in 1872 from overdose of laudanum. Not entitled to pension. Rejected by Commissioner Black in 1885.

ELIZABETH BURR.

Husband enlisted for and served one hundred days in 1864. Never applied for pension. Died April, 1867, of dropsy. Thirteen years afterward his widow claimed pension on ground that the dropsy was contracted in service. Claim rejected by Pension Office as not sustained by evidence.

CHARLES GLAMANN.

Served to July, 1865. No record of injury or sickness except an attack of remittent fever. Fifteen years later claimed pension, alleging he was accidentally struck and injured in left arm with a half brick by a comrade, doubtless result of personal altercation.

MARY F. HARKINS.

Husband pensioned for wound in right foot; died seventeen years after his discharge "from rupture of the heart." Widow's claim for pension, on ground that death was the result of the wound in foot, was properly rejected by the Pension Bureau on ground that the death cause was not the result of the wound. Rejected in 1884 by Commissioner Dudley.

ELLEN SEXTON.

Her husband, discharged 1864 for disability arising from vicious indulgence, died in 1875 of consumption. The cause of his death is not due to the Government service.

DOLLY BLAZER.

Husband mustered out June, 1865; never applied for pension, and died thirteen years afterward of yellow fever. Disapproved for reason that his death was not due to his military service. Rejected in 1886 by Commissioner Black.

ELIJAH MARTIN.

Vetoed because the proposed beneficiary is dead.

VIRTUE SMITH.

Husband was pensioned in 1867 for wound. Pension twice increased. Held Government clerkship sixteen years, and died in 1880, aged 64, of consumption. Up to 1877 was in excellent physical condition. His death was not related to his military service.

LIEUT. JAMES G. W. HARDY.

While traveling in recruiting service, 1864, placed his arm outside railroad car window, when it was struck by something outside, and one of the bones broken. Had no right of action against railroad company. His fracture was not properly adjusted for ten months, during which time he remained in service. Pension Office rejected his claim. His injury was evidently the result of his carelessness.

MARY MINOR HOXEY.

Husband was pensioned, 1871, for wounds, and in 1879 was allowed arrearages from time of his discharge. He died December, 1881, of consumption, while drawing pension of $17 per month. In 1884 his widow was allowed pension at same rate (also for two minor children, now attained the age of sixteen years), and still receives it, the same as allowed to all widows of her class. The bill proposed an increase of her pension, which would be unjust to other claimants equally meritorious.

JOHN A. TURLEY.

Interfered in altercation on steamboat, under charge of an officer, and falling struck his head fatally. The bill proposed to pension his widow therefor. His death, however, was not the result of his military service.

MARY ANN DOUGHERTY.

Her widow's pension, secured in 1878, through fraudulent testimony and much false swearing on her part, and stopped upon discovering her husband was alive and himself drawing a pension. The bill in this case now proposes to grant her pension for injury she alleged to have received while making cartridges in United States arsenal. Records show no such woman was ever employed there.

POLLY H. SMITH.

Husband, in 1870, after sixteen years' service, was placed on retired list as officer on account of incapacity arising from fistula, developed in 1868. Fifteen years after his retirement, while attempting to raise a trunk to his shoulder, he suddenly died of heart disease. It is not seen how cause of his death can be connected with his service or incapacity therefrom.

JOEL B. MORTON.

Claimed pension for death of his son, Calvin Morton, in Custer massacre, 1876. The casualty records of the massacre, though very complete, contain no mention of such a soldier. Pension Bureau now searching for proof of son's service, which, if obtained, will secure claimant justice under general law. War Department records show Morton was alive and drawing pay two years after his death as claimed by this bill.

JULIA WELCH.

Her widow's pension claim having been rejected by Pension Bureau because soldier died from disease which bore no relation to any complaint contracted by him in Army, the veto upholds such rejection as correct. Rejected in 1886 by Commissioner Black.

MARY ANN LANG.

Husband was pensioned for wound in nose and died February, 1881, of dropsy. Widow's claim, filed 1884, was rejected on ground that soldier's fatal disease was not the result of his military service. Reputable medical evidence shows that soldier died of liver trouble from long and excessive drinking of beer and liquor; drinking harder towards the last of his life, though warned by his family physician. The medical referee of Pension Bureau, to whom appeal was taken for reversal of rejection by Pension Bureau, sustained the rejection. Rejected in 1886 by Commissioner Black.

NATHANIEL D. CHASE.

His claim in Pension Office begun June, 1864, renewed 1870, reopened 1880, and now pending, awaits further information and evidence to substantiate it. The Pension Bureau is competent to judge of his pensionability. Rejected in 1864 by Commissioner Barrett, and in 1882 by Commissioner Dudley.

HARRIET E. COOPER.

Her husband, a major, resigned 1863, on account of business affairs. Was afterward pensioned for rheumatism, and died twenty years afterward from chronic alcoholism, according to his attending physician's testimony, upon which rejection of her claim by Pension Office was based. The veto sustains action of Pension Office, which the bill endeavors to set aside.

WILLIAM M. CAMPBELL, JR.

Enlisted August 5, 1862, mustered out July 16, 1865, was a deserter for one year and seven months, and arrested and court-martialed. He alleges that in February, 1863, he contracted mumps from impure virus in vaccination. As he was not in United States service at that time, proposed bill "seems neither to have law nor meritorious equity to support it." Rejected in 1880 by Commissioner Bentley.

VAN BUREN BROWN.

Eighteen years after discharge claimed pension, alleging various disabilities. His case, full of uncertainty and contradiction, was very thoroughly examined by Pension Bureau, rejected, subsequently reopened, re-examined, and again rejected. Three medical examinations failed to disclose any pensionable disability. Rejected by Commissioner Black in 1885 and 1887.

SARAH E. M'CALEB.

Her husband was discharged June, 1865. Died 1878 by suicide. No ground for pension shown. Rejected in 1883 by Commissioner Dudley.

DAVID A. SERVIS.

Alleges comrade put powder in his pipe, which exploded and injured his eyes; no record thereof or of any disability, although served two and a half years thereafter, when regiment was mustered out June, 1865. Never made claim until twenty-two years later.

ANNA MERTZ.

Her husband, who served as captain, resigned June, 1863. December 1, 1884, more than twenty years after his discharge, died from an overdose of morphine self-administerd.

JOHANNA LOEWINGER.

Husband pensioned for chronic diarrhea, died July, 1878. A coroner's inquest found verdict of suicide by cutting his throat with a razor. His death was not caused by his military service.

STEPHEN SCHIEDEL.

Served from October, 1861, to October, 1864, without record of injury or disability. Sixteen years after discharge claimed pension, alleging injury to back and shoulder in June, 1862. Medical examinations disclosed injury to hand and arm and some rheumatic trouble, all incurred since discharge, but do not sustain the injury for which he claimed pension. Death not result of military service.

ELISHA GRISWOLD.

Was discharged February, 1866. Filed claim 1880, alleging that while in prison in January, 1866, he fell from a swing and hurt his head and shoulder. No record of injury. Not result of army service. After this claim was rejected, in March, 1888, he filed another, alleging diarrhea and malarial poisoning.

CHARLES GLAMANN.

Served from September, 1864, to July, 1865; was injured in left arm by a brick thrown by a comrade in a personal altercation.

BRIDGET FOLEY.

Husband enlisted in August, 1862, and was discharged when he reached Washington for rheumatism contracted before he enlisted. He never applied for a pension, but died in 1873 of consumption. Cause of death had no relation to army service.

TOBIAS BANEY.

Enlisted February, 1865, and was discharged in January, 1866. Claim for disability from palpitation of the heart. This case has been repeatedly examined by the Pension Bureau since 1878 and always rejected as unworthy. No reason why that Bureau's conclusion should not stand in this case as in others.

AMANDA F. DECK.

Husband was pensioned for a wound received in shoulder in an Indian fight in 1864. He was killed in 1883 in a personal difficulty not connected with his Army service.

THOMAS SHANNON.

Soldier in regular Army. While on leave at Rio Grande, Texas, in 1872, was injured by an explosion of powder at a 4th of July celebration. Rejected by Commissioner Baker.

THERESA HERBST.

Husband was in the Union Army and captured by the Confederates at Gettysburgh. He then joined the rebel army and fought in its ranks for ten months, when he was taken prisoner by the Union forces. He died of heart disease in 1868. The President says:

"I will take no part in putting a name upon our pension-roll which represents a Union soldier found fighting against the cause he swore he would uphold; it would have been a sad condition of affairs if every captured Union soldier had deemed himself justified in fighting against his Government rather than to undergo the privations of capture."

JOHN F. BALLIER.

Claimant is now drawing under general law the full amount fixed by this bill.

WOODFORD M. HOUCHIN.

Disability is no wise attributable to Army service. The claim has been thoroughly examined and rejected by Commissioners Bentley, Dudley and Black.

MARY FITZMORRIS.

The claimant is now receiving under general law the precise sum named in this bill.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

A REMARKABLE SHOWING OF INCREASED AND MORE EFFICIENT SERVICE AT LOWER COST.

The Railway Mail, the Star Route and the Steamboat Branches all Show Increased Efficiency and Extraordinary Expansion—Decline in the Number of Depredations and Defaulters Among Postmasters and Other Postal Employes.

The impulse from sound business methods and honest administration of public affairs inculcated and enforced by the President in every branch of the Governmental service, is demonstrated in every part of the great postal establishment. Perfunctory processes, chronic evils, favoritism in contracts, indifference to peculation and fraud have given way to inspection, reform in method, and rigorous enforcement of law.

While the service has been extended far beyond precedent in the history of the Department for any similar period of time, and indeed for any period of double the time, the revenues have in like proportion increased, and the proportionate cost has in like manner decreased.

Expedition and accuracy have reached a degree of progress never before attained. The standard of competency of all employes is higher than ever before, and the complaints of the service are fewer than ever before. Just complaints receive more efficient attention than ever before, and depredations and frauds are fewer in number than ever known.

The truth of all these averments needs no other demonstration than the record herewith submitted.

I.

INCREASE OF EFFICIENCY AT REDUCED COMPARATIVE COST.

A SHOWING OF CAREFUL, PRUDENT AND STILL PROGRESSIVE MANAGEMENT IN EVERY BRANCH OF THE POSTAL SERVICE.

With all the enormous extension of the Railway Mail Service, with an increase of the number of postoffices of nearly eight thousand, with the money order business reaching the sum of nearly $150,000,000, with the introduction of the parcel post system (initiated by this administration) with foreign countries, with the cost of foreign mail service doubled, with the free delivery offices more than doubled, with the additional cost of the new special delivery service, with a practical renewal of equipment throughout the service, and finally with an added expenditure of over five millions, besides the proper use of moneys before wasted by improper management and fraud, the Department shows a deficiency of but little over two millions at the close of the fiscal year 1888, as compared with a deficiency of upwards of seven millions for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1885.

This has been done, too, under a policy which has been steadily followed, to afford, within the limits of the appropriations, the best service that money could procure, and to extend that service wherever needed. What proper methods have done may be seen from the following tables:

TABLE A.

Statement showing the receipts and expenditures of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, compared with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885.

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURES.			
	Gross Postal receipts for year ending June 30, 1885.—See page 870 of report of the Postmaster General.	INCREASE.			Expenditure on account of the year ending June 30, 1885. See page 870, report of the Postmaster General.	INCREASE.	
Gross Postal receipts for year ending June 30, 1888.		AMOUNT.	PER CENT.	Expenditure for the year ending June 30, 1888.		AMOUNT.	PER CENT.
$53,233,579.13	$42,560,843.83	$10,672,735.30	25.0	$55,250,000.00	$49,782,619.09	$5,087,380.91	10.9

Cost for every dollar of receipts, 1888.....$1.03
Cost for every dollar of receipts, 1885..... 1.17

Number of warrants and drafts drawn in 1888.....99,957
Number of warrants and drafts drawn in 1885.....80,054

Increase.....19,903, or 24.8 per cent.

Percentage of receipts to expenditures, 1888, 96.3, or, in other words, the amount of receipts was 93.3 per cent. of the expenditures.
Percentage of receipts to expenditures, 1885, 85.4, or, in other words, the amount of receipts was 85.4 per cent of the expenditures.
In 1888 the expenditures exceeded the receipts 6.7 per cent. In 1885 the expenditures exceeded the receipts 14.6 per cent.
Deficiency to be supplied from the general Treasury, 1888, $2,020,000.00.
Deficiency to be supplied from the general Treasury, 1885, 7,221,775.26.
Number of orders made by the Postmaster General from March 4, 1885, to June 30, 1888, requesting the Auditor to readjust the compensation of postmasters who rendered false returns of business, in order to increase their compensation, 521.
Amount the Auditor was requested to charge back, $246,624.60.
Number of orders made since March 4, 1885, involving the accounts of postmasters for false returns, appointed prior to March 4, 1885, 449, or 87 per cent.
Number of orders made since March 4, 1885, involving the accounts of postmasters for false returns, appointed after March 4, 1888, 72, or 13 per cent.
Amount recovered by the orders involving accounts of postmasters appointed prior to March 4, 1885, $239,074.43, or 97 per cent.
Amount recovered by the orders involving accounts of postmasters appointed after March 4, 1885..... 7,550.17, or 3 per cent.

Statement showing the increase in the issues of postage stamps, stamped envelopes, newspaper wrappers, letter sheets and postal cards, during the year ending June 30, 1887, over the year ending June 30, 1885.

PERIOD.	NUMBER.	VALUE.
Year ending June 30, 1887	2,503,170,139	$46,619,680.65
Year ending June 30, 1885	2,142,678,890	40,460,316.04
	360,491,249	$6,159,364.61
	or 16.8 per cent.	or 15.2 per cent.

Number of pieces of registered matter handled during the year ending June 30, 1887, 12,524,421
Number of pieces of registered matter handled during the year ending June 30, 1885, 11,043,256

1,481,165, or 13.4 per cent.

There has been no increase in the clerical force in the office of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General during the years 1886, 1887 and 1888.

II.

RAILWAY MAIL AND STAR ROUTE SERVICES.

THOUGH EXTENDED BEYOND ALL PRECEDENT, IT HAS BEEN HONESTLY AND FAITHFULLY PERFORMED.

It has been said that there has been a parsimonious curtailment of the service to procure these financial results. Here is the record in the report of the Second Assistant Postmaster General (and accompanying tables), which show the method of reduction, of proportionate cost and the extension of the service.

The following tables, marked "B," "C" and "D," and the statement of the increase of service and the decrease in proportionate expenditures from March 31, 1885, to June 30, 1888, show the work done in the office of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, in which the business of the transportation of the mails is conducted.

SAVINGS IN STAR, STEAMBOAT AND RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION.

An inspection of table " B " shows—

(1) That in the star service from the 31st of March, 1885, to the 30th of June, 1888, while there has been an increase in the number of routes of 1,985, or 15.84 per cent., in the number of miles traveled per annum of 231, 669.29 miles, or 27 per cent., and an increase in the average number of trips per week of 3.79 per cent., showing an increased frequency in the performance of service, there has been a net decrease in the annual rate of expenditure therefor of $473,361.99½, or 8.71 per cent., a decrease in the rate of cost per mile traveled of 8.90 per cent., and a decrease in the rate of cost per mile of length of routes of 5.62 per cent. as the service stood on the above dates respectively. But the actual saving, taking into consideration the service as let in the first contract section, embracing the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia, under advertisement of September 15, 1884, is larger, as explained in note to Table " B," being $712,217.99½ or 13.11 per cent. decrease.

(2) That in the railway mail service, or mail transportation on railroads, during the same period, to wit, from March 31, 1885, to June 30, 1888, while there has been an increase in the number of routes of 336, or 23.99 per cent., an increase in the length of routes of 23,103.32 miles, or 19.15 per cent., there has been an increase in the number of miles traveled per annum of 34,104,603.33 miles, or 23.53 per cent., and an increase in the average number of trips per annum of 2.90 per cent.—showing a greatly increased frequency of service—there has been a decrease in the annual rate of cost per mile traveled of 2.59 per cent., while the rate of cost per mile of length of routes has only been increased 0.22 per cent.

(3) That in the steamboat service from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, while there has been an increase of five in the number of routes, or 4.09 per cent., and an increase of 2.57 per cent. in the average number of trips per week, showing increased frequency in service and a decrease in the number of miles traveled per annum of 12.87 per cent., there has been a decrease in the annual rate of expenditure for this branch of the service of 26.96 per cent., a decrease in the annual rate of cost per

mile of length of routes of 14.05. The decrease in the length of routes and the number of miles traveled above stated is owing to the fact that a great deal of this service was discontinued or curtailed by reason of the extension of railroads and the placing of mail service thereon, giving better and more efficient accommodations.

(4) That in the mail messenger service during the same period, to wit, from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, there has been an increase in the number of routes of 560, or 10.46 per cent., while the annual rate of expenditure for this branch of the service has been decreased $16,478.25, or 1.82 per cent. This mail messenger service is performed by the Department between railroad stations and postoffices situated over eighty rods from railroad stations, and has necessarily been very largely increased in consequence of the rapid and extraordinary extension of the mail service on railroads during the last three years, as shown by the above figures.

SAVING BY DISCONTINUANCE OF PAY ILLEGALLY ALLOWED FOR APARTMENT CAR SERVICE.

In June, 1885, it was discovered that the Department had been paying certain railroads for apartment cars, that is, postal cars less than forty feet in length, in addition to the compensation given them by law for weights of mail carried by them.

An examination of sections 4002, 4003 and 4004, United States Revised Statutes, led the Second Assistant Postmaster-General to the conclusion that such additional allowance for this apartment car service was not warranted by law. This conclusion was sustained by the Assistant Attorney General for the Postoffice Department and by the Attorney-General of the United States, and further payments for this apartment car service were, from the 1st of June, 1885, ordered to be discontinued.

The aggregate amount thus illegally paid from the 1st of July, 1873, when the existing law prescribing the compensation of railroad companies for mail service went into effect, up to the 30th of June, 1885, was $979,959.67. By the discontinuance of this illegal payment there has been effected a reduction in the annual rate of expenditure for railway postal cars of $80,161.73 from July 1, 1885.

READJUSTMENT OF PAY OF CERTAIN LAND GRANT RAILROADS.

The thirteenth section of the act of July 12, 1876, provides "that all railroad companies whose railroad was constructed in whole or in part by a land grant made by Congress on the condition that the mail should be transported over their road at such price as Congress should by law direct, shall receive only eighty per cent. of the compensation authorized by this act." An investigation in the division of Railway Mail Adjustment, office of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, was made early in 1886, to ascertain if any of the railroads subject to the above condition had been omitted from the list of land grant railroads kept in the Department, and this investigation led to the disclosure of the fact that a number of railroads so subject had been omitted in that list, and that these railroads had been paid the full rates allowed by law for the transportation of the mails instead of only eighty per cent. Orders were thereupon made directing deductions from the compensation to the full amounts thus overpaid these roads which covered the entire period from July 1, 1876, or from the time service was established on them

to the close of the fiscal year 1886. The total deductions amounted to $69,674.91 for the above period. In addition to this there was effected, by putting these roads on the list of land grant roads, a reduction in the annual rate of expenditure for railway mail transportation of $12,176.07.

REDUCTION OF EXPENDITURE IN THE STAR AND STEAMBOAT SERVICE.

In February, 1886, contracts were made under a general advertisement issued September 15, 1885, for the performance of star service from July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1890, in the fourth section, embracing the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Oregon, Nevada and California, the Indian Territory, and the Territories of Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, and Washington. These contracts were made at an annual rate of cost which resulted in a saving of $238,175.10 per annum, being a reduction of twelve per cent. on the annual rate of expenditure for the same service in that section during the previous contract term, and this reduction represents a saving in the rate of expenditure for the contract term of four years, from July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1890, of $952,700.40.

In February, 1886, contracts were made under a general advertisement issued September 15, 1886, for the performance of star service from July 1, 1887, to June 30, 1891, in the third section, embracing the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. Under these contracts a saving of $86,507.32 was effected in the annual rate of expenditure for star service in that section over the rate of cost for the same service during the previous contract term, and this reduction represents a saving for the contract period of four years from July 1, 1887, to June 30, 1890, of $346,029.28.

In February, 1888, contracts were made under a general advertisement issued September 15, 1887, for the performance of star and steamboat service in the second section, embracing the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, from the 1st of July, 1888, to the 30th of June, 1892. Although the number of miles traveled per annum was increased in the advertisement for the service in these States by 1,663,596.69 miles over the distance traveled per annum during the preceding contract term in the said States, yet the contracts were made at a saving per annum of $40,834.86 over the previous contract period, and this reduction represents a saving to the Department for service for the above contract period in these States for four years, that is, from July 1, 1888, to June 30, 1892, of $163,299.44.

SAVINGS IN THE MAIL EQUIPMENT DIVISION.

By an inspection of table "C" it will be seen that the same economy has prevailed with equally favorable results in the Mail Equipment Division of this office.

Under the contracts made from July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, for the various articles of mail equipment mentioned in said table, there has been a total net saving to the Department during the period of three years from July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, of $116,052.01 by a reduction in the cost of the articles mentioned therein at the present contract prices over the previous contract prices.

In regard to locks and keys, I have to remark that the existing contracts for furnishing the service with these articles of equipment were made by the Department in 1884 and cover a period of four years, beginning September 1, 1884, and terminating September 1, 1888. As a matter of course there would, therefore, be no reduction in the prices of the articles ordered under these contracts during the above-mentioned period from July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, but the Postmaster-General in availing himself of a provision in these contracts for extending them for another period of four years, beginning September 1, 1888, and terminating September 1, 1892, has accomplished, by an agreement with the contractors for supplying these articles, the following reductions in the prices of mail locks, to wit:

(*a*). Inside street letter-box locks are hereafter to be furnished for eighty cents each, instead of eighty-five cents each, being a reduction of six per cent.

(*b*). General iron locks are hereafter to be furnished at forty-five cents each, instead of fifty-two cents each, being a reduction of thirteen and one-half per cent.

(*c*). The repairing of these general iron locks is to be done at thirty-three cents each, instead of thirty-five cents each, being a reduction of six per cent.

(*d*). An agreement has also been entered into with the same contractors for furnishing the service with street letter-box locks for a term of four years, beginning September 1, 1888, and terminating September 1, 1892. These locks, which cost one dollar and twenty-five cents each, will be furnished for the said contract term for fifty cents each, being a reduction in the cost of this article of mail equipment of sixty per cent.

Recently the Postmaster-General ordered an investigation into the condition of the Repair Shops in the cities of New York and Washington, which resulted in the discovery of the fact that large numbers of leather mail bags, and jute tie, and canvas sacks had been suffered to accumulate in these offices which were not repaired and promptly put in the service. The Repair Shop in Washington was placed under the immediate control of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General. Under the regulations of the Department previously existing it had been under the charge of the Postmaster at the City of Washington. The force in the Repair Shop at Washington was largely increased, and a new foreman was appointed. Orders were issued to the various depositories and shops in other parts of the country to immediately forward to the Washington Shop all this accumulated stock in order to have it repaired and promptly put in the service. It is impossible to state with absolute accuracy the saving which has been, or will be, effected by these changes, but a comparison of the number of requisitions for new bags and sacks since this change has gone into effect, with the number of requisitions for the same articles for the same period of time preceding this change, indicates that the saving to the Department by thus repairing and putting in the service this stock, which had been suffered to accumulate at the Washington and New York Ctiy postoffices, will not be less than $50,000 per annum.

Table "D" is a succinct and condensed statement of the total amount of savings effected by new contracts made for service and for articles of mail equipment at reduced rates, and also by the discontinuance or curtailment of service where the same was unnecessary, and where this service was replaced by other and more efficient means of mail transportation and at a less rate of cost; this total amount is $2,258,089.83.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE RECOGNIZED.

While economy in the administration of this branch of the postal service has been kept steadily in view, the results achieved have not been at the expense of efficiency in the service, or at any sacrifice of the public interests so deeply involved in its proper performance. On the contrary, they have been accompanied by a large extension and expansion of the service, unprecedented at any previous period of its history, and a very great and considerable increase in the frequency of the service, or in the number of trips per week.

It has not been forgotten that the Government, in establishing for itself a monopoly of the mail service, is under an obligation of the highest character to supply every part of the country with ample, prompt, and efficient mail facilities. It can be said with entire accuracy that the service has been kept fully abreast with the rapid and phenomenal growth in railroad construction, with the extraordinary development in all the varied business interests of our widespread country, and with the demands of a constantly increasing population, which have marked the period embraced in the above tables and statement. This duty and policy of the Department to furnish this character of service has received additional emphasis by instructions from the Postmaster-General to the effect that the building, equipment, and operation of new railroad lines or routes in any part of the country should be taken as evidence that mail service was there needed, and it has been promptly put on such routes accordingly on obtaining the written agreement of the railroad companies to assume the service on the terms and conditions prescribed by law and the regulations of the Department.

Statement of *increases* made in number of routes of mail service from March 31, 1885, to June 30, 1886:

Star Routes	1,935
Steamboat Routes	5
Railroad Routes	386
Mail Messenger Routes	560
Total increase in Routes of all kinds	2,886

Being an increase of 14.95 per cent. during the above period.

Statement showing the extent and magnitude of the Mail Service of the United States as it stood on the books of the Postoffice Department June 30, 1888:

	NO. OF ROUTES.	LENGTH OF ROUTES. *Miles.*	NO. OF MILES TRAVELED PER ANNUM.
Railroad service	1,995	143,713.32	185,485,783.33
Steamboat service	127	11,058.49	3,216,085.98
STAR SERVICE:			
Number of routes with service six times a week or over....5,502			
Number of routes with service three times a week....4,285			
Number of routes with service twice a week....3,302			
Number of routes with service once a week....1,057			
	14,146	225,551.94	88,553,707.29
Mail Messenger Service	5,910	4,602.00	10,632,148.00
Special Office Service	2,636	16,709.00	3,476,213.00
Total	24,814	401,634.75	*286,363,887.60

*Or more than 11,000 times the circuit of the globe.

TABLE B.

MAIL TRANSPORTATION—OFFICE OF SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

Statement of Star and Railroad Mail Service from March 31, 1885, to June 30, 1888, and of Steamboat Mail Service from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, showing the number of routes, lengths of routes, annual rate of expenditure, number of miles traveled per annum, rate of cost per mile traveled, rate of cost per mile in length of routes, and average number of trips per week; and of Mail Messenger Service from March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, showing number of routes and annual rate of expenditure, together with a statement of increase and decrease.

STAR SERVICE.	MARCH 31, 1885.	JUNE 30, 1888.	Increase or decrease from March 31, 1885, to June 30, 1888.		Percentage of increase or decrease from March 31,1885, to June 30,1888.	
			INCREASE.	DECREASE.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.
Number of routes	12,211	14,146	1,935	.....	15.84	.....
Length of routes (miles)	233,230	225,551.94	.....	7,678.06	.....	3.29
*Annual rate of expenditure	$5,432,554.00	$ 4,959,192.00¼	.....	$473,361.99¾	.....	8.71
Number of miles traveled per annum	83,322,038	83,553,707.29	231,669.29	.....	0.27	.....
Rate of cost per mile traveled	6.51	5.93	.....	0.58	.....	8.90
Rate of cost per mile of length	$23.29	$21.98	.....	$1.31	.....	5.62
Average number of trips per week	2.23	3.56	0.13		3.79	.....

*The amount of decrease in annual rate of cost of Star Service as shown above is $473,361.99¾. This amount is the difference in the cost of service in operation on the above dates as shown by the books of the department. Contracts had been awarded prior to March 31, 1885, for service, to go into operation on July 1, 1885, which added $238,856 to the annual rate of cost, making the same, for service in operation on March 31, 1885, and as let to go into operation July 1, 1885, $5,671,410. The annual rate of cost for corresponding service on June 30, 1888, was $4,959,192.00¼, showing an actual saving from March 31, 1885, to June 30, 1888, of $712,917.99¾, being 13.11 per cent. decrease.

RAILROAD SERVICE.

Number of routes	1,609	1,995	386	.....	23.99	.....
Length of routes (miles)	120,610	143,713.32	23,103.32	.....	19.15	.....
Annual rate of expenditure	$16,350,322.66	$19,524,959.15	$3,174,636.49	.....	19.41	.....
Number of miles traveled per annum	151,381,180	185,485,783.33	34,104,603.33	.....	22.52	.....
Rate of cost per mile traveled	10.80	10 52	.....	0.28	.....	2.59
Rate of cost per mile of length	$135.56	$135.86	$0.30	.....	0.22	.....
Average number of trips per week	12.06	12.41	0.35	.....	2.90	.....

STEAMBOAT SERVICE.

	March 1, 1885.	March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888.				
Number of routes	122	127	5	.....	4.09	.....
Length of routes (miles)	13,012.90	11,058.49	.....	1,954.41	.....	15.01
Annual rate of expenditure	$601,028.93	$438,942.27	.....	$162,086.66	.....	26.96
Number of miles traveled per annum	3,691,141.00	3,216,035.98	.....	475,105.02	.....	12.87
Rate of cost per mile traveled	16.28	13.64	.....	2.64	.....	16.21
Rate of cost per mile of length	$46.18	$39.69	.....	$6.49	.....	14.05
Average number of trips per week	2.72	2.79	0.07	.....	2.57	.....

MAIL MESSENGER SERVICE.

	March 1, 1885.	March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888.				
Number of routes	5,350	5,910	560	.....	10.46	.....
Annual rate of expenditure	$902,102.53	$885,624.28	.....	$16,478.25	.....	1.82

TABLE "C"—MAIL EQUIPMENT DIVISION.

Statement showing the savings effected in the cost of Mail Equipments for the three fiscal years beginning with July 1st, 1885, and ending June 30th, 1888, by comparison of cost of articles at present contract prices with cost of same at the preceding contract prices:

ARTICLES.	NO. BOUGHT.	COST.		REDUCTION IN COST.	INCREASE IN COST.
		At previous contract price.	At present contract price.		
Leather mail pouches	49,500	$224,410 00	$202,970 00	$21,440 00	.....
Leather horse bags	3,250	17,768 50	15,204 00	2,564 50	.....
Mail catcher pouches	15,500	60,605 00	52,855 00	7,750 00	.....
Through register pouches	3,400	20,785 00	17,801 00	2,984 00	.....
Jute canvas sacks	474,013	298,405 63	218,692 12	79,713 51	.....
Cotton canvas sacks	39,300	34,977 50	30,607 50	4,370 00	.....
Foreign register sacks	1,000	415 00	430 00	.....	$15 00
Label cases	74,000	1,416 00	1,398 20	17 80	.....
Wooden tags	1,206,400	1,587 80	1,584 60	3 20	.....
Cord fasteners	420,000	34,348 00	37,488 00	.....	3,140 00
Mail catchers	1,400	5,002 00	4,548 00	454 00	.....
Brackets	1,400	310 00	400 00	.....	90 00
Totals	.....	$700,030 43	$583,978 42	$119,297 01	$3,245 00

Net saving to the Department, $116,052.01.

TABLE D. — CONDENSED STATEMENT.

Statement showing savings effected in annual rate of expenditure for Postal Service, with total amounts thereof, by orders and new contracts for transportation and mail equipments, from April 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888:

	ANNUAL RATE.	TOTAL AMOUNTS.
Decrease by orders to June 30, 1886:		
Star Service	$300,499 00	
Steamboat Service	107,659 00	
Mail Messenger Service	18,579 00	
Decrease in Star Service by orders from June 30, 1886, to June 30, 1888	238,856 00	
	$665,593 00	$665,593 00
Railroad Service:		
Decrease by dispensing with unnecessary service	$12,950 00	
By deductions from land grant roads	12,139 71	
By discontinuing payments for R. P. O. apartment cars	80,161 73	
By dispensing with unnecessary R. P. O. car service	29,114 00	
By deductions from present compensation of railroads (not heretofore treated as land grant roads)	68,905 28	
	$203,271 20	203,271 20
Mail Equipments:		
Decrease for the three fiscal years beginning July 1, 1885, and ending June 30, 1888, as shown by comparison of cost of articles at present contract prices, with cost of same at the preceding contract prices		116,052 01
Reduction in cost of Mail Bags and Mail Sacks by orders for repairs of accumulated stocks in depositories, and by curtailing requisitions for new supplies thereof		50,000 00
Star Service:		
Fourth contract section, term 1886 to 1890. Decrease by new contracts, as compared with cost of same service under contracts superseded	$238,175 10	
Total for contract term		952,700 40
Third contract section, term 1887 to 1891. Decrease by new contracts, as compared with cost of same service under contracts superseded	86,507 32	
Total for contract term		346,029 28
Second contract section, term 1888 to 1892. Decrease by new contracts as compared with cost of same service under contracts superseded	40,824 86	
Total for contract term		163,299 44
Total amount saved		$2,496,945 33

TABLE E.

Comparative Statement of the Railway Mail Service, showing the increase in the number of R. P. O. lines, mileage, &c., for the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1888, over the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1885.

	June 30th, 1888.	June 30th, 1885.	INCREASE.	
			Number.	Per Cent.
Number of Railway Post Office lines in operation	993	858	135	15.73
Whole number of clerks in the service	5,095	4,385	710	16.19
Miles run by railway postal clerks from register to register	141,799	121,329	*20,470	16.87
Number of railway postal cars and departments in use and in reserve	+2,485	2,165	+320	14.78
Number of closed pouch lines upon which no clerks are employed in the distribution of the mail	850	718	132	18.38
Miles of route covered by closed pouch lines	17,179	13,529	3,650	27.00

*Net increase in mileage caused by the establishment of new R. P. O. lines, and extension of old ones.

+Not including the following increases, which have been authorized since the 9th of May last, but which have not gone into operation yet, the necessary cars not having been completed:

6 lines of 40-foot cars for 8 R. P. O. lines, covering 1,993.10 miles of route.

1 line of 60-foot cars for 1 R. P. O. line, covering 136.00 miles of route.

Size of cars increased from 40 feet to 50 feet on one line covering 311.87 miles of route.

Two daily lines of cars increased from 50 to 60 feet on one line, covering 982.26 miles of route.

VI.

EXPEDITION OF MAILS.

GAINS IN TIME OF TRANSMISSION OF MAILS BETWEEN IMPORTANT BUSINESS CENTRES OF THE COUNTRY.

The following table "G" shows the principal gains in expedition of the mails under the present administration. Minor routes have received corresponding attention:

IMPROVEMENTS IN RAILWAY SERVICE SINCE MARCH 4TH, 1885.

Tables showing the expedition in the delivery of the mails at various important cities in the West and Southwest secured by the fast mail between New York, St. Louis and Kansas City.

	Old Schedule.	Fast Mail Schedule.	Gain. Hrs. Mins.
St. Louis	6.15 A. M.	2.45 A. M.	3 20
Jefferson City	1.24 P. M.	6.07 "	7 17
Sedalia	3.45 "	7.49 "	7 56
Independence	7.00 "	9.40 "	9 20
Kansas City	7.30 "	11.00 "	8 30
Leavenworth	9.36 "	12.17 P. M.	9 19
St. Joseph	11.35 "	1.30 "	10 05
Topeka	1.10 A. M.	1.40 "	11 30
Junction City	4.20 "	3.38 "	12 52
Salina	6.32 "	5.10 "	13 22
Denver	7.05 "	7.45 A. M.	23 20
Cheyenne	5.40 P. M.	6.10 P. M.	23 30
Leadville	7.15 A. M.	6.30 "	12 45
Ogden	5.40 P. M.	6.10 "	23 30
Grand Island	4.55 "	3.10 A. M.	13 45
Fremont	12.53 "	10.49 P. M.	14 04
Omaha	10.55 A. M.	8.50 "	14 05
Emporia	3.55 "	4.30 "	11 25
La Junta	10.45 P. M.	6.30 A. M.	16 25
Pueblo	1.10 A. M.	8.25 "	16 45
Albuquerque	3.30 "	4.00 "	23 30
Los Angeles	9.00 P. M.	9.30 P. M.	23 30
San Francisco	10.40 A. M.	11.10 A. M.	23 30
El Paso	4.30 P. M.	5.00 P. M.	23 30
Chihuahua, Mexico	7.25 A. M.	7.55 A. M.	23 30
City of Mexico	8.00 "	8.30 "	23 30
Atchison	10.35 P. M.	1.10 P. M.	9 15
Lawrence	11.55 "	12.44 "	11 25

MEXICO.

The facilities for exchanging mails with Mexico have been greatly improved within the past year by the completion of the Mexican International Railroad between Eagle Pass, Texas (Piedras Negras, Mexico), and Torreon, Mexico. This line was completed about March 1st, and immediately upon official notification of the same a general order was issued directing the dispatch of all foreign closed mails for Mexico City and also the domestic accumulation destined for the interior of Mexico, including Mexico City, to be dispatched via Eagle Pass, Texas. By this change an advance of one full day is secured to all mails from New York and the Northern, Middle and Southeastern States to Mexico City.

TRANS-CONTINENTAL SERVICE—CHICAGO AND PORTLAND, OREGON.

Previous to February of the present year the time between Portland, Oregon, and Chicago, Illinois, by the railway postoffice (East-bound) was five days and three hours. Arrangements were finally completed, however, so that a schedule is at present in operation by which the time between these points has been reduced twenty-four (24) hours. The entire Northwestern section partakes of this improved facility for correspondence, commercial and otherwise, with Chicago and all of the country east of the Mississippi river, and completes a fast-mail service, East and West, between Chicago and Portland.

TRANS CONTINENTAL SERVICE—CHICAGO TO SAN FRANCISCO.

On March 25 of the present year arrangements were completed between the Department and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, increasing the fast mail from Chicago, Ills., to Council Bluffs, Iowa., from six to seven times a week so as to make the fast mail a daily service, instead of daily except Sunday. To fully secure the benefits of this change, arrangements will shortly be completed with the railroads east of Chicago to New York, over which the fast mail railway postoffice is being maintained between these latter points, to have the service performed daily instead of daily except Sunday, as at present, when a *daily* fast mail railway postoffice will be in operation between New York and the Pacific coast.

Pursuant to a new contract between the Department and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, a fast mail East was established between Council Bluffs and Chicago, taking up at the former point the through fast connection from San Francisco. This new service reduces the transit time between San Francisco and Chicago one full day. Until November last there was but one through train between San Francisco and the East, but, the railroad company, finding it practicable, put on a second fast express train East, and it is in connection with this fast express that the new fast mail from Council Bluffs, East, is run.

The change and improvements mentioned in connection with the service via the Union and Central Pacific, and also Northern Pacific railroads, bring the transcontinental service up to a standard as near perfection as it is possible to make with the facilities at command.

After considerable correspondence having passed between the Department and the railroad companies performing service between Chicago and Cincinnati and Louisville, and with a view of improving the facilities between Chicago and Louisville in such a manner as would admit of an early morning dispatch of mails from Louisville for the West and Southwest, satisfactory arrangements have been finally completed.

The new arrangement advanced the Louisville through morning mails nine hours at Montgomery, and nearly twelve hours at New Orleans, making the expedition equal to twenty-four hours. Besides this the Chicago mails partook of a similar gain, and at New Orleans an advance of twelve hours was made in all mails.

THE SERVICE IN NEW ENGLAND.

At the instance of the Department, a change of schedule was made June 3, 1888, by the railroad companies between Boston and New York, decreasing the

transit time from Boston to New York nearly an hour. This is one of the most important changes in recent years for the transmission of the heavy mails from and to New England and New York.

The arrival at Boston and New York at an earlier hour than heretofore insures all connections previously made and makes some additional connections which, under the old schedule, it was impossible to make. The later dispatch from Boston admits of a sure and complete dispatch from that point of mails from all sections of northern New England destined for New York and points in the West, Southwest and South.

In connection with the above it is proper to state that the urgent requests from the New England section of the country for improved mail facilities in the direction of New York appear to have been fully met by the changes above described.

VII.

BRINGING DELINQUENTS TO BOOK.

GAINS IN ENFORCEMENT OF LAW AND GAINS IN HONEST METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION IN EACH YEAR OF DEMOCRATIC POWER.

The following Table (H) is a comparative statement of the work of the Inspectors of the Department upon crime and fraud in and against the service for the years '84, '85, '86, '87 and '88. The statement of amounts recovered from Postoffice employes is instructive, when we consider that the percentage recovered from Postoffice employes appointed under Republican administrations about equals the percentage of money recovered from Postmasters appointed by such administrations, as shown by Table A. The third set of figures on Table H should be studied in the light given by the fact that the prosecutions and recoveries for '85, '86, '87 and '88 are with comparatively rare exceptions cases of Republican employes.

TABLE H.

Summary of work performed by Postoffice Inspectors during the fiscal years 1884, 1886, 1887 and 1888.

	1884.	1886.	1887.	1888.
Arrests caused by Postoffice Inspectors	756	660	773	791
A cases made and referred to Inspectors	4,238	4,281	5,286	4,820
B cases so referred	33,068	37,956	42,096	44,917
C cases so referred	4,870	13,544	18,260	34,250
F cases treated and referred to Inspectors	7,634	7,773	9,362	10,855
Total	50,410	63,554	75,009	94,843
Cases investigated and closed—				
A cases	4,590	6,583	5,080	4,577
B cases	28,930	58,262	42,017	45,678
C cases	5,223	12,345	14,514	31,545
F cases	8,391	7,173	8,774	10,044
Total	47,134	84,363	70 985	91,844
Money recovered from depredators on mails	$18,198 81	$14,522 23	$11,548 13	$12,347 57
Money recovered from Postoffice employes and turned into the United States Treasury	26,927 11	100,991 41	242,403 72	177,525 12
Total amount recovered	$45,125 92	$115,513 64	$253,951 85	$189,872 69
Total amount recovered since March 4, 1885, from Postmasters on false returns‡				604,464 10
Amount appropriated	$200,000 00	$200,000 00	$200,000 00	$300,000 00
Total amount of money expended	187,186 00	194,955 39	197,024 63	291,406 46*
Cases on hand at end of each fiscal year		13,445	18,016	31,014†

*Estimated.

†Of this number (31,014) 6,716 are cases of inspection of Postoffices (not current work), leaving actually 14,398 in the hands of Inspectors for investigation.

‡See Table A as to date of appointment of such Postmasters and gains in honesty of incumbents.

VIII.

DECLINE OF COMPLAINTS.

GAINS ON ACCURACY AND ON THE NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS MADE OF IMPERFECT OR UNSAFE WORKING OF THE SERVICE.

A consideration of table I and comparison of the results for the different years, proves conclusively that the safety of the registered mail has materially and steadily improved for the past three years, and that its present treatment is one of the strongest evidences of reform in the mail service. In proof of this claim, attention is called to the fact that the number of complaints this year has decreased 466, or 8 per cent.; the number of losses has decreased 220, or 20 per cent.; while the number of pieces handled has increased 774,461, or 6¼ per cent.; and the ratio of pieces lost to pieces handled has decreased from 1 in 11,187 to 1 in 15,016—a decided improvement. It is thus shown in every respect that the registered mail is more safely handled, more accurately delivered, in 1888 than in 1887 or any previous years.

Table J presents the depredations and casualties in the ordinary mail and postal property for the past six years. It fully sustains the claim of radically improved mail service more definitely made in table I. Unquestionably the volume of ordinary mail has largely increased, as shown by the increased revenue of the Department from the sale of postage stamps. The total number of pieces of mail handled has doubled since 1883, and the revenue on pieces handled, if at the rate of 1888 (Act reducing postage), would now be upward of $70,000,000 per annum.

CONCERTED PARTISAN ATTACKS ON THE SERVICE.

In February and March there was a general and widespread movement among Republican papers, showing concert of action. to attack the efficiency of the mail service, but the files of the Postoffice Department, which were gone over carefully by the Postmaster-General, to make his report, showed that the number of complaints is now smaller than ever before in comparison with the business transacted, many of those making complaint now having been most conspicuous in the same kind of attack under former administrations.

TABLE I.

Statistics relating to the Domestic Registered mail for the fiscal years ending June 30th, 1884, 1886, 1887 and 1888.

Fiscal Year.	Total number of complaints of loss, rifling, missent, and other depredations or accidents on or to the Domestic Registered mail.	Total No. lost each year.			Total number of letters and packages registered each year.	Total number of letters and packages handled to one piece lost.
		Ascertained by Investigation.	Estimated on unfinished business	Total.		
1884	4,238	516	743	1,259	10,750,155	8,538
1886	4,281	1,042	....	1,042	11,102,607	10,655
1887	5,286	1,065	....	1,065	11,914,792	11,187
1888	4,820	565	280	845	*12,689,253	*15,016

*Estimated on the basis of 6¼ per cent. increase over preceding year, which is probably below the actual increase.

Table showing amount realized from the sale of postage stamps, and the percentage of increase for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1885, 1886, 1887 and 1888.

Years.	Amount of Sales.	Increase over Previous Years.
1885	$40,056,226.60	1.7 per cent
1886	41,447,095.88	3.4 " "
1887	45,670,983.84	10.1 " "
1888	*50,000,000.00	9. " "

*Estimated.

GAINS IN THE FREE DELIVERY SERVICE.

The number of free delivery offices March 1, 1885, was	177
The number of carriers in service March 1, 1885, was	4,848
The number of pieces handled for fiscal year ended June 30, 1885, was	1,744,537,413
The cost of the free delivery service for year ended June 30, 1885, was	$3,985,952 55
The number of free delivery offices July 1, 1888, was	359
The number of carriers in service July 1, 1888, was	6,349
The number of pieces handled for year ended June 30, 1887, was	2,234,564,656
The cost of the service for fiscal year ended June 30, 1887, was	$4,618,692 07

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF POSTOFFICES.

	1883-'84	1887-'88
First class offices at end of fiscal year	81	89
Second class offices at end of fiscal year	404	436
Third class offices at end of fiscal year	1,838	1,970
Fourth class offices at end of fiscal year	47,694	54,888
Total number of offices at end of fiscal year	50,017	57,376
Increase of offices at end of fiscal year 1887-'88 over end of fiscal year 1883-'84		7,359

FURTHER GAINS IN HONESTY.

From July 1, 1884, to June 30, 1885, of total stamps sold	$40,068,288 18
The Government received 71.93 per cent.	
Third and fourth quarters of 1887, or first half of fiscal year 1888, of total stamps sold	$34,150,954 11
The Government received 74.56 per cent.	
Said amount being 2.63 per cent. more than in 1884, which amounts upon sales of that year to	$1,053,795 97
Fourth class offices from July 1, 1884, to June 30, 1885, sold	$9,871,650 91
The Government received 24.41 per cent.	
Fourth class offices during third and fourth quarters of 1887, sold	$5,933,138 83
The Government received 29.50 per cent. or 5.09 per cent. more than in 1884, which upon sales of that year would be a gain to the Government of	$502,467 03

IX.

PARCEL POST CONVENTIONS.

HE PROMPT AND EFFICIENT EXTENSION OF THE PARCEL POST SERVICE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES UNDER THE PRESENT ENTERPRISING MANAGEMENT.

The first Parcel Post Convention between the United States and any foreign ountry was undertaken under Mr. Cleveland's administration, that concluded with amaica, and which went into effect October 1, 1887; and since then Parcel Post onventions have been concluded between the United States and the following oreigh countries, viz.:

With Barbadoes	went into effect	December 1, 1887.
" The Bahamas	" " "	Februbary 1, 1888.
" British Honduras	" " "	March 1, 1838.
" Mexico	" " "	July 1, 1888.

The provisions of these different Parcel Post Conventions are substantially the ame. The Parcel Post rates to all these countries are the same, viz.: 12 cents per ound or fraction of a pound. In addition to this, a charge for interior service and elivery may be collected from the addressee in the country of destination. This harge is 5 cents on each single parcel of whatever weight, and if the weight exceed ne pound, one cent for each four ounces or fraction thereof. The highest possible harge for a parcel weighing eleven pounds sent from the United States to any of he above-mentioned countries by parcel mail will, therefore, be $1.76, of which mount the sender will have to pay $1.32, and the addressee 44 cents. These harges will certainly compare favorably with the charges of foreign express com- anies. The principal advantage of the new system, however, which has made it o exceedingly popular, is that it does away with the former slow and expensive nethod of meeting the custom-house requirements.

Prior to the conclusion of the convention with Mexico (July 1, 1887) it was orbidden to send through the mails exchanged between the United States and any oreign country any article of merchandise having a merchantable value. The ffect of these conventions, herein referred to, has been to remove the restrictions which previously existed on the transmission by mail of this class of matter, and here can be no doubt that it has and will continue to augment the trade relations with those countries without imposing additional burdens on the postal revenue of he United States, as the postage collected on such matter dispatched will more han equal the expenditure.

PROMOTING TRADE WITH MEXICO.

The conclusion of a Parcel Post Convention with Mexico is of special interest, s that country, with its large population and with rapidly developing industries, naturally looks to the United States for extending every possible aid in strengthen- ing the bonds of commercial relations between the two great "Sister Republics," whose interests are the same, and it will be found that new and hitherto almost inaccessible markets have been opened out to American merchants.

Parcel Post Conventions are now pending with all the Central and South American States, and it is hoped that the time is not far distant when the "Three Americas" will be embraced in one grand Parcel Postal Union, which will, in its way, aid this country in fulfilling its eventual mission, viz.: To control the markets of this hemisphere and become the leader in its industrial and commercial progress. Parcel Post Conventions, commencing less than a year ago, have already done more to promote the commercial relations with our neighbor nations than the gifts of money altogether ever voted to ship owners on the pretense of promoting commerce, in the whole history of the Republic.

GAINS IN HONEST SERVICE FOR SALARIES PAID.

Report of Absences of Employes of the Postoffice Department.

Fiscal year ending June 30, 1884.. .....19,818 days.
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1885.....19,046 days.
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1886.....15,119 days.
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1888.....14,264 days.
A saving to the Department of 4,782 days for 1888 as compared with 1885.

Whilst the work of the Department has steadily increased in all divisions, the force has not been increased to meet it, yet the work was never more closely up to date, nor performed more promply than at the present time. This is accomplished by requiring of the clerks their whole service during office hours, and by cutting off unnecessary leaves of absence, usually issued to party workers for Congressional, National, State, and even less important political campaigns.

GAINS IN SAVING IN DEPARTMENT EXPENDITURES.

	Expenditures, 1885.	Expenditures, 1886.	Expenditures, 1887.	Expenditures, 1888.	Decrease of expenditures, 1888, as compared with 1885.
Stationery	$8,913 30	$6,349 00	$7,470 02	$9,086 97	$173 67
Fuel, etc	7,032 07	7,253 94	6,711 95	7,015 38	16 69
Gas	5,331 94	5,333 11	3,996 40	3,654 05	1,687 89
Plumbing	4,692 49	3,634 36	1,792 23	1,167 40	3,525 09
Telegraphing	2,880 93	2,320 79	1,989 46	1,949 42	931 51
Painting	4,662 22	2,407 56	2,859 71	1,956 25	2,705 97
Carpets and Matting	5,376 61	3,570 60	2,496 86	2,301 70	3,074 91
Furniture	6,340 02	1,383 71	2,068 58	1,754 92	4,585 10
Keeping horses, etc	1,064 51	987 97	1,152 80	713 73	350 78
Hardware	1,601 22	534 81	776 23	492 58	1,108 64
Miscellaneous	13,500 00	10,897 93	8,376 76	8,270 06	5,229 94
Rent, Topographers	1,500 00	1,500 00	1,500 00	1,500 00	.....
" M. O. Building	8,000 00	8,000 00	8,000 00	8,000 00	.....
" Auditors	.....	4,125 00	4,500 00	4,500 00	.....
Postal Guide	26,421 69	13,708 00	17,873 42	15,361 98	11,059 71
Sales, etc	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
P. R. Maps	21,064 25	16,990 04	16,631 89	16,718 27	4,345 98
Foreign Postage	.....	448 50	377 50	469 00	.....
Total	$118,381 25	$89,560 36	$88,573 81	$84,911 71	.....

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

THE APPLICATION OF BUSINESS METHODS HAS IMPROVED ITS EFFICIENCY AND REDUCED ITS COST.

The history of the Government Printing Office, under Republican administration, for a long series of years, was a record of inefficiency, mismanagement and flagrant corruption. The facts in connection with the abuses nourished in the office became so well known that it acquired the title of the "Botany Bay" of the Government service. The management of the office was absolutely subservient to the "spoils system," so rigidly enforced by the Republican leaders in and out of Congress.

The politicians literally ran the office, dictating appointments as a direct reward for party service, securing the removal of experienced and competent mechanics because they would not declare their fealty to the Republican party, and enforcing assessments upon the employes in more than one exciting political campaign. The contracts for supplying the office with material, etc., were controlled by a ring of Republican favorites, who regularly received the same at prices so far above the market rates of the material, as to attract the attention of all observant printers throughout the country, and this in spite of the fact that the law actually required the awarding of the contracts to the lowest responsible bidder, upon proper specimens, and that the best manufacturers and dealers in the materials covered by the contracts were constantly among the unsuccessful bidders. Political favorites filled many of the leading positions in the office, drawing the best salaries, while their work was done by more experienced subordinates. The best foremen in the office were repeatedly discharged during political campaigns, for lack of interest in the Republican canvass, and in some instances reinstated, only when the threatened collapse of the management made their return to the office a necessity.

CONTRACTS FOR MATERIAL AND MACHINERY.

The material and machinery supplied the office under Republican Public Printers was in many cases the source of grave public scandal. Exorbitant prices were paid for the lowest grade material, and much of the machinery put in the office was practically unfit for use. In spite of large and constantly increasing appropriations

by Congress, the public printing was neither promptly nor properly done. The amount of delayed work constantly increased, and the departments of the Government suffered the greatest embarrassment in consequence of the long delays in completing urgent work.

The office probably reached its lowest estate in 1881-'82. Its degradation threatened a grave scandal upon President Arthur's administration, and he made an effort to reform it. The appointment of S. P. Rounds as Public Printer in 1883 rescued the office in a measure from the contempt with which it had been regarded, and with lavish appropriations an effort was made to bring up the delayed work. The office was supplied with much new material, and an earnest effort seems to have been made for a time to improve its record.

WHEN THE OFFICE WAS AT ITS BEST ESTATE.

The period from 1882 to 1884 may be said to be the brightest in the record of the Republican management of the office. It was the acme of Republican reform. The office did not escape the control of republican politicians, however, and it was again run for all it was worth as an adjunct to the Republican machine in 1883 and 1884. All pronounced democrats in the mechanical divisions were removed, and their places filled by Republicans. Active politicians were appointed to the head of some of the principal divisions of the office, and were absent from the office for weeks at a time engaged in political work. The old ring of political contractors again got the upper-hand, and the remainder of Mr. Rounds' administration was characterized by a flagrant disregard of economy and of the public interests in the award of contracts and in the general expenditures for material purchased in the open market.

WORK FOR PRIVATE PARTIES.

The growth of illegal "private" work was a grave scandal upon the administration. An immense mass of binding was done in the Government Printing Office for private parties and in direct violation of law. It is needless to say that political and personal influences controlled this private binding. Thousands of elaborately bound volumes of public and private works were issued by the Government bindery as "presents" to personal friends of the favorites of the administration, while illegal requisitions for binding were borrowed for nearly every department of the Government. The office, and the Government departments as well, became demoralized by this execution of private work, and by the suspicious and extravagant influences that so evidently surrounded the management.

Nevertheless, the administration of Public Printer Rounds had been so evidently an improvement upon that of his predecessors, and the growth of the public printing had been so rapid, that, upon the accession of a Democratic administration March 4th, 1885, a change in the admininistration of the Government Printing Office was regarded as of doubtful expediency, and many of the best Democrats at the capital united in recommending to President Cleveland the relention of Mr. Rounds. It was not until September, 1886, that a change was made, and Thos. E. Benedict (then occupying the position of Deputy Comptroller of the State of New York), was appointed as the first Democratic Public Printer since the creation of the office.

WHEN AND HOW REFORM METHODS WERE INAUGURATED.

The new Public Printer, upon assuming his office, at once made a thorough and critical examination of its condition in every branch and division. A force of 2,420 employes was found upon the rolls of the office. This was found to be at least 400 in excess of the actual needs and working facilities of the office. It was also found that the appropriations available for the public printing were entirely inadequate to pay this excessive force, and a discharge of some 500 superfluous and in most cases inexperienced and incompetent employes, followed at an early date. This discharge was based absolutely on the reports of the foremen of divisions, and *the immediate result was an increase in the amount of finished work turned out of the office by the relief in working space and facilities afforded the more experienced mechanics who were retained.*

This discharge was followed by a most thorough and comprehensive scheme for reforming the sanitary, mechanical and economical facilities of the office. The entire building (which was found to be in a decidedly filthy and unsanitary condition) was at once cleaned, whitewashed and painted from top-floor to basement. New doors were cut for the better ingress and egress of the tons of paper, material, and printed matter daily used and issued by the office. Hydraulic elevators were put in for the more rapid movement of work and material to and from the upper floors. Wooden staircases were replaced by iron ones, for the better protection of employes, in case of fire. Every division of the office was overhauled, its machinery rearranged with an eye to the most efficient service, and new and more modern facilities provided. An entirely new and modern electrotype plant was put in, and the obsolete method of letterpress work, then in vogue, at once done away with. New type and facilities were added in the composing divisions, new floor space and machinery to the bindery, and the folding room was relieved of a dangerous accumulation of printed and pressed work.

The methods of every division of the office were thoroughly reorganized in accordance with the systems prevailing in the largest and best modern private printing offices. Economy of material, workmanship and methods was studied in every direction, while the comfort and profit of all employes was sought in more roomy and convenient surroundings, and in the opportunity to secure better wages as the result of less competition and a larger opportunity for the display of skill and industry.

The working force of the office was gradually improved by the discharge of inefficient employes, as the result of a system of competitive examination as to merit, and the engagement of new employes subject to the same tests as to their efficiency as mechanics. All efficient and industrious mechanics of the old administration were retained, except in cases where the reorganization at the office discontinued their positions, as was in some cases necessary.

HOW THE IMPROVED SYSTEM HAS WORKED.

Some of the results of Mr. Benedict's reforms in the Government Printing Office may be briefly stated:

The completion of a large amount of delayed work of from two to eight years' standing. There were 233,765 volumes of such work, printed and gathered and collected, or pressed in signatures, awaiting the bindery in September, 1886. There remained in June, 1888, only 129,841 volumes awaiting binding.

The execution of a largely increased amount of work. This has been rendered necessary in bringing up delayed work and meeting the increased demands of departments. The following comparison of figures for stated periods of 1885-86, and 1887-88, representing equal portions of the years, including the first sessions of the forty-ninth and fiftieth Congress, show a few items:

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF WORK FOR TWO YEARS.

	1885–86.	1887–88.
Letter and note sheets, reams	759½	1,126½
Envelopes	1,950,975	4,928,050
Tokens printed	475,180	513,185
Forms printed	56,752	59,858
Printing and writing paper used, lbs	6,094,785	6,226,360
Ledger papers used, lbs	450,880	545,021
Binder's board used, lbs	647,306	817,873
Book cloth used, pieces	3,490	4,524
Sheep skins, dozen	2,349	3,009

All printing inks have been purchased under this administration at an average cost of 24.85 cents per pound, as against an average cost of 66.14 cents per pound in 1886, and the ink under this administration has been much better in quality at a saving of from $12,000 to $15,000 per year.

Roller composition of a much better quality has been purchased under the present administration at an average cost of 26 cents per pound, as against 45 cents in 1886, and a saving of upwards of 50 per cent. has been made in oil and material generally purchased for the press-room.

The books of the office show that a saving of from 10 to 40 per cent. has been made under this administration in all type and machinery purchased, and that a saving of from 10 to 350 per cent. has been effected in all material purchased in the open market, and better type, machinery and material have been furnished.

ECONOMY WITH WHICH THE WORK HAS BEEN DONE.

The expenditures of the Government Printing Office in 1887, the first year of a Democratic administration, were $388,302.57 less than in 1883, and $162,483.72 less than 1886, the last year of Republican administration, and the amount of work executed in 1887 was greatly in excess of any previous year.

In general, the present management of the Government Printing Office is in full accordance with the reform ideas of President Cleveland's administration. Business methods rule, and partisanship is subservient to honest methods and the highest possible efficiency. The books of the office will now bear the most thorough scrutiny, and in many respects the office is a model for the study of enterprising printers.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

I.

HONEST AND EFFICIENT WORK.

THE APPLICATION OF BUSINESS METHODS TO THE ERECTION OF POSTOFFICES AND COURT HOUSES UNDER EXISTING MANAGEMENT.

Among the many scandalous methods in vogue in the public service during former years few were more serious or more costly than those connected with the contracts for public buildings. Many incompetent men who permitted vicious business methods to rule had occupied the office of Supervising Architect of the Treasury. The government had thereby been subjected to great loss, and the cities which it would be supposed the public buildings would adorn from an architect point of view, were compelled to put up with structures of the most outlandish and forbidding appearance. Even these were not honestly built—many of them being constructed upon a simple basis of collusion, which if the conspiracy laws had been rigidly enforced, would have sent a good many architects, superintendents, contractors and Republican politicians to serve terms in the Albany penitentiary.

The investigations of a Democratic House had exposed these methods pretty thoroughly before the advent of the present administration into Executive control, and the most serious abuses had been corrected. Still incompetent and commonplace architects had been given charge of this most important work, and as a result serious loss in money and much in the character of the public buildings of the country resulted.

THE PROMOTION OF ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY.

Under the new management of the architect's office the purpose has been to so direct the operations as will result in the most economical prosecution of all work under its control, consistent with substantial and satisfactory workmanship, and to attain this end it seemed necessary that the technical work performed in this office should be curtailed; that a greater publicity should be given to the invitation for proposals and thus secure keener competition, and, that wherever practicable, the number of contracts to be awarded should be reduced to as few as possible. In July, 1887, in the case of some buildings twenty to twenty-five contracts existed, thus duplicating drawings, specifications, legal and clerical service, which could have been avoided had a number of the branches of work been concentrated under fewer

contracts. At different buildings throughout the country, twenty-two draftsmen were engaged, being paid on an average of five dollars ($5.00) per day. This expense was discontinued, as soon as it could be done without detriment to the Government interests, and thereafter the work in question was performed in this office, without necessitating any increase in force. This is roundly placed at one hundred dollars ($100) per day, and notwithstanding this change the number of draftsmen now employed is less, by seven, than the number employed in July, 1887.

A saving also amounting to over two hundred dollars ($200) per day was effected, at the close of the building season of 1887, by the retrenchment instituted in the contingent expense at buildings being erected at various points.

That the labor and consequent cost for the preparation of drawings and specifications under previous methods was largely in excess of that under the present system, must be apparent when it is known that for four buildings under the first method three hundred and eighty drawings and fifty-one specifications were prepared, while under the present method for four buildings of nearly corresponding cost only eighty-six drawings and four specifications are required. This comparison has excluded those cases where the drawings were prepared largely in excess of the average here taken, as for instance, for the Baltimore building, where four hundred and four drawings were prepared, and for the Pittsburg building two hundred and seventy-nine.

SHARPER COMPETITION AND QUICKER WORK.

To secure keener competition in submitting proposals, a wider publicity was given to invitations for tenders, and instead of publishing advertisements in a local paper and in one or two building periodicals, as formerly, the office has now the use, free of cost, of the advertising columns of eighteen building papers published in all points of the country, and this is supplemented by paid advertisements in seven other building publications, in the daily papers of some of the large cities, and in the local papers where the work is to be done. In furtherance of this end, also, the Architect's office has secured the co-operation of forty-three building exchanges located in all the principal cities, and as a result where three or four proposals were formerly received the number has increased in one case as high as forty-four.

One very important factor in the cost of public buildings has been the long time expended in prosecuting the work, and this, in many cases, has arisen from the variety of contracts entered into, each contractor being in great measure at the mercy of other contractors; but this has now been reduced to zero by making one contractor responsible for the rapid prosecution of all work and holding him liable for any expense incident to the proper superintendence of the work, subsequent to the date stipulated in the contract as the date for completion.

BUILDINGS NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

During the past year work has been commenced on seventeen buildings; ten buildings have been completed, and there are now twelve buildings in so far advanced a condition as to warrant the statement that they will be completed before the date of the next annual report in September.

The work of the architects for the past three years is shown by the following statement:

1887.	Number of buildings		commenced	7
"	"	"	completed	4
1886.	"	"	commenced	13
"	"	"	completed	6
1885.	"	"	commenced	10
"	"	"	completed	8

As an evidence of the advanced condition of the work in the Architect's office, it may be stated, that plans are now being prepared, as a basis for the invitations for proposals for work, before the expiration of the present session of Congress which authorized the expenditure.

II.

VETO OF PUBLIC BUILDING BILLS.

THE CARE MANIFESTED BY THE PRESIDENT WHEN DEALING WITH NEW COURT HOUSES AND POSTOFFICES IN SMALL PLACES.

For a long time the method of making appropriations for the erection of public buildings has led to many and serious abuses. Representatives from different sections, States or districts would practically club together for the purpose of putting up expensive public buildings in towns and villages where the requirements of the public business were not such as to demand or justify such an expenditure from any conceivable point of view. The appropriation of sums ranging from $50,000 to $100,000 have in some cases been made, and in many more asked, for buildings where the annual rental of offices for the transaction of the public business did not exceed $700 or $900.

THE LOG-ROLLING OF PUBLIC BUILDING BILLS.

By the judicious use of a system of log-rolling, not peculiar to the political institutions of this country, members from every district where the people of some ambitious county-seat town had sighed vainly for a postoffice building would join together in passing the first public building bill, perhaps one of merit, which could secure a favorable report from a committee. Then the promoter of this bill would feel a sense of obligation which could only be discharged by voting for every other bill in the districts of the men who had helped him. In fact, the passage of bills for erecting public buildings has very well illustrated the old ditty of Davy Crocket, in which he represents his neighbor as saying to him:

"Tickle me, Davy, tickle me true,
And in my turn I'll tickle you too."

HOW IT WAS RECOGNIZED BY THE PRESIDENT.

President Cleveland early recognized the bad results of such a policy, and with his usual courage he vetoed a number of the bills passed at the first session of the forty-ninth Congress. He laid down the general principles as a guide in his work that expensive buildings ought not to be erected in small towns where the Government had no business except a postoffice; that appropriations ought not to be made for this purpose where the interest on the money was greatly in excess of the annual rental already paid for good accommodations, and that it was scarcely good policy for the Federal Government to undertake the work of putting up a building to be a decoration to a given town unless the demands of the public business were such as to justify it.

He also found that in many cases bills would be passed fixing a limit, to which it was never intended to adhere, and that as the result the year after the first bill has passed a new one would be enacted into law which increased the limit of cost and thus led the Government to make an investment of a sum of money larger out of all proportion than the demands of the public business could reasonably justify.

Applying this general principle to the actual conditions as shown in the towns affected by the bills sent him by Congress, he had, before the close of the fiscal year 1887–8, vetoed fourteen bills making appropriations for public buildings in various sections of the country, North and South, East and West.

MONEY NOT TO BE SPENT FOR UNNECESSARY ORNAMENT.

In one of the first of these veto messages he said:

So far as I am informed the patrons of the postoffice are fairly well accommodated in a building which is rented by the Government at the rate of eight hundred dollars per annum; and though the postmaster naturally certifies that he and his fourteen employes require much more spacious surroundings, I have no doubt he and they can be induced to continue to serve the Government in its present quarters.

The public buildings now in process of construction, numbering eighty, involving constant supervision, are all the building projects which the Government ought to have on hand at one time, unless a very palpable necessity exists for an increase in the number. The multiplication of these structures involves not only the appropriations made for their completion, but great expense in their care and preservation thereafter.

While a fine Government building is a desirable ornament to any town or city, and while the securing of an appropriation therefor is often considered as an illustration of zeal and activity in the interest of a constituency, I am of the opinion that the expenditure of public money for such a purpose should depend upon the necessity of such a building for public uses.

PAYING TOO DEAR FOR THE WHISTLE.

In another he laid down the rule in the case of an appropriation made for a place in Ohio of no considerable importance:

It is not claimed that the Government has any public department or business which it should quarter at Dayton except its post-office and internal-revenue office. The former is represented as employing ten clerks, sixteen regular and two substitute letter carriers, and two special-delivery employes, who, I suppose, are boys, only occasionally in actual service. I do not understand that the present post-office quarters are either insufficient or inconvenient. By a statement prepared by the present postmaster it appears that they are rented by the Government for a period of ten years from the fifteenth day of October, 1883, at an annual rent of twenty-nine hundred and fifty dollars, which includes the cost of heating the same.

With only these two offices to provide for, I am not satisfied that the expenditure of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for their accommodation, as proposed by this bill, is in accordance with sound business principles, or consistent with that economy in public affairs which has been promised to the people.

LOOKING TEN YEARS INTO THE FUTURE.

Concerning another in Massachusetts he says with a grim humor characteristic of the man:

Congressional action in its favor appears to be based, as usual in such cases, upon representations concerning the population of the town in which it is proposed to erect the building and the increase in such population, the number of railroad trains arriving and departing daily, and various other items calculated to demonstrate the importance of the city selected for Federal decoration. These statements are supplemented by a report from the postmaster, setting forth that his postal receipts are increasing, giving the number of square feet now occupied by his office, the amount of rent paid, and the number of his employes.

This bill, unlike others of its class which seek to provide a place for a number of Federal offices, simply authorizes the construction of a building for the accommodation of the postoffice alone. The report of the postmaster differs also in this case from those which are usually furnished, inasmuch as it is ther in distinctly stated that the space now furnished for his office is sufficient for its present operations. He adds, however, that from present indications there will be a large increase in the business of the office during the next ten years.

It is quite apparent that there is no necessity for the expenditure of one hundred thousand dollars, the amount limited in this bill, or any other sum, for the construction of the proposed building to meet the wants of the Government.

AN ATTACK UPON THE GOOD FAITH OF THE GOVERNMENT.

In another he reveals some of the methods resorted to in the localities to be affected, by saying:

It is not claimed that the Federal business at this point requires other accommodation except for the postoffice located there.

As usual in such cases, the postmaster reports, in reply to inquiries, that his present quarters are inadequate, and, as usual, it appears that the postal business is increasing. The rent paid for the rooms or building in which the postoffice is kept is eleven hundred dollars per annum.

I have been informed since this bill has been in my hands that last spring a building was erected at Lafayette with special reference to its use for the postoffice, and that a part of it was leased by the Government for that purpose for the term of five years. Upon the faith of such lease the premises thus rented were fitted up and furnished by the owner of the building in a manner especially adapted to postal uses, and an account of such fitting up and furnishing is before me, showing the expense of the same to have been more than twenty-five hundred dollars.

In view of such new and recent arrangements made by the Government for the transaction of its postal business at this place, it seems that the proposed expenditure for the erection of a building for that purpose is hardly necessary or justifiable.

ANOTHER CASE OF TOO GREAT COST.

He elaborates the same idea more fully in another case:

The usual statement is made in support of this bill setting forth the growth of the city where it is proposed to locate the building and the amount and variety of the business which is there transacted. And the postmaster in stereotyped phrase represents the desirability of increased accommodation for the transaction of the business under his charge.

But I am thoroughly convinced that there is no present necessity for the expenditure of one hundred thousand dollars for any purpose connected with the public business at this place.

The annual rent now paid for the postoffice is thirteen hundred dollars. The interest, at three per cent., upon the amount now asked for this new building is three thousand dollars. As soon as it is undertaken, the pay of a superintendent of its construction will begin, and after its completion the compensation of janitors and other expenses of its maintenance will follow.

The plan now pursued for the erection of public buildings is in my opinion very objectionable. They are often built where they are not needed, of dimensions and at a cost entirely disproportionate to any public use to which they can be applied, and, as a consequence, they frequently serve more to demonstrate the activity and pertinency of those who represent localities desiring this kind of decoration at public expense, than to meet any necessity of the Government.

EXTRAVAGANT DEMANDS FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

In another he lets in some light on the great demands made upon the country by the bills pending in Congress, saying:

The fact was communicated to me, early in the present session of the Congress, that the aggregate sum of the appropriations contained in bills for the erection and extension of public buildings, which had up to that time been referred to the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, was about thirty-seven millions of dollars.

Of course this fact would have no particular relevancy if all the buildings asked for were necessary for the transaction of public business, as long as we have the money to pay for them. But inasmuch as a large number of the buildings proposed are unnecessary and their erection would be wasteful and extravagant, beside furnishing precedents for further and more extended reckless expenditures of a like character, it seems to me that applications for new and expensive public buildings should be carefully scrutinized.

He enforces this same idea again in another message:

Not a little legislation has lately been perfected and very likely more will be necessary to increase miscalculated appropriations for, and correct blunders in, the construction of many of the public buildings now in process of erection.

While this does not furnish a good reason for disapproving the erection of other buildings where actually necessary, it induces close scrutiny, and gives rise to the earnest wish that new projects for public buildings shall for the present be limited to such as are required by the most pressing necessities of the Government's business.

THE DISTRIBUTIVE IDEA CONSIDERED.

The locality idea, the argument that one section must have a postoffice building because it has not had its share, is thus presented in another message:

It is further stated in a communication from the promoter of this bill that "there is not a Federal public building in the State of Ohio east of the line drawn on the accompanying map from Cleveland through Columbus to Cincinnati; and when wealth and population and the needs of the public service are considered, the distribution of public buildings in the State is an unfair one."

Here is disclosed a theory of expenditure for public buildings which I can hardly think should be adopted. If an application for the erection of such a building is to be determined by the distance between its proposed location and another public building, or upon the allegation that a certain division of a State is without a Government building, or that the distribution of these buildings in a particular State is unfair, we shall rapidly be led to an entire disregard of the considerations of necessity and public need which it seems to me should alone justify the expenditure of public funds for such a purpose.

The care and protection which the Government owes to the people do not embrace the grant of public buildings to decorate thriving and prosperous cities and villages, nor should such buildings be erected upon any principle of fair distributions among localities.

The Government is not an almoner of gifts among the people, but an instrumentality by which the people's affairs should be conducted upon business principles, regulated by the public needs.

QUESTIONING THE LATEST DIRECTORY STATISTICS.

He does not always accept the hopeful estimates of the promoters of such chemes as to the population of a given town, but subjects them to an analysis which is somewhat damaging, as the following will show:

The report of the committee of the House of Representatives to whom this bill was referred, states that by the census of 1880 the population of Sioux City was nearly eight thousand, and that by other enumerations since made its population would seem to exceed twenty-three thousand. It is further stated in the report that for the accommodation of this population the city contains three hundred and ninety-three brick and two thousand nine hundred and eighty-four frame buildings.

It seems to me that in the consideration of the merits of this bill the necessities of the Government should control the question, and that it should be decided as a business proposition depending upon the needs of a Government building at the point proposed in order to do the Government work.

This greatly reduces the value of statistics showing population, extent of business, prospective growth, and matters of that kind, which though exceedingly interesting, do not always demonstrate the necessity of the expenditure of a large sum of money for a public building.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MR. THURMAN'S PUBLIC RECORD.

VIEWS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT ON QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

A Progressive Democrat—Grounded in the Faith—The Services of a Ripe Jurist and Fearless Public Servant.

I.

Allen G. Thurman, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, is no political tyro, no untried publicist, no statesman of a day sprung into notoriety by the accident of a passing occasion. For thirty years he has been the acknowledged leader of his party in the third State of the Union; and during twelve years of service in the Senate he was by common consent accorded a chief place among the few men of acknowledged first rank in that body, by reason of his learning as a lawyer, his wisdom and patriotism as a statesman, his power as a debater and his purity as a man.

He was first chosen to Congress in 1844, and took his seat when Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Benton and other Senatorial giants were in the maturity of their powers. The tariff of 1846, the Mexican war and the Oregon question were some of the subjects of disputation during his single Congressional term. He served on the Judiciary Committee in the House, of which body Dr. John W. Davis, of Indiana, was Speaker.

He supported the administration and its conduct of the Mexican war. He made a speech on the Oregon issue, and stood firm with Stephen A. Douglas, Andrew Johnson and Howell Cobb against the abandonment by most of his Democratic colleagues of the bold position they had before taken for "Fifty-four Forty or Fight."

In the division of the Northern Democrats over the "Wilmot Proviso" he voted with Hannibal Hamlin, Preston King, Simon Cameron, and John Wentworth, of his party, in favor of that momentous amendment to the proposed executive grant.

In the Douglas-Buchanan party differences he opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and advocated non-interference of the Federal Government for slavery in the Territories. He was against the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas, and supported Douglas for President in 1860, though never accepting his doctrine of "squatter sovereignty." He strenuously antagonized the doctrine of secession and loyally supported the Union cause. He believed in the vigorous prosecution of the war, though he never justified the resort to unconstitutional means nor recognized the necessity of imperiling the Union to save it. He had but two logical alternatives as to the relation of the seceded States to the general Government: If they were out of the Union the North was at war with them and every loyal man must stand by the flag; if they were in the Union, they were in a state of insurrection that must be suppressed.

VIEWS ON THE TARIFF.

From a speech which he made in one of the Ohio campaigns about the time of his election to the United States Senate, an extract on the tariff issue will show how clearly he foreshadowed the issue of the campaign in which he has come to be one of the standard bearers in 1888.

On September 7th, 1868, he said:

"I desire to call your attention, first, to the subject of the tariff. What is the tariff? It is a duty or tax levied by the Government upon goods imported into the United States. When no higher than was required for the purposes of revenue, it has always been cheerfully acquiesced in by the people. They have generally preferred it to any other mode of taxation, and they have not objected to so arranging a revenue tariff as to afford incidental protection or benefit to our own manufacturers. But when a tariff, like that now in force, is framed, not for revenue purposes, but to give one class of capitalists a monopoly of the market, or at least to enhance the price of everything they make and thus burden the consumers, it becomes seriously oppressive. It is a tax that benefits no one but the favored capitalist. It does not benefit the Government, for a greater revenue would be produced by a lower tax. When a tariff is exorbitant, importations fall off, the revenue fails, and the Government loses.

But the favored monopolist, having the market substantially to himself, adds to the price of his commodities, and the consumers suffer. Whether they buy imported or domestic goods, in the price they pay for them they pay the tax levied by the Government. If the goods be imported, the importer pays the tax and adds it, with a per cent. of interest or profit, to the price when he sells to the retail merchant, and the latter adds to that his per cent. of interest or profit when he sells to the consumer, who is the man that in the end pays the tax, and the profits or interest thereon. If the goods be not imported, yet the domestic manufacturer raises the price of his goods to that of the importations, and so the consumer pays the amount of the tax, while the Government gets not one cent of it. Now, that is precisely what is going on every day. There is not an article you wear, the price of which is not enhanced by the enormous tariff duties levied by our Government."

II.

ON STATE RIGHTS AND FEDERAL POWERS.

In a speech in the Senate, January 23, 1872, Mr. Thurman gave very lucid exposition of the modern Democratic idea of the Constitutional relation of State Rights to Federal powers, when he said:

Mr. President, I once more say that, although I have never gone to any such length as some State-rights men have gone in deducing the doctrine of the right of secession, and have never believed and do not believe in that doctrine, yet I am, and

hope I shall die, a State rights man. I am so because I believe that the existence of the States and the existence of local self-government are essential to freedom and to prosperity in this country.

If there is no such thing as State rights, how comes it that the two distinguished Senators from Vermont are here, coming from a State with not one-tenth, not one-twelfth, very little more than one-thirteenth, of the population of the State of New York? How comes it that with three hundred thousand inhabitants only, there are two Senators on this floor from Vermont, while New York, with more than four millions, has but two? How comes that, sir, if there be no such thing as State rights? What right have they to make local law for Ohio? Why should New York, with her four millions of people and only two Senators on this floor, have her local law made here by the votes of twelve Senators from New England, when all New England has not a population equal to hers? How is it that twelve votes shall be received here from New England to make local law for Missouri? In that local law New England has no interest whatsoever, while that great State, soon to have a population equal to that of all of New England, and now with a population half as great, has but two Senators on this floor? What is it that gives this unequal representation in the Senate but the doctrine of State rights; nay, sir, to go further, but the doctrine of the original sovereignty of the States?

I am not complaining of this. I am willing to stand by this inequality in the Senate of the United States so long as you stand by the constitution as its framers intended it to be. So long as you do not trample State governments out of existence, so long as you let local legislation be the subject of local State law alone, so long as you do not interfere and usurp the powers that properly belong to the States, I greet with arms wide open the Senators from the smallest State of this Union: nay, I will take the Senators from Nevada into my embrace, although their whole State does not contain as many people as the little city in which I live; I will take them and welcome them here so long as you leave to the State governments that power which the framers of the Constitution intended they should have, and which, in my judgment, is essential to the very existence of free institutions at all. But if you will strike down that power, if you will abolish local legislation, if you will annihilate the States, if you will make them mere departments of a centralized Government, if you will make them the mere counties of a great State, then I say to Senators the time will come when that inequality in the Senate will not be submitted to longer. I do not want to see that time. I want to see no such question raised. I want to see the Constitution administered in the spirit in which it was framed. I want the General Government sufficiently strong to protect us against all foreign aggression. I want it to be sufficiently strong to protect us in the enjoyment of peace in this country so far as that function is devolved upon it by the Constitution. I want to believe that with all its blessings, it will endure for all time to come, if anything of earthly institution can so long endure. But I do firmly believe that it is precisely the institution of State governments, it is precisely the allotment of local legislation to a local power, which enables this Republic to spread itself from ocean to ocean, and from the arctic zone down to the torrid. Strike that out of it, strike its local self-government out of the system, and it will go the way that all consolidated, centralized governments have gone in all time past; first a despotism unendurable, and next a rending into fragments more numerous far than the States of this union now are.

III.

OBJECTIONS TO CENTRALIZATION.

In a previous campaign speech he had thus forcibly set forth the dangers of the centralizing tendencies which were at this period controlling the legislation of the country:

I am opposed to the centralization of all powers in the Federal Government, for reasons that can be but briefly and imperfectly stated in the proper limits of a speech.

First. I am opposed to it because it would be destructive of the existence of the Republic. The Republic could not, in my judgment, long endure under such a system. It would break down under its own weight. There never was a greater mistake than to suppose that a government of despotic powers is alone able to govern a great extent of territory. The very reverse of the proposition is nearer the truth. Vast monarchies have existed, covering great portions of the earth, and seeming for a time to be indestructible, yet how few of them remain? And where they yet exist, how miserable, comparatively, is the condition of the people! I am not speaking of compact countries of limited extent, in which centralized power is possible and may long endure. Nor am I speaking of people who have no aspiration for freedom or for a better state of mental, material and social well-being. What I speak of is a territory similar to our own, and a people loving freedom and seeking prosperity. And it is in reference to such a territory with such a people, that I affirm it to be an impossibility that a great centralized government can long rule over it. Either the government will undergo a change, or the territory will be rent into pieces and separate and independent governments be set up on the fragments.

This, then, is my first objection to such a centralized government as I have supposed. Its inevitable result would be, in my opinion, the disintegration of the Republic at no very distant day.

Secondly. But were it possible for such a government to rule this country, what would be its effects? We have a territory of vast extent, stretching from ocean to ocean, with a great diversity of climate, soils, productions, arts, industries, occupations, capital, and wages. The diversity of peoples is not less remarkable. And then the people of each State have grown up under their own State laws, to which their affections are bound by the force of habit, and because they are the enactments of their own free will. Add to these considerations the difference in social observances and customs, and conceive, if you can, of a country in which local self-government is more indispensable to the interest or happiness of the people, or in which it would be more impossible, without a crushing tyranny, to subject the whole community to an uniform, iron rule.

IV.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

In the United States Senate in December, 1878, when Mr. Blaine introduced a resolution inquiring into interferences with the free exercise of the elective franchise, Mr. Thurman, with most unsparing severity, pointed out that the object of the inquiry was not to vindicate the right of suffrage throughout the Union, but to revive sectionalism, to arouse hatred in one portion of the country against the defenseless people of another. On the broad subject of the elective franchise, Mr. Thurman said:

I am not here to-day to justify the violation of the rights of any man, however humble he may be, whatever may be the color of his skin, whatever may be the poverty of his situation. I am here for no such purpose as that. If I know my own heart, I am as much in favor of respecting the rights of every man under the Constitution as the Senator from Maine or any other Senator on this floor; but I do know that property, intelligence, education will assert their influence everywhere on the face of this globe.

Now, Mr. President, let me say one word more on this subject. Who was it that drew the color line between the whites and the negroes in the South? Let me tell you, sir, that millions of money, of the money of the people of the United States, were expended by your agents, the Freedman's Bureau agents, in getting every colored man in the South into loyal leagues and swearing him never to vote for a Democrat. That is where the color line began to be drawn. That institution which took charge of the negro at the ballot-box, took charge of him in the cotton field, took

charge of him everywhere, supervised every contract that he made, allowed no contract to be made unless it had the approval of the agents of the Freedman's Bureau, and spent the money and property called "captured and abandoned property," that was surrendered to it, and many millions of money directly appropriated out of the Treasury of the United States—it was that Bureau and its agents who first drew the color line.

And yet, when the white people of the South, when the men owning the property and having the intelligence and the education at the South, saw their very social system menaced with destruction, saw their very households threatened with ruin under an inundation of barbarism directed by the most unscrupulous of men, and when they naturally came together, when they naturally united, as people menaced with danger ever will unite, then a cry is raised against "the solid South!" Ah, Mr. President, it will not do. This system of legislation toward the South that began more than ten years ago is reaping its fruit; and it is not by additional penal laws that you can better the condition of this country. What does the Senator want more penal laws for? Let him look into the statute-book on this very subject; let him read the statutes in regard to the enforcement of the rights of citizens to vote, and I defy him to find in the statute-books of any civilized country on this globe a body of laws so minute, so searching, and bristling all over with fines and forfeitures as do these laws.

But that is not all. In addition to that you have a vast machinery of superintendents of election, Federal supervisors, marshals, deputy marshals, paid electioneers out of the Treasury of the United States, under the guise of being men to preserve the freedom of suffrage and peace at elections. You have a whole army of them provided for by your statutes. What more does the Senator want? I think I see, Mr. President, what is wanted. I think this is a note which is sounded to the people of the North that they must retrace their steps; and this very party which required two amendments to the Constitution to be made in the interest, it was said, of the colored population of the South, is now preparing to face about, retrace its steps, and undo what it did only a few years ago. Either directly or by indirection that is to be done. Indeed, I thought, while the Senator from Maine was making his speech, how much reason this country, and especially the Southern part of the country, had to congratulate itself that the next House of Representatives will not have a majority of gentlemen thinking like the Senator from Maine, for if he is right in what he said, if his threats are not mere idle wind—and I certainly do not attribute any such thing to him—if they are deep-seated and permanent thoughts of those with whom he acts, then I should be prepared to see a House of Representatives in which there was a Republican majority exclude Southern members by the score; then I should be prepared to see them decide themselves that the right of suffrage was prohibited down there to the negro, and then to see them in their supreme authority, as they would construe it, vote out the chosen Repesentatives of the South, not by ones, not by twos, but by the score. It is a fortunate thing for this country, it is a fortunate thing for our free institutions, that there is not in the present House of Representatives, and will not be in the next, a majority thinking as the Senator from Maine thinks, and willing to act as I fear he is willing to act.

One word on the amendment I have offered. My own belief is that there is a far greater danger that menaces our institutions and menaces the right of suffrage in this country than that to which the Senator from Maine has alluded. Sir, the most disheartening thing to an American who loves free institutions is to see that year by year the corrupt use of money in elections is making its way until the time may come, and that within the observation of even the oldest man here, when elections in the United States will be as debauched as ever they were in the worst days of the old borough parliamentary elections in the mother land.

Mr. President, there is the great danger. The question is whether this country shall be governed with a view to the rights of every man, the poor man as well as the rich man, or whether the longest purse shall carry the elections and this be a mere plutocracy instead of a democratic republic. That is the danger; and that danger, let me tell my friend, exists far more in the North than it does in the South. Sir, if he wants to preserve the purity of elections, if he wants to have this Govern-

ment perpetuated as a system that can be honestly administered from the primary election to the signature of a bill by the President of the United States, let him set his face and exercise his great ability in stopping the flood-gates of corruption that threaten to deluge the whole land and bring republican institutions into utter ruin and disgrace.

V.

ON THE CHINESE QUESTION.

Before the importation of Chinese servile laborers in great hordes upon the Pacific coast had become a subject of general attention and discussion throughout the country, Mr. Thurman had expressed his views and taken a decided position. As early as September 10, 1870, in a campaign speech at Cincinnati, more than five years before the Legislature of California memorialized Congress on the subject, Mr. Thurman, addressing his constituents, said:

I do not think that a large Chinese immigration to this country is desirable. I do not think it would be a valuable acquisition. On the contrary, I think it would be a seriously disturbing element In race, civilization, habits, education, and religion the Chinese are widely different from our people—so different as to form a very striking contrast. The European immigrants are of the same race, religion, and civilization as ourselves, and while they add immensely to the power and wealth of the Republic, they do not seriously disturb the substantial homogeneity of our white population. Their migration, therefore, benefits the country and deserves encouragement. Not so with the Chinese. They will never become one people with us. Were they to dwell here for centuries they would probably be as distinct from the white race as are gypsies in Spain from the pure-blooded Spaniard.

We are destined to have a great commerce with Asia, and the natural result will be the voluntary migration from that continent of a limited number of business men. I see no objection to that. It will not interfere with our mechanics or laborers, will not disturb our social or political system, while it will tend, by an increase of our commercial connections, to add to our commerce and wealth. But that is a wholly different thing from the Coolie immigration that is now going on, and which, if not stopped, must alarmingly increase. This immigration is in no proper sense of the word voluntary. It is a kind of Chinese slave trade. Instead of an independent, self-reliant body of freemen, it introduces a horde of quasi slaves, working at half wages by the command of a taskmaster.

And this leads me to notice a statement I have seen, that this country needs cheap labor; in other words, men who will work for low wages; that there is a scarcity of laborers here, and, therefore, Chinese laborers should be imported to supply the deficiency.

I do not concur in this view. My opinion is that we, or rather our posterity, are much more likely to suffer from a redundancy of population than from a dearth of it. In thirty years from now we will have one hundred millions of people, without counting a Chinese immigrant; in sixty years two hundred millions. In one hundred years probably four hundred millions. We are in no danger of a scarcity of laborers.

Nor do I think that low wages are a blessing to any country. In the opinion of an eminent thinker, Buckle, low wages and despotism are inseparable. It will be found, I think, that the freer the institutions of a country are, the greater will be the tendency to fair wages for labor. Low wages are mainly owing to an uneqal and unfair distribution of the annual production of wealth. This annual production, which is nearly all the result of labor, is being constantly divided into four parts, rents to the landlord, interest to the money lender, profits to the business man, and wages to the laborer. Now, if the wages be low it must be because the annual product is small and all classes suffer, or because that product is unfairly distributed. In general, the latter is the cause, and when wages are very low the laborer gets but a bare subsistence, while the other classes, or some of them, accu-

mulate enormous wealth. And thus society becomes divided into the very rich and the very poor. That this is an unfortunate condition for a country is too obvious to need remark, and that its tendency is hostile to free institutions, as well as to the material comfort of the people, is undoubtedly true. I have therefore no sympathy with the cry for cheap labor and low wages. They may give rise, it is true, to great public works and magnificent structures, but the benefit is gained at the expense of a suffering people. The Pyramids are striking monuments of the pride and ostentation of kings, but they are more striking evidences of a degraded condition of the laboring class. That country is likely to be most free and happy where the annual production of wealth being justly distributed, labor obtains a fair reward.

Six years later, when Senator Sargent presented the grievances of the people of his State and section against the evils of Chinese immigration, and after the report of a committee of inquiry on the subject, the bill to restrict the immigration of the Chinese, which passed the House by 155 to 72, found Mr. Thurman one of its foremost champions in the Senate. Hayes vetoed the bill. Future restrictive legislation had Thurman's support, and this is one of the reasons why he has always been enthusiastically favored by the people of the Pacific States.

VI.

OPPOSITION TO THE SQUANDERING OF PUBLIC LANDS.

Mr. Thurman's natural Democratic instincts led him early to see the dangers which threatened the country and the people in the vast accumulations of wealth and power by great corporations. Before he entered the Senate the subsidies and land grants given to the monopolies who received their charters from the Federal Government—and proposed to cross State lines and traverse the Territorial dominions in their construction—had been the fruitful source of political demoralization and personal corruption. The greedy "Give! give!" of those whose hands and pockets had been already well filled was ringing through the halls of Congress; corporate power, having obtained valuable franchises upon conditions never fulfilled, defied the Government to enforce the obligations whichit held.

As early as 1870, in a speech in Cincinnati, Senator Thurman had shown his disposition to warn his countrymen against the encroachment of these powers. Faithful guardian as he was of the rights of the Government and of the interests of the people, the nice sense of justice which endowed him for the legal profession withheld him from any destructive crusade upon the vested privileges of the objects of his denunciation. He said:

Look at the astounding subsidies to railroad companies—mere private corporations. To say nothing of the fifty-eight million acres granted to States for purposes of internal improvement, most of which have gone into the hands of railroad companies, there had been granted by Congress before its last session directly to four railroad companies, the Union Pacific and branches, Central Pacific, Northern Pacific, and Atlantic and Pacific, 124,000,000 acres—more land than is contained in the Middle States, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River—that is to say, the seven States of New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Besides this, a subsidy of over $60,000,000 in bonds was granted to the two first-named roads—every dollar of which, though in name a loan, will, it can hardly be doubted, have to be paid by the United States.

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Not only this, the wealth, power, and dominion thus conferred upon these great and favored corporations will make them the overshadowing and ruling

power in at least a dozen States. In reality, they and not the State Legislatures, will choose Senators in Congress; they, and not the unbiased voice of the people, will elect Representatives; they, and not free States, will speak in the choice of Presidents.

Think of a road stretching from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, embracing within its branches more than two thousand miles of line, the property of a single corporation, and that corporation owning every alternate section of land, or its proceeds, in a belt of eighty miles wide for nearly the whole length of its line—40 sections, or 25,600 acres to the mile—58,000,000 acres in all, or the proceeds of their sale at such prices as the corporation may see fit to exact—with towns and cities owned by the corporation or a favored ring of its stockholders, scattered along the road, and the great stockholders, those owning nearly all its stock and ruling its affairs, residing in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and you will have some idea what the Northern Pacific Railroad is to be, and what chance for political promotion any man within the limits of its influence would have, should he dare seek to restrict its monopoly, restrain its exactions, or otherwise oppose its will.

Much is being now said about the relative rights of capital and labor; much complaint is uttered at what is said to be the exactions of capital and the depression of labor. The workingmen are everywhere forming unions, holding congresses, and issuing books, pamphlets, and newspapers, to advocate their claims, and protest against the unequal distribution of wealth, which they assert is resulting from existing laws, and especially from their tendency to aggregate capital. But what aggregation of capital and privilege was ever seen equal to that created by Congress, by the charters it has granted and the donations it has made to the four railroad companies I have named? What other corporations have ever become the owners in fee of a territory equal to seven States of this Union, greater than the area of Germany; and in addition to this wealth, been clothed with a corporate existence, and immense corporate privileges of perpetual duration? I am certainly not so absurd as to be an enemy of railroads. No man acknowledges more fully than I do the immense advantage they are to a country; no man honors more than I do the men who wisely project, and honestly build and manage them. But there is a vast difference between roads built under State authority, with capital furnished by the stockholders, supervised by the State, controlled and managed by her citizens, and limited in extent, and roads chartered by Congress, built with donations of the public domain, spanning more than half the Continent, and owned and controlled by a few rich men in the great cities of the East.

Before I leave this topic, I must call your attention to an alarming step taken at the last session of Congress in the matter of these land grants. Before then Congress had never granted any but the alternate sections, designed by odd numbers, and in defense of these grants it was said that the construction of the railroads would double the value of the even-numbered sections retained by the Government, and hence there would be no loss of money, and accordingly the price of the retained sections was raised from $1 25 to $2.50 per acre. This defense never had any weight with me, for it treated the Government as a speculator in lands, seeking to extort the highest price from the settler; whereas I thought, and yet think, that it is not as a speculator, but as a beneficent parent that the Government ought to regard and administer these lands. But that was the defense, and with those who look at nothing but dollars and cents it sufficed. But at the last session the Senate threw even this defense away. For, in face of the most determined opposition, and after full discussion, it deliberately passed a bill granting to the Central branch of the Union Pacific Railroad the even-numbered sections, the odd numbered having been already given to other railroad companies. And so, for a distance of about three hundred miles, lying partly in Kansas, partly in Nebraska and partly in the Territory of Wyoming, every foot of land belonging to the Government was granted, so far as the Senate could do it, to railroad corporations. And this leads me to observe that you must not suppose that because all the land-grabbing bills that passed the Senate did not go through the House, therefore they are dead. In view of the approaching Congressional elections, and fearful of the people, the House laid some of them aside; but they are still upon its calendar, to be acted upon next winter; and should the Radical party triumph in the fall elections, you may rest assured that every one of them will pass.

II.

HIS POSITION JUSTIFIED.

HOW THE SUPREME COURT HAS AFFIRMED HIS VIEWS IN DECISIONS ON IMPORTANT QUESTIONS OF LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY.

From the New York Evening Post, Independent, June 7, 1888.

The nomination of Allen G. Thurman for Vice-President illustrates anew the weakness of our electoral system, so far as it affects that office. Theoretically, the man who is elected to the second place ought to be qualified in every respect for the first, since experience has shown that there is one chance in six of his being called upon to fill the higher position. Mr. Thurman would not for a moment be considered, under any circumstances, a candidate for President, because everybody would say that a man in his seventy-fifth year is too old for the Presidency. Yet a convention nominates a man who is in his seventy-fifth year to an office whose holder is liable at any time during his term to become President. It nominates him in accordance with the traditional custom of selecting the candidate for Vice-President on the ground of his "availability" as a help to the Presidential nominee during the canvass.

That Mr. Thurman is a strong nominee for campaign purposes will be generally admitted. His name will warm the hearts of a good many old Democrats who have never had much symyathy with the new generation which Mr. Cleveland represents. His very age in itself is a help to his candidacy in one aspect, since it appeals to the pride which all well-regulated party men feel in an "old Roman." Moreover, it will be extremely embarrassing for the Republicans to make an issue of Mr. Thurman's age. If they say that a man who was born in November, 1813, is too old to be Vice-President, it follows necessarily that a man who was born in March, 1813, is too old to be a member of the Supreme Court, and Judge Bradley should at once resign his seat on the bench and allow Mr. Cleveland to appoint a Democratic successor. Practically, the age issue will not count for much. The voter who thinks that Mr. Cleveland is a better man for President than the Republican candidate, will not be deterred from voting for him because he thinks that a younger man ought to have been nominated for Vice President.

Except in the matter of age, Mr. Thurman is the best man whom the Democracy could present for the Vice-Presidency. His public career has been a long and honorable one, the only spot upon which was made by his yielding, with so many other good men of both parties, to the soft-money craze which swept over the West fifteen years ago. He was elected to the lower branch of Congress in 1844, was judge of the Ohio Supreme Court from 1851 to 1854, and its Chief Justice for the next two years, and United States Senator from 1869 to 1881. The historian whose judgments every good Republican unhesitatingly accepts has bestowed upon him the highest praise. In his "Twenty Years of Congress," Mr. Blaine says of Mr. Thurman that "his rank in the Senate was established from the day he took his seat and was never lowered during the period of his service. His retirement from the Senate was a serious loss to his party—a loss, indeed, to the body. He left behind him the respect of all with whom he had been associated during his twelve years of honorable service."

If Mr. Thurman is sent back to the capital, he will return with the unique satisfaction of finding the sound doctrines of the Constitution, for which he made a gallant but hopeless fight against a Republican majority in the Senate, established for all time by the decisions of a Republican Supreme Court overthrowing the acts which he vainly protested were unconstitutional. Since his retirement in 1881 the highest judicial tribunal has rendered a series of decisions which fully sustain Mr. Thurman's position on the great issue of State rights, and which indeed sometimes read almost like extracts from his own speeches. When he entered the Senate in 1869, there were but nine other Democrats in the body, the House was Republican more than two to one, and the school represented by Oliver P. Morton in the Senate and Benjamin F. Butler in the House were carrying through laws based upon the theory that the new amendments to the Constitution had worked a revolution in the relations of the States to the Federal Government.

The history of the Civil-Rights Act shows how Mr. Thurman was beaten by numbers in Congress, but saw his position ultimately adopted by the Supreme Court. This act was based upon the theory that Congress possessed the right to interfere in the States and punish persons who denied blacks equal rights with whites in hotels, conveyances, etc. The claim was made that Congress had been given this right by the fourteenth amendment. Mr. Thurman earnestly contested this claim. He pointed out that the amendment only gave Congress the right to interfere when a "*State* shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," whereas it was not pretended that any *State* had made or enforced any such law. It is interesting to see how closely the reasoning upon this point of the Republican Supreme Court in the decision of 1883, declaring the act unconstitutional, agreed with that of Mr. Thurman in his arguments of 1874:

MR. THURMAN.	THE SUPREME COURT.
"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," says the Fourteenth Amendment. Does this bill deal with any such law of a State? No, sir, it does not profess to do so. It is not aimed at any law of a State. It is aimed against the acts of individuals. There is not one single sentence in the whole bill which is levelled against any law made or enforced by a State. . . . Why, sir, if it is constitutional reasoning that supports this bill, then I confess that all my studies of the Constitution have been wholly in vain.	An inspection of the law shows that it makes no reference whatever to any supposed or apprehended violation of the Fourteenth Amendment on the part of the States. It is not predicated on any such view. It proceeds *ex directo* to declare that certain acts committed by individuals shall be deemed offences, and shall be prosecuted, and punished by proceedings in the courts of the United States. . . . We are of opinion that no countenance of authority for the passage of the law in question can be found either in the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, and no other ground of authority for its passage being suggested, it must necessarily be declared void.

It has seldom been allowed a man to enjoy such a triumph as Mr. Thurman must feel in the decisions of a Supreme Court controlled by his political opponents, asserting his views of the Constitution, and annulling act after act which he had fought on the ground that they were unconstitutional. The fact shows most strikingly how complete is the settlement of the State-rights issue. No Republican dares dissent from the position laid down by a Republican Supreme Court, while every Democrat applauds the assertion by that tribunal of the doctrines which Mr. Thurman so ably maintained.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE DEMOCRACY AND LABOR.

RECORD OF THE PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATE.—EFFORTS TO LIGHTEN THE TAXES AND RELIEVE THE BURDENS OF THE POOR.

Stirring Words in Behalf of those who Toil—Mr. Cleveland's Course as Governor of New York in Relation to Labor Legislation—His Sympathy with Measures Looking to the Elevation of Labor and the Enhancement of its Rewards.

I.

AN HONEST DAY'S WAGES FOR AN HONEST DAY'S WORK.

During the hundred years' existence of this Government, and from the time when the Democratic Party was established to maintain our institutions, that organization has ever been true to its name. It is emphatically the party of the people; and as the great majority of the American people is composed of those who labor with their hands, the interests of Democracy and of labor have always been identical. The professions of the party, as expressed in its platforms, have been realized in the legislation effected whenever and wherever it was in control of the law-making power. In no campaign in the history of American politics was this better illustrated than at present, when the declaration of principles, the record of the candidate and the conduct of the President upon every occasion when the rights of labor were at stake, combine to attest the devotion of the Democracy to the interests of the workingman.

Grover Cleveland, himself a man of laborious habit and unshirking industry, is a genuine American—the product of our own soil and institutions. He has never been even a visitor to foreign countries. In his veins flows the blood of Englishmen, of Irishmen, and of Germans. These are the races which have peopled the United States and made them great. He represents them all. He has a strong man's love for the land where he was born, and in which his parents are buried. His kindred have lived here many generations; they have been soldiers, and farmers, and mechanics, and preachers of the Gospel. His ancestry is the best that can be found, an ancestry of frugal, laborious and patriotic men and women.

II.

CLEVELAND'S LABOR RECORD AS GOVERNOR.

HOW HE PROMOTED THE INTERESTS OF LABOR DURING HIS SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

The highest labor body in the State of New York is the State Trades Assembly. It is not organized for political purposes, but has for its sole object the advancement of the condition of the workingmen in all things. It has for years applied to the great political organizations for assistance and consideration. It has received these only from the Democratic party. Organization in this branch of endeavor has had its effect, as it does everywhere; and so it came about that in 1882, as a result of organization, and for the first time, it presented well defined contentions, with which it appeared before the two great parties of the State—the Democratic and the Republican. The Republican party gave no heed whatever to its requests. The Democratic party listened; and believing in them, embraced them in their platform of that year. Upon this platform Grover Cleveland was placed by the Democracy of the State, and upon it he was elected to be Governor. His faithful adherence to the pledges and promises of that platform is known of all men, and so faithful as to be regarded the beginning of a new era in politics, when candidates would regard the obligations of formulated party utterances.

THE LABOR PLANK OF 1882.

The plank relating to labor was the twelfth and read as follows:

Twelfth. We reaffirm the policy always maintained by the Democratic party that it is of the first importance that labor should be made free, healthful and secure of just remuneration. That convict labor should not come into competition with the industry of law-abiding citizens. That the labor of children should be surrounded with such safeguards as their health, their rights of education and their future, as useful members of the community, demand. That work shops, whether large or small, should be under such sanitary control as will insure the health and comfort of the employed and will protect all against unwholesome labor and surroundings. That labor shall have the same rights as capital to combine for its own protection, and that all legislation which cramps industry, or which enables the powerful to oppress the weak, should be repealed; and, to promote the interests of labor, we recommend the collection of statistics and information respecting the improvements, needs and abuses of the various branches of industry.

This plank Grover Cleveland accepted in its entirety, not only in the letter but in the spirit, as the subsequent record will show, in the following words, which are taken from his letter of accceptance of the gubernatorial nomination, dated at Buffalo, October 7, 1882:

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the case of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

Having thus found the Democratic party and its candidate willing to accept these contentions as their own, the representative laboring men proceeded to put them into effect by drafting bills to present to the Legislature. Thus in an orderly and efficient way, in fact the only way in which to put them into effect, these contentions were formulated into measures. Four bills were introduced in the Legislature of 1883, the first year of Governor Cleveland's term.

1. One was the bill providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics. This the labor people regarded as by far the most important of all the measures they had presented. So soon as the bill reached him, the Governor showed his intention of keeping his pledges by signing it.

2. Another was the bill prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses, which the Governor promptly signed. This law was subsequently declared defective in title, and therefore unconstitutional by the courts; another bill was introduced in the Legislature of 1884, the defect in the title having been remedied, was passed and the Governor signed it again.

3. Another was the bill prohibiting the manufacture of woolen hats in the State prisons, penitentiaries and reformatories of the State, and this was promptly signed by the Governor. For several years ineffectual efforts had been made to pass this bill.

CONVICT LABOR BILL.

4. The fourth of the series of the labor bills for 1883 was the bill to abolish convict labor in States prisons. This bill met with very great opposition from the Republicans of the Legislature and was laid aside. The question was submitted to the voters in November, 1883, and decided by a very large majority against the continuance of convict prison labor.

WHAT WAS DONE IN 1884.

In 1884 the labor people, encouraged by their successes in 1883, again presented themselves before the Legislature with further demands formulated into measures, as follows:

The tenement house cigar bill, to which reference was made above. This was made necessary by the decision of the Court of Appeals that the bill was unconstitutional, in that its title was defective. The defect having been remedied, the Governor signed it.

CONVICT LABOR AGAIN.

The bill prohibiting the employment of convicts in State prisons on contract labor. This was popularly known as the "Comstock" bill, and provided no substitute for the labor the convicts were employed in. There were several defects in the bill as it reached the Governor, which would have made it inoperative, but the Governor called in Mr. Thayer, the President of the State Trades' Assembly, and pointing out the defects, among which was that penitentiaries were excepted from the provisions of the bill, suggested a recall of the bill to correct it, which was done, and then it was signed. Had not the Governor been the friend of labor, he could have defeated its object by signing it as it came to him. Subsequently, a bill known as the Howe Commission bill passed the Legislature, providing for the appointment of five commissioners, to investigate and report by May 1st, some suitable system for the employment of convicts. After an investigation of only a few days, they reported that they could not make a report within the specified time. A bill was then passed extending the time until January 1, 1885. This the Governor vetoed, and in forcible terms, declaring that it was the duty of the Legislature to provide at that session some substitute. The Republican Legislature dallied with the question and let it die.

CHILD CONTRACT LABOR BILL.

One of the bills introduced in the interest of labor this year, was that making it unlawful for the trustees or managers of any house of refuge, reformatory or other correctional institution, to contract, hire or let the service or labor of any child committed to or an inmate of such institutions. It was passed and signed by the Governor.

MECHANICS' LIEN LAW.

One of the bills introduced was that one known as the Mechanics' Lien Law. This bill, which was a local act, applying only to Kings and Queens counties, was vetoed by the Governor, and as an examination shows, clearly in the interest of the workingmen. Instead of giving the mechanic the first lien, as was the object of the bill, by an oversight in the drafting of it, it gave to all parties having claim, whether mechanics or not, the first lien, thus reducing the mechanics to a level with all claimants. Moreover, it repealed in distinct terms, a number of mechanics' lien laws, already on the statute books. To make it a law was to give the mechanics a doubtful advantage while sacrificing many other real and substantial advantages.

MAKING LABORING MEN PREFERRED CREDITORS.

As an evidence of the care Cleveland manifested for laboring men, the prompt signing of a bill which creates laboring men preferred creditors for wages in the case of the assignment of an employer. This bill, most important to laboring men, attracted little attention even from laboring men, at the time of its enactment, but the quick eye and mind of the Governor appreciated its value and he made it a law. The law is as follows:

CHAPTER 328.

§ 29. In all assignments, made in pursuance of this act, the wages or salaries actually owing to the employes of the assignor or assignors at the time of the execution of the assignment, shall be preferred before any other debt; and should the assets of the assignor or assignors not be sufficient to pay in full all the claims preferred, pursuant to this section, they shall be applied to the payment of the same pro rata to the amount of each such claim.

III.

THE DEMOCRACY IN 1884.

THE POLICY OF THE PARTY ON THIS VITAL QUESTION AS EXPRESSED IN ITS NATIONAL PLATFORM AT CHICAGO.

The convention of 1884, which nominated Mr. Cleveland for President, in the platform from which he accepted and upon which he was elected, spake with no uncertain sound. The following extracts from the declarations of that document may be specially recalled:

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain; and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

Under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in old-world monarchies—their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand on behalf of the American Democracy an American policy.

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

THE PRESIDENT'S INTERPRETATION OF THE LABOR PLANK.

In his letter of acceptance under date of August 17, 1884, Mr. Cleveland interpreted the labor plank in this language:

A true American sentiment recognizes the dignity of labor and the fact that honor lies in honest toil. Contented labor is an element of national prosperity. Ability to work constitutes the capital and the wage of labor the income of a vast number of our population, and this interest should be jealously protected. Our workingmen are not asking unreasonable indulgence, but as intelligent and manly citizens they seek the same consideration which those demand who have other interests at stake. They should receive their full share of the care and attention of those who make and execute the laws, to the end that the wants and needs of the employers and employed shall alike be subserved, and the prosperity of the country, the common heritage of both, be advanced. As related to this subject, while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our Government and add to our citizen population, yet as a means of protection to our working men a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come or are brought to our land, do not intend to become Americans, but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor.

A proper regard for the welfare of the workingman being inseparably connected with the integrity of our institutions, none of our citizens are more interested than they in guarding against any corrupting influences which seek to pervert the beneficent purposes of our Government, and none should be more watchful of the artful machinations of those who allure them to self-inflicted injury.

IV.

CLEVELAND'S RECOMMENDATIONS AS PRESIDENT.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF LABOR, COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS FROM TIME TO TIME.

The perusal of the President's messages, letters and other official utterances, published at length in different parts of this volume, will show them to be replete with suggestions similar to those above given in behalf of labor and of securing to it the highest possible reward. The entire policy of the administration in all the different departments and bureaus has been directed to this end.

The rebuilding of the American Navy in American shipyards, and with American material, upon honest businesss methods; the correction of corporation abuses, and the enforcement of the Government's obligations against the great Pacific railways; the reclamation of many million acres of the public lands; the real protection to American labor by a tariff reform movement, looking to a reduction in price of the necessaries of life and a cheapening of the raw materials necessary to our manufactures; the restoration ot our maritime greatness and the introduction of business methods in all departments of the Federal Government, have all been in the true interest of American labor.

A BUREAU FOR ARBITRATING DIFFERENCES RECOMMENDED.

Early in 1886 the large number of strikes and lockouts attracted the President's attention. As an expression of his desire to promote harmony between employer and workman he sent the following message to Congress on April 22d of that year:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The Constitution imposes upon the President the duty of recommending to the consideration of Congress from time to time such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

I am so deeply impressed with the importance of immediately and thoughtfully meeting the problem which recent events and a present condition have thrust upon us, involving the settlement of disputes arising between our laboring men and their employers, that I am constrained to recommend to Congress legislation upon this serious and pressing subject.

Under our form of government the value of labor as an element of national prosperity should be distinctly recognized, and the welfare of the laboring man should be regarded as especially entitled to legislative care. In a country which offers to all its citizens the highest attainment of social and political distinction its workingmen cannot justly or safely be considered as irrevocably consigned to the limits of a class and entitled to no attention and allowed no protest against neglect.

The laboring man bearing in his hand an indispensable contribution to our growth and progress, may well insist, with manly courage and as a right, upon the same recognition from those who make our laws, as is accorded to any other citizen having a valuable interest in charge; and his reasonable demands should be met in such a spirit of appreciation and fairness as to induce a contented and patriotic co-operation in the achievement of a grand national destiny.

While the real interests of labor are not promoted by a resort to threats and violent manifestations, and while those who, under the pretexts of an advocacy of the claims of labor, wantonly attack the rights of capital, and for selfish purposes or the love of disorder sow seeds of violence and discontent, should neither be encouraged nor conciliated, all legislation on the subject should be calmly and deliberately undertaken, with no purpose of satisfying unreasonable demands or gaining partisan advantage.

The present condition of the relations between labor and capital is far from satisfactory. The discontent of the employed is due in a large degree to the *grasping and heedless exactions of employers, and the alleged discrimination in favor of capital as an object of governmental attention.* It must also be conceded that the laboring men are not always careful to avoid causeless and unjustifiable disturbance.

SOME RELIEF MAY BE HAD BY LAW.

Though the importance of a better accord between those interests is apparent, it must be borne in mind that any effort in that direction by the Federal Government must be greatly limited by constitutional restrictions. There are many grievances which legislation by Congress cannot redress, and many conditions which cannot by such means be reformed.

Something may be done under Federal authority to prevent the disturbances which so often arise from disputes between employers and the employed, and which at times seriously threaten the business interests of the country; and in my opinion the proper theory upon which to proceed is that of voluntary arbitration as the means of settling these difficulties.

But I suggest that instead of arbitrators chosen in the heat of conflicting claims, and after each dispute shall arise, for the purpose of determining the same, there be created a Commission of Labor, consisting of three members, who shall be regular officers of the Government, charged among other duties with the consideration and settlement, when possible, of all controversies between labor and capital.

A Commission thus organized would have the advantage of being a stable body, and its members, as they gained experience, would constantly improve in their ability to deal intelligently and usefully with the questions which might be submitted to them. If arbitrators are chosen for temporary service as each case of dispute arises, experience and familiarity with much that is involved in the question will be lacking, extreme partisanship and bias will be the qualifications sought on either side, and frequent complaints of unfairness and partiality will be inevitable.

The imposition upon a Federal court of duty so foreign to the judicial function as the selection of an arbitrator in such cases, is at least of doubtful propriety.

JUST AND SENSIBLE RECOGNITION OF LABOR.

The establishment by Federal authority of such a Bureau would be a just and sensible recognition of the value of labor, and of its right be represented in the departments of the Government. So far as its conciliatory offices shall have relation to disturbances which interfered with transit and commerce between the States, its existence would be justified, under the provisions of the Constitution, which gives to Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States." And in the frequent disputes between the laboring men and their employers, of less extent and the consequences of which are confined within State limits and threaten domestic violence, the interposition of such a Commission might be tendered, upon the application of the legislature or executive of a State, under the constitutional provision which requires the General Government to "protect" each of the States "against domestic violence."

POWER TO INVESTIGATE STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

If such a Commission were fairly organized, the risk of a loss of popular support and sympathy resulting from a refusal to submit to so peaceful an instrumentality, would constrain both parties to such disputes to invoke its interference and abide by its decisions. There would also be good reason to hope that the very existence of such an agency would invite application to it for advice and counsel, frequently resulting in the advoidance of contention and misunderstanding.

If the usefulness of such a Commission is doubted because it might lack power to enforce its decisions, much encouragement is derived from the conceded good that has been accomplished by the railroad commissions which have been organized in many of the States, which, having little more than advisory power, have exerted a most salutary influence in the settlement of disputes between conflicting interests.

In July, 1884, by a law of Congress, a Bureau of Labor was established and placed in charge of a Commissioner of Labor, who is required to "collect information upon the subject of labor, its relations to capital, the hours of labor and the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual and moral prosperity."

The Commission which I suggest could easily be engrafted upon the Bureau thus already organized, by the addition of two more Commissioners and by supplementing the duties now imposed upon it by such other powers and functions as would permit the Commissioners to act as arbitrators when necessary between labor and capital under such limitations and upon such occasions as should be deemed proper and useful.

Power should also be distinctly conferred upon this Bureau to investigate the causes of all disputes as they occur, whether submitted for arbitration or not, so that information may always be at hand to aid legislation on the subject when necessary and desirable.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *April* 22, 1886.

A PEACEFUL METHOD OF SETTLING DIFFERENCES.

In his second annual message to Congress, December, 1886, he recurred to the question as follows:

The relations of labor to capital and of laboring men to their employers are of the utmost concern to every patriotic citizen. When these are strained and distorted, unjustifiable claims are apt to be insisted upon by both interests, and in the controversy which results, the welfare of all and the prosperity of the country are jeopardized. Any intervention of the General Government, within the limits of its constitutional authority, to avert such a condition, should be willingly accorded.

In a special message transmitted to the Congress at its last session I suggested the enlargement of our present Labor Bureau and adding to its present functions the power of arbitration in cases where differences arise between employer and employed. When these differences reach such a stage as to result in the interruption of commerce between the States, the application of this remedy by the General Government might be regarded as entirely within its constitutional powers. And I think we might reasonably hope that such arbitrators, if carefully selected and if entitled to the confidence of the parties to be affected, would be voluntarily called to the settlement of controversies of less extent and not necessarily within the domain of Federal regulation.

I am of the opinion that this suggestion is worthy the attention of the Congress.

RECOGNITION OF THE EQUALITY OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

But after all has been done by the passage of laws either Federal or State to relieve a situation full of solicitude, much more remains to be accomplished by the reinstatement and cultivation of a true American sentiment which recognizes the equality of American citizenship. This, in the light of our traditions and in loyalty to the spirit of our institutions, would teach that a hearty co-operation on the part of all interests is the surest path to national greatness and the happiness of all our people, that capital should, in recognition of the brotherhood of our citizenship and in a spirit of American fairness, generously accord to labor its just compensation and consideration, and that contented labor is capital's best protection and faithful ally. It would teach, too, that the diverse situations of our people are inseparable from our civilization, that every citizen should, in his sphere, be a contributor to the general good, that capital does not necessarily tend to the oppression of labor, and that violent disturbances and disorders alienate from their promoters true American sympathy and kindly feeling.

NO LABORING CLASS FIXED WITHIN UNYIELDING BOUNDS.

In another division of the same message he said:

Due regard should be also accorded in any proposed readjustment, to the interests of American labor so far as they are involved. We congratulate ourselves that there is among us no laboring class, fixed within unyielding bounds and doomed under all conditions to the inexorable fate of daily toil. We recognize in labor a chief factor in the wealth of the republic, and we treat those who have it in their keeping as citizens entitled to the most careful regard and thoughtful attention. This regard and attention should be awarded them, not only because labor is the capital of our workingmen, justly entitled to its share of Government favor, but for the further and not less important reason, that the laboring man surrounded by his family in his humble home, as a consumer is vitally interested in all that cheapens the cost of living and enables him to bring within his domestic circle additional comforts and advantages.

This relation of the workingman to the revenue laws of the country, and the manner in which it palpably influences the question of wages, should not be forgotten in the justifiable prominence given to the proper maintenance of the supply and protection of well-paid labor. And these considerations suggest such an arrangement of Government revenues as shall reduce the expense of living, while it does not curtail the opportunity for work nor reduce the compensation of American labor, and injuriously affect its condition and the dignified place it holds in the estimation of our people.

V.

LABOR IMPORTED UNDER CONTRACT.

THE REPUBLICANS ENACTED LAWS TO BRING IN CHEAPER LABOR WHILE THE SOLDIERS WERE IN THE FIELD.

Now that the Republicans are seeking to pose as the special friends of the laboring man in the United States, it is proper to subject their pretensions to analysis. If they are so friendly now it is well to try and discover whether they have always been so, or whether it is merely a new-found zeal which is intended to be merely "a good enough Morgan for this election."

Among the questions most important to the American laborer is the immigration under contract of men from other countries. If this can be done, every employer who is anxious to squeeze his labor down to the lowest notch of wages, every manufacturer who is confronted by a strike on the part of his employes may simply send his agents abroad and import, under contract, as many men and women as he needs without any regard, during the time for which the contract is made, to the ruling rates of wages in this country.

It was legislation by a Republican Senate and House of Representatives which allowed this to be done from 1864, when the law was enacted, to 1885, when after a long and determined opposition on the part of the Republican Senate, a Democratic House finally succeeded in securing the repeal of the obnoxious law.

A CONTRACT LABOR LAW WHICH FILLED THE SOLDIERS' PLACES.

In 1864, while our mechanics, operatives, miners and laborers were in the field fighting for the perpetuity of the Union, there was introduced into the Senate of the United States a bill which inflicted untold misery upon the laboring population of the United States. Senator Sherman in introducing the bill made use of the following words in explaining it:

> The special wants for labor in this country at the present time are very great. The war has depleted our workshops and materially lessened our supply of labor in every department of industry and mechanism. In their noble response to the call of their country our workmen in every branch of the useful arts have left vacancies which must be filled or the material interests of the country must suffer. The immense amount of native labor occupied by the war calls for a large increase of foreign immigration to make up the deficiency at home. The demand for labor never was greater than at present, and the fields of usefulness were never so varied and promising.

The second section of this law reads as follows:

> SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States in foreign countries, in conformity to regulations that may be established by the said commissioner, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months, to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States or of the several States and Territories; and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract, and the contract be recorded in the recorder's office in the county where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant, whether under the homestead law when the title is consummated, or on property otherwise acquired until liquidated by the emigrant; but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the Constitution of the United States, or creating in any way the relation of slavery or servitude. (U. S. Stats. at Large, vol. 15, 1863-'65.)

The extent to which the authors of this measure knew they were going is apparent from the last lines of this section—"but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the Constitution of the United States or creating in any way the relation of slavery or servitude."

This will serve to show to many persons, who have often wondered how many men got rich so rapidly during the war, how it was done. While the bone and sinew of the country were in the field fighting their country's battles, the manufacturers, subsidized by the most exorbitant duties ever levied in this country, were authorized to send their agents to Europe and there seek out men to fill the places of the absent soldiers, who were fighting for the munificent wages of $13 a month and found.

IT REMAINED A LAW UNTIL REPEALED BY DEMOCRATS.

This law remained in force until 1885—more than twenty years—and nearly nineteen years after the war, which was given as the excuse for its enactment, was over; and every effort to repeal it in the interest of American labor was thwarted by Republicans in the interest of the contractor and manufacturer. From the time of the enactment of this law till its repeal over 6,500,000 immigrants came to our shores. How many of these came voluntarily upon their own resources because of their admiration for our institutions, and how many debased and vicious characters were brought here under this contract system cannnot even be estimated. Laborers were imported under the provisions of this law up to the time of its repeal, and the statutes now in force prohibiting the same are being evaded in every possi-

ble way by the men who cry loudest "protection to American labor!" The Republican party, supreme in all the Departments of the Government, was cognizant of the fact, but no step was taken to protect American labor from this competition.

Not only was the war long past and the necessity for its continuance gone, but all through the panic of 1873 and the prolonged financial disturbance which followed, this law remained unrepealed. During this time more than half a million of men were discharged from mills and factories. But the contract labor law still went on. Under its provisions the Carnegies, the Ammidons, the DePauws and the Phillipses could go freely into the markets of the world and buy all the labor they could find and pay it such prices as it would take.

The soldiers of the union had long since returned, and were as bravely pursuing the arts of peace as they had those of war. Still they were cut off from employment unless they would accept the wages satisfactory to what the over-protected interests saw fit then, as well as now, to call "the pauper labor of Europe," or the Coolie contract and servile labor of Asia.

REFUSAL EVEN TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION.

Individual efforts were made from time to time to secure a repeal or modification of the law. On the 13th of December, 1869, Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, introduced a bill to regulate the importation of immigrants under contract. This bill was called up by him on the 22d of April, 1870, and its consideration urged; but Senator Ferry, of Michigan, objected, and the bill was referred to the Committee on Commerce, a majority of whom were Republicans, who reported against its passage. They were unwilling to consider a bill to even regulate the subject four years after the war was over.

On the 5th of February, 1870, Senator Wilson introduced another bill (S. 563) to make the importation of immigration under contract unlawful. He made several efforts to secure consideration of the same without reference to a committee, but objections were made, and on December 12, 1870, it was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and was never heard of again. No power was strong enough to carry a bill through the committee; the ears of Republicans were deaf to all appeals. They saw American workmen out of employment, wages going down, strikes and lock-outs daily occurring, but none of these aroused their attention.

Further attempts were made from time to time to give the needed relief to labor, but they were all successfully resisted.

Even when the matter had grown so serious that organized labor had begun to make itself felt, the proposition to repeal this law was continually resisted. On the 8th of January, propitious as the anniversary of General Jackson's victory at New Orleans, Martin A. Foran, a Democratic Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio, introduced a stringent bill to prohibit the importation of labor under contract.

The bill passed the Democratic House on June 19 following, and was at once sent to the Senate. Here, however, it was subjected to the same old tactics of delay; it did not secure attention and reach passage until February, 1885, after the people at a general election had passed judgment on the Republican party and evicted it from office.

VI.

ENFORCING THE LAW.

PERSISTENT AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO EXCLUDE LABOR IMPORTED UNDER CONTRACTS MADE ABROAD.

The most vigorous and determined efforts have been made by the President and Department of Justice to enforce this law. Prosecutions have not only been instituted whenever complaint has been made, but District Attorneys have been instructed to give their personal attention to any case which might arise in the districts over which they have authority.

Soon after the amended law became in force the Attorney-General wrote the following by way of instruction to J. S. H. Frink, United States District Attorney for the district of New Hampshire:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., April 26, 1888.

J. S. H. FRINK, ESQ., U. S. Attorney,
Portsmouth, N. H.

SIR:—In response to my request I received yours containing affidavits and other papers relating to a violation of the provisions of the acts of 1885 and 1887 concerning the importation of foreign labor by contract, to be used in the construction of the Upper Coos Railroad.

By the provisions of the second section of the act of 1885, the penalty is imposed for the violation of the first section of the act. The penalty may be sued for and recovered by the United States, or by any person "who may first bring the action." The duty is imposed on the United States Attorney to prosecute every such suit at the expense of the United States. If any suits are brought by private parties under the act to recover the penalty, examine the facts on which they are founded with care, and if they warrant action, prosecute them with diligence. If suits are not brought by private parties in such cases as from the facts brought to your knowledge show a wilful violation of the law, thoroughly investigate the facts that can be proven by evidence that can be relied on, and bring suit or suits against the culpable parties or corporation, in the name of the United States, sufficient in number and amount to vindicate the sanctity of the law. * * *

Very Respectfully,

A. H. GARLAND, Attorney General.

THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF GIVES INSTRUCTIONS.

President Cleveland has taken a deep interest in the enforcement of the law. In April last there was reported an attempt on the part of employing fishermen on the Massachusetts coast to import under contract a considerable number of men to be employed in the fisheries. Thereupon the President wrote the following letter of instruction to the District Attorney for the district of Eastern Massachusetts:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 18, 1888.

To the HON. O. A. GALVIN, *United States District Attorney, Boston, Mass.:*

DEAR SIR—Information has reached the Treasury Department that a large number of foreigners have been brought into Massachusetts under violation of the contract labor law, for the purpose of manning American fishing vessels sent out from the ports of Gloucester, Boston, and Beverly for the purpose of taking fish along the Canadian coast.

It seems to me quite certain that such foreigners, aliens, have been brought in by parties in direct violation of the statute covering such cases, and I believe that the importation of such foreigners tends to the displacement of American labor.

I am aware that many of these persons have, through the care of the officials, been returned to the country from which they came. I, therefore, enjoin on you the duty of a prompt investigation of these cases, and request that you confer with the Collectors of the ports of Boston and Gloucester, that prompt and effective measures may be taken.

The department has ordered that special agents be detailed who will report directly to you, and if you require any further assistance it will be given you upon application.

Yours truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

SUGGESTING ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION TO CONGRESS.

The following letter, addressed to Congress by the present Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, illustrates the efficient and diligent efforts of the present administration to prevent such importations of pauper labor:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., July 16th, 1888.

To the Speaker United States House of Representatives:

SIR: The attention of the Congress is respectfully invited to the necessity of further legislation for the better enforcement of the Alien Contract Labor Law.

The initial enactment upon this subject was approved February 26, 1885 (23 Stats. at Large 332). It declared that all contracts to perform labor or service, or having reference to the performance of labor or service, with a few unimportant exceptions not necessary to be here noticed, made previous to the immigration to, or importation into this country of the laborer, should be void, and it should be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to in any manner assist any foreign laborer into this country under a contract or agreement, parol, or special, express or implied, made previous to his entry to perform labor or service of any kind in the United States.

The landing of the immigrant was not, in terms, prohibited, nor was there any provision for his return to the country from whence he came, and the only measures incorporated into the law which were designed to secure its enforcement were the imposition of a penalty of $1,000 for a violation of the provisions of section 1, to be sued for and recovered in the Federal Courts. * * * * * * *

THE LAW MADE MORE STRINGENT.

Presumably this law was not found to be sufficiently effective to prevent the evils against which it was aimed, and on February 23, 1887, it was amended (24 Stats. page 474) by adding thereto sections 6, 7 and 8, which charged the Secretary of the Treasury with the duty of executing the provisions of the act, and authorized him to enter into contracts with any State Commission, board or officers having charge of the local affairs of immigration in the ports within the State, and prohibiting the landing of any person found to have been brought here under contract to labor contrary to the provisions of the act, and providing that all persons included in the prohibition of the act should be sent back to the nations to which they belonged and from whence they came, and authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to designate any State Board or any Commission, or any person or persons in any State whose duty it should be to cause all such persons to be returned, and who should be entitled to reasonable compensation therefor to be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, who was authorized to prescribe regulations for the return of such persons and furnish instructions to the board, commission or persons charged with that work, and the expense of the return must be borne by the owners of the vessels in which they came, and

any vessel refusing to pay such expense should not be permitted to land at or clear from any port of the United States, and the expenses were made a lien upon the vessel, and the necessary expenses incurred in the execution of the act for that fiscal year (namely, ending June 30, 1887) were to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

PRECAUTIONS TAKEN BY THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

On March 24, 1887, the Acting Secretary, in a circular addressed to the Collectors of Customs and Commissioners of Emigration and others, called attention to these acts and instructed the Collectors of Customs to cause all vessels arriving from foreign ports to be examined by officers of the port who might be in the customs service, in order to ascertain whether any alien immigrants forbidden to land within the provisions of the act of 1885 were on such vessels, and to use the utmost vigilance to prevent the landing of such immigrants, and to secure their return to the countries from whence they came by the vessels on their arrival, and to report the names of all persons or firms instrumental in engaging, or introducing into the country, contract immigrants prohibited from landing, to the United States Attorney for the judicial district embracing their respective ports, and also the names of the vessels bringing such contract immigrants, and of their masters, in order that prosecutions might be instigated against them as provided for in sections 2 and 3 of the original act, and in case of any refusal to return contract immigrants as required by law, Collectors were instructed to promptly institute the proceedings authorized by section 8 of the act of February 23, 1887. Commissioners of Emigration were also requested to aid Collectors of Customs and those persons designated by Collectors when the service required, so far as might be possible within the scope of their legitimate duties.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR ENFORCING THE LAW EXHAUSTED.

In these instructions the Secretary of the Treasury would seem to have gone to the very verge of the powers conferred upon him by the acts referred to. But at the time this circular was issued the Forty-ninth Congress had expired, the appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1888 had been passed, and by some omission, whether accidental or intentional, I am unable to say, no appropriation had been made to carry into effect the provisions of this law during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and no appropriation has thus far been made or contemplated, that I am aware of, to defray such expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889.

Its enforcement, therefore, during this period by the Treasury Department has necessarily been made an incident of the customs service, and with the limited and inadequate appropriations provided by Congress for this service it will readily be seen that the means for a perfect and successful execution of the law are wanting. * * *. What is needed is a separate and independent appropriation for the service required of the Secretary of the Treasury under the act of 1887. There is in the Treasury an "Immigrant Fund" derived from the head-money tax provided for in the Immigration Act of 1882 (22 Stats. 214), and which is especially appropriated by the terms of that act to defraying the expenses of carrying it into effect.

After paying out of that fund all expenditures properly chargeable to it there was a balance unexpended on June 30, 1888, of nearly $335,000. It is difficult to perceive any good reason why this fund should not also be charged with the expense of enforcing the Alien Contract Labor Law. It relates to the same general subject-matter, namely, the exclusion from this country of undesirable foreigners, and the revenues derived from the tax on foreign immigration can be properly, and it is believed, profitably employed in this work.

ENLARGED POWERS FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

An enlargement of the powers of the Secretary of the Treasury, under the act of 1887, would also seem to be desirable. As it stands, his jurisdiction in the premises apparently terminates when the landing of the immigrant has been consummated. From information derived from reliable sources, there is reason to believe that it will not infrequently happen that the evidence going to show that the immigrant has come here under a contract to labor, is inaccessible until it is too late to be of any avail. The provisions of this law are

now well known abroad, and the immigrant who is actually coming under a previous contract to labor, has the strongest of motives to conceal the fact and avoid his detention on ship-board and his return to his native country.

When it is considered that many of these immigrant ships entering at the port of New York bring from a thousand to fifteen hundred passengers at a trip, and sometimes enter at the rate of four or five a day, and the question of their right to land must necessarily be determined, in the first instance, in a very brief period of time, the possibility of evading the most rigid examination that can be instituted under such circumstances, is not remote. But the subsequent conduct of the immigrant and his employer may furnish strong proof of the contract previous to immigration. It should likewise be borne in mind that the entry of these immigrants can easily be effected by way of Canada, and they may be brought across the border at points many miles distant from the place where a customs officer may be located, and the first information which the Department or any of its officers may have of their presence here would be received long after the importation has been made, and when the time for preventive action under existing laws had passed.

THE LAW PART OF OUR SETTLED POLICY.

Regarding the law, therefore, as a part of the settled policy of our Government, it would seem to be wise to provide that in all cases where, within a reasonable time after the landing or entry of the immigrant, the Department become satisfied that his landing or entry was prohibited, summary proceedings might be instituted for re-taking the immigrant and returning him at the expense of the owner of the importing vessel, or of the person contracting for his service, in case he enters from the adjoining provinces.

It would also prove a great stimulus to persons who may be interested in the detection and prevention of violations of the law, if it was provided that they should have a share of the penalties recovered, or that the Secretary of the Treasury should be authorized to pay out of the moneys realized upon any such recovery such portion, not exceeding 50 per cent., as he may deem a just and reasonable compensation for any information furnished which has led to the recovery. This course is pursued with respect to violations of the revenue laws, but the act of 1885, while it authorizes any person to bring an action in the Federal courts for the recovery of the penalties imposed, makes no provision for his compensation or for the payment to him of any portion of the recovery, in case the prosecution is successful.

ASKS THAT THE LAW BE STRENGTHENED.

In view of the foregoing facts I would respectfully submit the following recommendations:

First. That the sum of $50,000 be appropriated out of the "Immigrant Fund" for the purpose of enabling the Secretary of the Treasury to carry into effect the provisions of the Alien Contract Labor Law of 1885, as amended by the act of 1887, and for the purpose of defraying the expenses which he is authorized to incur by the provisions of the latter act, during the present fiscal year, and that this appropriation be made in the General Deficiency Bill now pending, or in some other proper appropriation bill. If Congress approves of this recommendation a draft of a provision for that purpose to be inserted in such bill is herewith submitted.

Second. An amendment to the act of 1887, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury, in case he shall be satisfied that an immigrant has been allowed to land contrary to the prohibition of that law, to cause such immigrant within a reasonable time, say one year, to be taken into custody and returned to the country from whence he came at the expense of the owner of the importing vessel, or if he entered from an adjoining country at the expense of the person previously contracting for the services.

Third. An amendment to the act of 1885, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay an informer who furnishes original information that the law has been violated, such a share of the penalties recovered as he may deem reasonable and just, not exceeding 50 per cent., where it appears that the recovery was had in consequence of the information thus furnished.

Respectfully yours,

C. S. FAIRCHILD, Secretary.

No complaint has been made in any quarter that the present Administration has not done everything in its power to execute the law without fear or favor, and the official letters already presented sufficiently attest the purpose of the authorities to do what in them lies to protect labor from the unfair competition, to which it was for more than twenty years subjected under Republican rule.

A REPUBLICAN SENATOR WHO IMPORTED CONTRACT LABORERS IN GREAT NUMBERS.

There is now pending in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Texas an action in which the United States is plaintiff and Gustave Wilke, *John V. Farwell*, *Charles B. Farwell*, Abner Taylor and Amos Babcock are defendants.

The pleadings in the case show that the defendants had a contract for the erection of the State-House at Austin, Texas; that they were known as the Capital Syndicate; that the stonecutters employed to cut the stone struck and refused to work because convicts were employed at the quarries in getting out the stone, and the defendants then sent to Aberdeen, Scotland, in April, 1886, and brought over eighty-seven foreign stonecutters under contract to work upon said building, who were employed and paid by them, and after the completion of the work they, or the most of them, returned to Scotland.

Suit is brought to recover $1,000 penalty for each alien contract laborer.

VII.

EIGHT-HOUR LEGISLATION.

REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION TO THE ENACTMENT OF THE LAW AND THE PERSISTENT FAILURE TO ENFORCE IT.

The first eight-hour bill was introduced by A. J. Rogers, a Democratic member from New Jersey, February 19, 1866. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, where it was pigeon-holed during that Congress.

William E. Niblack, a Democratic member from Indiana, next introduced a joint resolution declaring eight hours a legal day's work under the Government. This resolution was also referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and was strangled by that Committee. The House of Representatives was strongly Republican during the Thirty-ninth Congress, and James F. Wilson, now United States Senator from Iowa, being Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

In the Senate Mr. Brown (Republican), of Missouri, introduced an eight-hour bill, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs. On March 2, 1867, it was reported to the Senate by Mr. Grimes (Republican), of Iowa, who moved that the committee be discharged from its further consideration, which motion was agreed to. That action killed the bill. The Senate was then Republican by a large majority.

ITS COURSE IN THE SUCCEEDING CONGRESS.

On March 14, 1867, George W. Jullian, of Indiana, now Democratic Surveyor-General of New Mexico, introduced the same bill offered by Mr. Rogers in the previous Congress. Mr. Holman, Democrat, of Indiana, moved that the bill be at once put upon its passage. But this was objected to by Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and the bill was then referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

FORTIETH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

On March 28, 1867, General Banks, of Massachusetts, introduced an eight-hour bill, and the rules were suspended and the bill passed. The bill was sent to the Senate on the same day, and after a warm debate on its reference to a committee, it was referred to the Finance Committee, of which John Sherman, of Ohio, was chairman. That committee loved it so much that they could not part with it, so it was never reported back to the Senate.

FORTIETH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

On January 6, 1868, another eight-hour bill was introduced by General Banks, which was passed by the House without a yea and nay vote. This bill was received by the Senate on January 7, 1868, the day after it passed the House, and on motion of Mr. Conness, of California, it was ordered to lie on the table. He said he made that motion because a similar bill had been referred to a committee which neglected to report it back to the Senate. He gave notice that he would call it up at an early day.

Nothing more was said about it for nearly five months, when, on June 3, 1868, Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, the late Vice-President, moved to take it up for consideration. He made an earnest speech in favor of his motion, saying in the course of it:

The bill is meritorious, and petitions have come to the Senate from all over the United States, and up to this time no attention has been paid to them by the Senate. At an early period of this session, among the first acts passed by the house of Representatives was this act, but it has laid upon the table and has not even been referred to a committee. Now, in response and in respect to the sentiment of the country so generally expressed on this subject I have felt it my duty to call up the measure for passage. The bill is brief and can be considered without reference to a committee.

The Senate refused to take the bill up.

On June 24, 1868, on motion of Mr. Conness, the bill was taken up, when Senator Sherman offered the following amendment:

"And unless otherwise provided by law, the rate of wages paid by the United States shall be the current rate for the same labor, for the same time, at the place of employment."

Mr. Sherman said:

"All I desire is, if the United States Government chooses to take the lead in making eight hours a day's work, that it shall not be compelled to pay for that eight hours' work more than any private individual would pay."

Mr. Hendricks (Democrat) from Indiana, said:

"I have supported this bill, because a very large number of workingmen of the country have petitioned Congress for it. Its influence on the private employments of the country may be beneficial to the laboring *masses. My opinion is that eight hours of labor, faithfully applied, are quite sufficient, and that the health of the laborer and the general interest of society will be promoted* by this reform. I do not think the amendment proposed by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Sherman) is necessarily connected with this proposition. There may be reasons why the wages of those employed by the Government should not be regulated by the wages paid by private employers in the particular locality. Take the city of Washington for example. Private employment here is very limited; enterprise is very limited, and if you would say that the laborer for the Government should have no more than one who works for a private citizen, perhaps you would fix an unfortunate standard. I shall vote against the amendment of the bill."

The amendment of Senator Sherman was rejected and the bill was passed by a vote of 26 to 11.

After the passage of the bill Senator Sherman said the title of the bill ought to be changed so as to read: "A bill to pay Government employes 25 per cent. more wages than employes in private establishments receive."

FAILURE TO ENFORCE THE LAW IN NAVY YARDS.

After the passage of this law it early became apparent that officers of the Government were hostile to the spirit and intent of the law and determined to construe its provisions to suit themselves, and compel or induce workmen, through fear of discharge, to labor ten hours per day or submit to a reduction of wages if only eight hours' labor was given.

To meet this violation of the law, the House of Representatives, on the 8th day of April, 1869, passed a joint resolution which provided "that the joint resolution reducing and regulating the hours of labor of Government laborers, workmen and mechanics, approved June 25, 1868, shall not be construed as to authorize a corresponding reduction of wages."

April 20, 1869, fifteen days after the passage of this resolution, Senator Wilson addressed a letter to the then Secretary of War, wherein he said:

"I am clearly of the opinion that the construction put by officers of the Government upon the act constituting eight hours a day's work for all laborers, workmen and mechanics employed by the United States is a palpable violation of the spirit and letter of the acts and intention of Congress, and of the men who petitioned for its passage.

"The recent act of the House of Representatives is the complete demonstration that the action of the Government officials is in direct violation of the will of the representatives of the people. * * * Congress was not asked to reduce the pay in proportion to the reduction of the hours, but to fix the number of hours that should make a day's work. * * * By that law eight hours is constituted a day's work, a day's work that commands a day's pay."

The House resolution above referred to was sent to the Senate April 8, 1869, but was not acted upon during that session. During the second session, on December 15, 1869, Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, called the resolution up and offered an amendment repealing the original eight-hour law. He made a speech covering seven pages of the Congressional Globe, in support of his amendment.

In the meantime President Grant had been appealed to, and had issued a proclamation, dated May 19, 1869, giving the Executive construction to the law, which was that no reduction in wages should be made because of a reduction in the hours of labor. At that time workingmen thought that the proclamation of the President would be respected and obeyed by the Executive officers of the Government, but they seemed to care no more for the President's order than they did for the law itself, and so flagrant was the continued violation, that the President was again appealed to, and a second proclamation was issued May 11, 1872, commanding officers of the Government to obey the law.

During the first session of the 46th Congress, John Goode (Dem.) of Virginia, April 21, 1879, offered a joint resolution to provide for the enforcement of the eight hour law. Mr. Goode, on May 7, 1879, from the Committee on Education and Labor, reported the resolution to the House with a favorable recommendation.

Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, opposed the passage of the resolution. In reply to a question whether the last proclamation of President Grant did not declare that there should be no reduction in the wages of workmen employed by the Government of the United States on account of the reduction of hours of labor, he said:

I do not recollect, but it is not material; the fact is, the law as now executed is this: if they work ten hours they get ten hours' pay, and if they only work eight hours they only get eight hours' pay. In other words, they only get pay for what they earn. That is the way the law is now being executed, and so far as I am concerned, it will go on in that way, proclamation or no proclamation.

On motion of Mr. Cannon, the joint resolution was laid on the table. Yeas 129, nays 90. Among those voting yea were Messrs. Bayne of Pennsylvania, Burrows of Michigan, Cannon of Illinois, Hiscock of New York, McKinley of Ohio, MORTON, of New York, and Reed of Maine. The Republican candidate was thus found in the house of his friends voting against the eight-hour law.

On June 28, 1884, Mr. Hopkins, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, called up House bill No. 6541, providing for the adjustment of accounts of laborers, workmen and mechanics arising under the eight-hour law. During the debate on this bill, Mr. Lovering, of Massachusetts, a Democratic member of the Committee on Labor, said:

Men, high in official positions, have sneered at and insulted the employes and laborers of the Government when they have respectfully asked for their legal rights, and they have in turn been told to get them if they could. It is time a halt was called upon this sort of thing. As long as this law remains upon the statute-books, the people demand its rigid enforcement, and without any of the equivocations of the past at the hands of those whose duty it is by their oaths of office to enforce all laws; that it shall no more be nullified and trampled upon by the rule of the past, the rule of the so-called "administrative discretion," which has singled out the only law ever enacted directly in the interest of labor, and has subjected it to the caprice or hostility of the official who for the time being has been clothed with a "little brief authority."

After considerable debate, Mr. Hopkins moved that the committee rise for the purpose of closing debate, but Mr. Browne (Republican) of Indiana, insisting that the opponents of the bill should have more time to talk it to death, said:

It was not intended to interfere with the liberty of either the laborer or the Government to freely contract both as to the hours of employment and the measure of compensation. The statute does not attempt the impossible—to make eight hours equal to ten—nor does it require the Government to pay for eight hours a sum equal to the market value of ten hours of service. If the employer and employe mutually stipulate for a day of ten hours, no law is violated. If the laborer works two hours over the legal limit fixed for the day and is paid for this extra time, should he complain, and is it either reasonable or fair to exact double pay for this excess? If the laborer, by contract, either express or implied, undertakes to labor for an agreed sum, he is bound in law and morals by his contract. Who dares deny this? Then why this bill? * * * * * * *

Mr. Hopkins. I desire to ask the gentleman what the Chicago platform of his own party contains as to the eight-hour law.

Mr. Browne, of Indiana. I do not remember what it contains on that subject; nor do I know what the next Chicago platform will have in it. * * * *

Mr. Hiscock (Republican) of New York, said:

The bill assumes these claimants have no valid claim against the Government, and proposes to give them this gratuity. It assumes they have already been paid in full; but in addition, it will by favor, give them for eight hours' work the price of ten. Why not then have this fairly and openly stated upon the face of the bill itself? If in the future that is exactly what is intended to be accomplished, why not let the bill so express it? Why not let it clearly say to all those in the Government employ, the Government will pay them for eight hours' service the value or price of ten? Then you will have something definite and positive for your labor. Then you can afford to make these demagogical speeches. You can afford to say that you propose to elevate labor in the Government employ by paying it twenty-five per cent. or upward more than it is worth and more than labor elsewhere receives. You will have paid for the privilege.

Messrs. Hopkins, O'Neill, Glasscock, Foran, and others favored the bill, but it failed to pass.

Among those voting against the bill were the following Republican members: Bayne of Pennsylvania, Burrows of Michigan, Connor of Illinois, Hiscock of New York, McKinly of Ohio, MORTON of New York, and Reed of Maine.

Things remained in this condition until the advent of a Democratic administration, when Secretary Whitney issued an order, so different in language and construction to its predecessors that the law has since been as faithfully executed as any other on the statute books.

VIII.

SOME LABOR TENDENCIES.

WHAT LABORING MEN THINK OF THE SITUATION—PLAIN SPOKEN OPINIONS ON THE TARIFF AND ON HARRISON.

Under this classification will be given such miscellaneous information on the labor question as it has been found impossible to classify elsewhere. It will include the opinions of the representatives of labor in Congress, a showing of the effect of imported labor in some of the mining and manufacturing centres, and the methods adopted by some of the leading protectionists to promote their own interests while grinding the workingman down to the lowest limit or importing cheap laborers to take his place. It is all of such a nature as to carry its own conclusions with it.

REPRESENTATIVE WORKINGMEN FAVOR TARIFF REFORM.

Organized labor has two representatives on the floor of the House of Representatives at Washington, and the steady support which these men gave the bill to reduce tariff taxes, known as the Mills bill, convinced many Republican Congressmen that the attempt to get up a "workingmen's scare," as they call it among themselves, will be a failure.

These two labor representatives are Congressman Henry Smith, of the Fourth Wisconsin district, and Congressman Samuel J. Hopkins, of the Sixth Virginia district. Mr. Smith is about fifty years of age, and is a carpenter and millwright by trade. He has a common school education and plenty of common sense, industry and acquaintance with men and facts, worth more than a college education. He is the State master workman of the Knights of Labor of Wisconsin, and as a representative workingman he has several times been chosen to responsible public offices, having been a member of the Milwaukee Common Council, and of the Wisconsin Legislature. He was elected to Congress as the candidate of the Labor party, polling 13,355 votes against 9,645 for the Republican nominee and 8,233 for the Democratic nominee. At the previous election the district had elected a Republican by a vote of 16,783 to 15,967 for the Democrat. Congressman Smith sits on the Republican side of the House of Representatives.

Congressman Hopkins was a carpenter and is a dealer in merchant saddlery. He is forty-five years old, and for several years has been one of the most influential members of the Knights of Labor in Virginia. He is and always has been a Democrat, but was elected to Congress as the candidate of the Knights of Labor by a vote of 9,470 to 9,020 over the regular Democratic nominee. At the previous election the district gave 3,600 straight Democratic majority.

Congressman Hopkins is influential, not only among the labor organizations of his own State, but is known to labor organizations throughout the country.

REDUCE THE TAXES ON LABORING MEN.

Congressman Smith, when asked his views on tariff legislation and the Mills bill, said: "My opinions on this matter are the result of careful, conscientious, and I hope, intelligent study of what are the needs of the country and especially of laboring men, who make up the country's strength. The tariff is a tax and no amount of talking in Congress or in the newspapers or anywhere else can make it seem to be anything else. The people of this country cannot be made happy or prosperous by taxing them, and until the last few years anyone who maintained that this could be done would be laughed at. As the tariff is a tax it should be levied on luxuries, and thus the tax put on those who can best afford to pay the taxes. That is the true way to reform the present tariff. The Mills bill, as it is called, is a moderate effort to reduce taxes on the necessaries of life and I shall vote, if I have a chance, to go even further and shall support all measures to lighten the load of taxes on the shoulders of labor, which is both the producing and the consuming element of our population. I shall vote for free coal and free sugar as I have already voted for free lumber. Tariff taxation, to my way of thinking, is not a blessing, and men who work for wages and have thougth about it, as I have, always reach this same conclusion.

THE TWIN MONOPOLIES.

Tariff taxation is not the only obstacle the producing element, by which, of course, I mean labor, has to contend against in this country. I may say, in passing, that the matter of transportation and the absorption of our public lands by aggregated capital, foreign or domestic, is of as great importance to labor as the tariff, and perhaps of greater importance. Excessive railroad freights and discriminations in charges weigh down upon American labor as heavily as tariff taxation. I will go so far as to say that if the railroads of the country were put in the same condition as our rivers and national waterways, if they were not controlled by corporations, bound to make traffic pay every cent it can stagger under, Ameri-

can labor would need no tariff at all. It could not only defy the whole world at home, but compete with the whole world. This is an extreme position, but a moment's reflection will show you that excessive railroad charges are an obstacle in the way of American production which do much to hamper its development. The profit to be made in railroads is one reason for the decadence of our merchant marine. When men make more money out of transportation companies on stable American soil than they can from ships on the uncertain ocean, of course, they will put their money in railroads. This problem is an important one to labor, though often overlocked.

PUBLIC LANDS MUST BE RESERVED.

The absorption of public lands in the West by railroad companies and by foreign corporations is a matter of great consequence to all who have at heart interests of labor, not only for this generation but for the future. Those lands must be reserved for actual settlers. This subject and the matter of the currency are important; but to return to the tariff.

WAGES AND THE TARIFF.

I believe all the necessaries of life should be made as cheap as possible to the consumer by reduced taxation. It is not true that a reduction of the tariff will reduce the wages of either skilled or unskilled labor. The cry that wages will be reduced is started by combinations of capital for their own selfish purposes, and this is so evident that I am surprised men should not clearly see the fact. I have no Blackstonian sheepskin as a certificate to my seat in Congress. I am here because laboring men in my district thought I would fairly represent them and would care for their interests.

I have worked in the shop, and when eloquent lawyers tell me that in supporting a reduction of tariff taxes upon the people I am voting to reduce wages, I say I know better. I know that there are millions of men in this country under the present system who do not get six months' steady employment out of a year. I know that trusts and combinations, formed to restrict production and compel high prices, shut down their shops and throw men out of employment, and that the tariff as it exists is the cause. I have never had any doubt on this subject, and the investigation of trusts by the committee on manufactures, of which I am a member, has fortified my conviction. Page after page of the testimony we have obtained shows that the tariff is an incentive to the formation of these trusts and combinations of capital, and has been so used for years. The combination of tariff "protection," as they call it, and railroad monopoly leads to trusts. The tariff and railroad monopoly may be "wholesome" for trusts, but by them labor gets "shelved" every time. My experience in Congress confirms my original belief in thismatter every day.

THE TARIFF BREAKS DOWN SMALL SHOPS.

There is another matter, not often spoken of in debate on this subject, but well worth the study of our people. The tariff not only creates trusts, but it also tends to create big shops and factories and to crowd out of existence smaller shops. This tendency is rapidly doing away with good mechanics, especially in the industries which they call "protected." In the small shop the employe becomes familiar with different branches of the work and he is daily acquiring that knowledge which will enable him in time by industry and economy to set up in business for himself if he wishes. He becomes not only educated in his trade, but an educated man and a better and more independent citizen. Wherever he may move to, he can find employment because he knows his whole business. He is self-reliant, intelligent, prudent, the right kind of citizen for this country. But if the same man goes into a big factory, the foreman puts him at one machine, doing only one kind of work, and he can bend over that machine until he is gray, never making any progress, and should he lose that place or move away, he is trained for no work and can do none until he finds a vacant place at the same machine in some other establishment. He is the slave of his machine. You will realize how this tariff we have now is creating big establishments at the expense of smaller ones when you look at the figures and find that against about 270,000 manufacturing establishments in 1870 we now have less than 200,000, although the number of employes has increased by a million.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN LABOR.

I take up the gauntlet thrown down by Congressman W. D. Kelley, and I declare that a Chinese wall about this country is unnatural. That nation grows richest, happiest and most prosperous which has intercourse with its neighbors. In the Bible you will find it said that Israel was most prosperous under King Solomon and then "it traded with all the nations." My experience with workingmen is that we have no such hatred against our fellow laborers in other countries as is now sought to be created and stirred up. We commiserate the condition of workingmen in other lands and attribute it to class legislation for the benefit of the rich and against the poor. We see the same tendency in this country, not only in the high tariff, but in railroad monopoly and other matters I have spoken of, and we should be the first and most active in preventing such legislation hereafter and removing it where it exists. The success of the trusts in defeating a reduction of taxes now would probably lead them to make still further demands for legislation for their benefit against the country's good.

THE POOR PAY THE TAXES.

After all the weight of taxation falls on the man at the plow-handle and in the shop. The first duty of legislation is to make their burdens as light as possible. If the farmer fares well, all the country prospers and more especially does labor in the cities. If the farmer is robbed, labor lags and is stagnant in all the walks of life."

CONGRESSMAN SAMUEL J. HOPKINS' VIEWS.

Congressman Hopkins said on the subject of the tariff reform bill:

"My support of tariff reduction and of the bill before Congress is based on the firm conviction that the tariff is a tax upon laboring men, who are the real wealth-producers of the country. Under the present tariff the wealth-producers, the men whose hard labor takes material and works it up into manufactured products, get little or no advantage, and so far as labor is concerned the word "protection" is falsely used. Here and there the tariff as it stands may, perhaps, develop some industries, but it does not increase wages by one dollar, and any one who honestly investigates the subject, as my duty as a member of Congress has led me to do, must reach that conclusion.

WAGES AND TRUSTS.

The charge that the Mills bill will reduce wages is purely political buncombe on the Republican side, and is inspired by the great organizations of capital which we call trusts. I am more moderate in my belief than many, and I do not charge that the present tariff, which we wish to reform in the interest of labor, was framed for the express purpose of creating and protecting trusts. Those who framed it may have had other and good motives. But I have no hesitation in saying that the present tariff now and for several years past has encouraged and protected these trusts. The trusts and combinations of capital have been quick to seize the many opportunities the tariff has afforded them, and they raise the false cry about lower wages to draw attention, and especially the attention of laboring men, away from themselves and their reaching out after greater gains and greater power. We all realize that it is not the employment, wages or welfare of American workingmen which inspires trusts. The greater and more numerous they become, the less will be the opportunities for labor. What they aim at is the absolute control of American labor and of its output, and instances are abundant where they have reduced wages in order to compel their men to strike merely because they wished to limit production for the time.

DESPOTISM OF COMBINED CAPITAL.

The tariff as it stands is the one great incentive in our legislation to the establishment of a moneyed despotism in this country and that is to be feared and fought against by labor more than any one thing. Such a moneyed despotism, which we already see growing up under the "protection" of the present tariff, with its power firmly fastened on production and distribution (through railroads) and with consumption the servant of its commands is not merely worse than the military, aristocratic or land despotisms of the old world, to escape which many workingmen have sought refuge in this country; it is as bad as, or worse than, chattel slavery. Now I believe it is inevitable that if the Democratic party shall be stopped by these aggregations of capital in its effort to reduce taxation and to curtail the growing power of these trusts, these combinations will be emboldened to come to Congress and demand still greater privileges and will secure a still stronger grip upon the production of the country. When they tell me that there are trusts, like the Standard Oil trust, outside the "protection" of the tariff, I acknowledge it and say that they are illegitimate results of the system. The tariff has tended to bring into the control of trusts, pools and combinations all production within its scope. Following the example thus furnished capital in industries outside the tariff combines in the same manner. In view of all these facts, brought before me almost daily, the cry that the tariff pays me my wages or pays the wages of any one else I know to be worse than nonsense.

OTHER QUESTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

As the tariff restricts production by putting its control in the hands of combinations of capital, so the railroads exert too strong a control over distribution. The railroad problem is of equal importance with the reduction of the tariff to laboring men and of equal importance, also, is the preservation of the public lands for actual settlers against the encroachments of land grant railroads and of foreign capital. These matters all demand the earnest study of laboring men, and I regret that I cannot speak now more fully upon them. I was elected on the issue of the reduction of the tariff over the Democratic nominee in a Democratic district, but the other issues to which I have barely alluded I regard of as equal importance in meeting my Congressional duties."

A PENNSYLVANIA MINER'S OPINION.

The following letter, written by W. B. Estell, of Freeland, Pa., to a friend in New York, is an interesting contribution to this branch of this discussion:

In reply to your questions as to how I intend to vote, let me confess that I shall lessen by one the 80,000 majority which James G. Blaine received in 1884. I was always a dyed in the wool protectionist, I suppose, because my father before me was one, and because I never heard anything since my youth but the glorious benefits to be derived by the workingman from protective tariff. Since I became one of these gloriously protected workingmen myself my eyes have been opened considerably; and I, by a series of practical experiences, have demonstrated to my entire satisfaction that something more than tariffs are necessary to high wages. In fact, I have lost all faith in the efficacy of protective tariffs to, *in the*

slightest extent, regulate the wages of workingmen. There has been a protective tariff on coal ever since I can remember, to protect the "coal barons" from the disastrous results which competition with coal, mined by the "pauper labor of Europe," would bring. This has been a fine thing for the coal barons. It has enabled them to form the notorious coal pool and make every poor devil in the United States pay seventy-five cents a ton more for his coal than there is any necessity for. It has made every coal operator a millionaire, but has not helped the miner one iota, but on the other hand has injured him, because while the tariff protected the operator from the "pauper-mined coal," *it did not protect the American miner from the "pauper" who mined it.* To be effectual, the coal tariff should be carried to its logical conclusion. If the operator is protected against the coal of foreign countries, the miner should be protected against the foreign miner, who comes over here to compete with him for work.

I have worked in and about the mines 24 years and I know that work for which I received $18 per week and steady work 14 years ago I can only get $9 60 for now and only work about two-thirds of the time, and in some collieries no more than $7.40 per week. Yet the tariff on coal has not been reduced, *but the competition between employers for workmen has*, and there lies the whole secret, Hopkins. It may seem strange to you that I, an old hard-shell Republican, should write in this way, but I can't help it. I am only doing what a candid examination of the whole question, and a desire to act according to my convictions, compel me to do. I am convinced that no duty or tariff can ever benefit the American coal miner while European miners are coming to our shores by the thousands and are compelled to compete with our men for work. Why, right down here in Hazleton the other week an Italian advertised for work for 300 of his countrymen, offering them for 60 cents per day. Of what avail can all the tariffs in the world be when men are thus forced to work for a bare subsistence. I believe to be effective a tariff must be extended so as to prohibit immigration, and I believe any law that makes this grand country other than an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, violates the fundamental principles of our government. We have room enough for all if we would only compel these dogs in the manger, who are holding natural opportunities idle, to put them to a productive use.

I am not the only one in the Anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania who will leave the Republican tariff platform, to stand with Grover Cleveland upon the Democratic one of revenue reform. There are thousands of them who have already determined to do this, and there are thousands of others who are wavering and can be brought over if the Democrats will have courage enough to attack protection in its stronghold. Even the Republican politicians are impregnated with free trade. The Honorable D. M. Evans, who was a Republican member of the last State Legislature, is a free trader, and, much as the machine would like to, it dare not oppose his renomination, because the majority of the voters are miners, and Evans himself being a miner, is the only one who can be elected. The time has passed when any old fossil can be foistered on the miners and elected by an appeal to their predilection for a protection tariff. I am not giving you hearsay, but what I know to be facts. I am special organizer for the K. of L., and my conversations with representative men in every place I have been, is my authority. I know that on every street corner you can hear men discussing revenue reform and its bearing upon wages, and the conviction rapidly forcing itself upon them that the protective tariff fallacy has only been held up before their eyes in order to obscure their vision and keep them from seeing the true cause of their industrial slavery. I am for Cleveland because he is going in the right direction. I know that just as soon as men learn that tariffs will not raise wages they will begin to ask what will; that when they begin to ask that, they will learn that competition among men for work regulates wages; that this competition is caused by the denying to men (through the monopolization of natural opportunities) of free access to the land upon which all must labor, and that this can only be remedied by raising all revenue from a tax upon land values.

W. B. ESTELL.

HOW LABOR IS IMPORTED FREE.

[*From the Philadelphia Record.*]

Right in the teeth of the Congressional investigation now in progress, *The Record* has found almost a score of Italian "bankers" who want to send from 500 to 1,000 Italian laborers into Pennsylvania at from $1 to $1.15 per day, and they will be glad to pay a commission to the contractor who will take the men at these rates.

The "Banca Italiana" is the disguise of the padrone, and it flourishes like a green bay tree, both in this city and New York, and the Italian "banker"—always sleek, prosperous looking, and wearing a profusion of gold watch chain and other jewelry—is the most interesting subject connected with the contract labor problem which the Congressional Committee can attack.

To a reporter who appeared in the character of a contractor wanting 600 men, cheap, a number of these padrones unbosomed themselves. The story of one of these bankers is the story of all, the variations in their propositions being immaterial, and Guiseppe Gallo is a fair type. Guiseppe is the owner of a "Banca Italiana," at No. 14 Marion street, New York, and is now awaiting a telegram to call him to this city in order to close a contract to have 600 men at Lebanon within a week, at $1.10 per day. He does not want any commission, either—not he. But he wants a clause in the contract which gives him absolute control of the housing and the furnishing of supplies to the men.

SHANTIES FOR HOMES AND STRAW FOR BEDS.

Board shanties or barns, with straw for beds, were the lodgings which Mr. Gallo proposed to furnish for these 600 men, at $1 each per month. He did agree to throw in light and heat, but as the latter is a cheap luxury at this time of the year, and the former would cost

about $20, all told, for the month, this cannot be considered a valuable concession. He calculated if he should be compelled to build shanties, it would require four for the 600 men, and they would cost about $165 each. Guiseppe would, of course, own the lumber at the termination of the contract, so that the total net cost of his shanties would not exceed $400, and if the contract should continue four months he would capture by this management, $2,000 net profit.

THE MEN IN THE PADRONE'S GRIP.

Having thus consigned his ignorant countrymen to rough-board shanties—150 men to a shanty—and straw beds, like so many sheep, "Banker" Gallo binds them to his sutler tent with fetters of steele. The proposed agreement, which is only a sample of scores of others proposed by these "bankers," compels the contractor to deduct the amount of the bills made by the men at the commissary department, furnished by the "banker," and to discharge at once any one of the men caught buying supplies at any other place. "Banker" Gallo agreed upon his part to furnish within twenty-four hours from 10 to 200 men to take the places of anyof those discharged on the sutler's demands. As an additional inducement to the contractor to agree to this arrangement, which virtually made slaves of the men, and placed their wages at the mercy of Gallo's agent at the commissary department, he agreed to allow the contractor to retain five per cent. of the total amount of the bills which the men run up at the sutler's tent during the month. Some of the checks from contractors for supplies furnished by Gallo to 300 Italians amounted to between $6,000 and $8,000 per month, which would indicate that his monthly check for supplying 600 men would amount to $10,000 or $12,000. In addition to this and to the $600 a month for the barn and the straw and the store bills, there would also be deducted from the men's first month's pay about $2,400 for car fare from New York to Lebanon, and this money would be paid to the "banker."

HOW MORE FAT IS FRIED OUT.

It is only fair to say that "Banker" Gallo is a sample of this class. He is no better and no worse, and *The Record* has the names and addresses of many others found in a two days' trip through the Italian quarter of New York, who wanted to do about the same thing. One of the friends of Gallo said that he would have offered the supposed contractor ten per cent. on the monthly bills had he been pressed.

AMERICAN LABOR CANNOT STAND THIS.

Nearly all the Italian bankers are agents for the ocean steamship lines, and they make an honest penny off the poor immigrants by selling them tickets for their friends in Europe. What money does not reach the sutler's till is often confided to the "banker," who is not responsible to the State, and who often pays no interest, and does not always pay the principal. The Italian Vice-Consul, Senor Monaco, yesterday gave the Congressional committee some interesting information of a general character upon this phase of the "bankers'" character. He said that they would send to their friends in Italy and tell them to send over men and pay their passage—about $24 each. The passengers would be sent to certain people in New York, who placed them at work, generally at from $1 to $1.25 a day. They would be required to pay back to their employers on this side the price of their passage and a liberal interest therefor. The amount the immigrants would have to repay would be as high sometimes as $50, and the advance on the ticket was never less than $5. These contractors generally kept the immigrants at their places on Mulberry street. Those places were generally ornamented with a "banco" in the front and a saloon in the rear. These contractors or labor bosses, according to the Vice Consul, received the wages of the immigrants they were employing, and deducted what they saw fit for passage, board, etc., and then gave the immigrants the balance. Sometimes the bosses or contractors "skipped" after receiving the immigrant's wages, and left them in the lurch altogether.

PENNSYLVANIA OVERRUN WITH THE CONTRACT LABOR.

Gangs of these contract laborers swarm all over Pennsylvania. Whenever there is a railroad being constructed, or digging work of great magnitude being done, there the Italian contractor has sent out his gang, and the shanty, the beds of straw, and the blood-sucking sutler leech flourish, while the helpless immigrant works ten hours a day to fill the coffers of the "Banca Italiana" in Mulberry street. As a result of this system also the coal-mining regions are filled with cheap European labor, just emancipated from the grip of the padrone, and ready, with its past experience with the shanty and the sutler, to work at rates upon which the American miner and workmen will starve. In a recent trip through the anthracite coal region a *Record* reporter attempted upon many occasions to be directed on the road, but could not make himself understood by the miners whom he met because they could not speak a word of English. These men are crowded in the places of the old miners whenever the work becomes so easy that men of little or no experience can undertake it.

CROWDING OUT GOOD MINERS.

Two weeks ago four experienced miners threw up their positions at one of the mines near Hazleton. The story of their experience illustrates the methods by which the coal barons as well as the railroad contractors—all of whom get red in the face on the workingman's account when tariff reduction is suggested to them—utilize the cheap and

tractable foreign labor at the mines, which has drifted there after having been sucked dry by the padrone and the sutler on a railroad or other dirt-digging contract. These four miners had worked at a breast in the mines until a solid vein was reached which did not require any experience to work. They thus had an opportunity, after having worked through the slate, to make a handsome month's wages. They were not given a chance. Four Hungarians were put in their places to work out the easy coal, and the old miners were given another breastful of stone and difficult to manage. They refused to be thus treated and left the mine. The Hungarians are still there.

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE—HOW ITS PRESIDENT TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THE LAWS TO IMPORT CHEAP LABOR.

From the New York Herald, July 29.

Nothing can illustrate better the evils of importing foreign labor to be employed in certain stated localities than the condition of a large part of the factory help at Paterson and Passaic. And the worst instances of depreciated pay are to be found in the establishment of Mr. Edward H. Ammidown, the gentleman who poses as the champion of American manufactures and incidentally as the friend of labor.

Some five years ago owners of woolen mills in Passaic began to send for men in Europe to take the places of those in their employ who refused to submit to starvation wages. Hungarians were found to be most available, and after a few months Castle Garden swarmed with them.

The direct importation of Hungarians for the purpose of being employed at Passaic was begun by Mr. Bash and Mr. Waterhouse, proprietors of woolen mills. Mr. Ammidown soon after benefited by what they had done to the extent of placing in his own establishment a number of the men whom they had brought over through their agents from the old country. The process of importation continued year by year and the unwelcome leaven spread until now Mr. Ammidown has in his own factory about two hundred imported Hungarians and the other establishments a good many more.

But not all have come directly from Hungary. A considerable percentage—and this further peculiarly illustrates the tendency of that tyranny which the tariff barons seek to perpetuate—a considerable percentage, who were expected to do the rudest and most ordinary work, were brought to Passaic from the coal regions of Pennsylvania.

Note this stage of evolution in the process of oppressing labor.

It is notorious that the Pennsylvania coal miners have been crushed down to the very lowest grade of human misery, and that it is impossible to further reduce their pay without making them worse in condition than the most despised beasts of burden. This result was brought about by Republican protection.

FIVE DOLLARS A WEEK PER FAMILY.

The Hungarians from the coal fields exacted only the merest pittance for the support of life, and they got it. The wages of the class to which they belong at Ammidown's mill are based to-day on this inexorable standard. Every American citizen should shudder when he reads of this. The average rate of wages is $5 a week!

Think of that for grown up men, a great proportion of whom are married and have children!

And this is one of the beneficent fruits of the zeal of American protectionists for the welfare of labor.

Many of the American mill workers who had the alternative of submission or starvation have been forced down to the level of these imported slaves.

A reporter yesterday drew these facts from the lips of an intelligent employe of Mr. Ammidown, who, while perfectly just and loyal to the latter, was fearless enough to wish openly that the truth might prevail and that the voters of the country might know how the monstrous theory of taxing the many for the benefit of the few works in reference to the helpless poor man who has no opportunity to exercise the grasping right of the mightier. This man is not a Knight of Labor, and, apart from his employer's public advocacy of the system of oppression called protection, he speaks of the latter with a good deal of respect

A PREMIUM ON POOR STUFF.

Said he: "The employers can no longer pull the wool over the eyes of their men. We know that protection enables the master to rob us instead of being the means of our own protection. We know that to the development of the woolen industry in this country free wool is absolutely necessary. The Republican tariff has simply been a premium on the manufacture of the coarsest and the worst grades of woolen cloths. What are these boasted cheap suits which are made of domestic woolens? Why, they are goods of a grade which importers would never think of bringing to this country. The price that is paid for them here would on the other side buy clothing of at least three times their real value. I know what I am talking about. The market is glutted with domestic goods of abominable quality, and those foreign goods that are at all of a desirable quality are placed beyond our reach by the rich man's tariff.

"You want to know how these Hungarians live on an average of $5 a week? I'll tell you. The wives of the married men board their countrymen. As a rule they hire a mean little apartment of two or at most three rooms. Yes, they are just as cramped as that even out here in a suburban town, where space is supposed to be cheap, or, if it is not, ought to be. About the lowest rent that can be had is $6 a month, and that is what they usually

pay. A dozen persons may live in one of these places. The boarders buy their own food and the woman of the house cooks it. For this service and the privilege of sleeping there they pay her a dollar each per week. That is how the families are supported. God only knows how they manage, even then, to keep soul and body together! Added to this, nearly all of these Hungarians drink enormously of beer. Yet, on the other hand, some of them, by living in the most abject filth and misery, contrive to save a little, for when they get into trouble with the police and are called upon to pay a fine they generally go down somewhere in their clothes for the money, and it is forthcoming. Much of the fuel and food that the women obtain for the household is picked up in the streets and around the freight depots and stores.

THE ENGLISH BOSS DOES BETTER.

"Some of these Hungarians have been put at the finer kinds of work in the factories but as a rule they are not numerous. They are fit only for what is comparatively unskilled labor. Yet skilled labor cannot be reduced any lower in price than it is and still live. It is customary for the protection people to prate about the contrast in wages as between this country and those of Europe. The weavers receive in Ammidown's mill about $9 a week. The looms average about eighty-five picks a minute. Thomas Dolan, in Philadelphia, pays his weavers an average of $10 a week. His looms average between eighty-five and ninety picks a minute. In the mills of Patrick T. Martin, at Huddersfield, England, the weavers get $7 50 a week, but the looms only make sixty-five picks a minute. Now make a comparison. Dolan pays his weavers $2 50 a week more than Martin, but he gains by their produce twenty picks a minute. This amounts to about six yards a day for each loom, or something like $9 in marketable value. So much for the credit that is claimed by the manufacturer for paying higher wages. On the other hand, no one who knows the subject can dispute that $7.50 in England, with the cheaper means of living, is worth considerably more than $10 in the United States.

"Yes, sir; the situation of labor in Paterson and Passaic is such that I do not see how any laboring man here who has a vote at the next election can fail to cast it for the tariff reform platform.

IX.

HARRISON AND IRISHMEN.

WHAT BENJAMIN, THE GRANDSON, AND THE INDIANAPOLIS "JOURNAL" HAD TO SAY ABOUT IRISH LABORERS IN 1874-75.

[*From the Indianapolis Labor Signal.*]

Benjamin Harrison, Republican candidate for President, never showed his real feeling toward the men who toil for wages more fully and convincingly than in his attack on the street laborers, made in this city on October 4, 1874. These are his words as given by his organ, the Indianapolis "*Journal*," on the morning of October 5, 1874:

"My fellow-citizens, a short time ago I happened to be in a place where, without inconvenience, I could see these fellows working, and it was as good as a circus to see how they went about it. They had about a dozen in the gang, and a boss—they must have a boss, even if there are only two or three of them. They were laying a stone crossing across a street, and I do believe that any two stalwart men could have done more in a day than that gang did in three. They were all smoking. Almost every fellow had a pipe in his mouth. Now, it is usually inconvenient for a man to work and smoke at the same time; the pipe is in his way if he is in a dead earnest about his work. If you men have to smoke, you do so when you are through work at noon. But these fellows, whom the Democratic council are paying out of taxes, had plenty of time to smoke. One of them would take out his tobacco and roll it in his hands to grind it up fine, and leisurely tuck it in his pipe. Well, after striking a light he would take his shovel and start off toward the gravel pile. Instead of bringing the gravel where they wanted it, they had it about a rod away. If it had not been so far away that man would not have had exercise enough that day to keep him healthy. He would go to the pile and get his shovel about half full, look carefully at the place where he was to put it, set his shovel down on the ground and look around. And then another fellow would come and borrow his shovel to do something with, and he would sit there until the fellow came back with the shovel. Now, my fellow-citizens, you know what that means. This is the Democratic reform party that is in power now."

Observe, if you please, that he saw this "without inconvenience"—otherwise we might not have had this pleasing bit of humor recorded. Observe that it grieves his industrious soul that a man should smoke while working. Observe that these men are all "fellows." Observe that the listening crowd are convulsed with merriment by his remarks.

Observe that the statement that these events occurred under Democratic rule is an intimation that nothing of the kind will be allowed when Republicans come in. Oh, what fine slave-driving we shall have then! Work faster, there, fellow! Ben Harrison is looking at you. Drop that pipe, fellow! Ben. Harrison is looking at you. Don't stop to rest for a moment, fellow! Ben. Harrison is looking at you.

Do you suppose that Benjamin Harrison ever dreamed for a moment that lolling "without inconvenience" on the cushions of his carriage, or standing in his luxurious office, and watching these men was a very different thing from going out under the hot sun and doing their work? Do you suppose Benjamin Harrison ever shoveled dirt for his living for a single day, much less a week, a month, a year, a lifetime? Do you suppose he knows what it is for the muscles to ache or the nerves to quiver from the strain of protracted labor? Do you suppose he could comprehend the fact that if a man should shovel dirt as fast as he was able the labor would kill him within a year? Oh, shame, Benjamin Harrison. Even with your life of professional employment you might have had more feeling for the toiling millions than this. You might at least have learned to conceal your feelings if you could not avoid having them. You might have remembered this:

"Let not ambition mock their useful toil;
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile
The short and simple annals of the poor."

The ball which Mr. Harrison set in motion did not stop for several months. The Indianapolis *Journal* of October 5, 1874, refers to his remarks as "graphic and amusing. Similar scenes can be witnessed all over the city." The *Journal* was then, as now, the open foe of organized labor. In its editorial columns, on October 6, 1874, in response to a question from a labor paper printed here as to whether it favored a law "requiring the payment of employes once a month," it said: "It (the *Journal*) makes such contracts with its employes as it deems best, and recognizes the perfect right of all others to do the same." To the *Journal*, Mr. Harrison's method of attacking the laboring man was an inspiration, and it fell briskly in the same line. Here are some of the results:

"It is notorious that the lowest class of men, men who are of little account for any other purpose, display a remarkable regularity in the discharge of their political duties. Elections never come too often for them. The alacrity with which they walk up to the ballot-box and exercise the highest prerogative of an American citizen would be surprising if the act required any greater physical effort than it does. Probably this excessive appreciation of suffrage by all classes of rascals and loafers has had much to do with bringing it into disrepute among moral and intelligent men."—*Journal*, *October* 12, 1874.

"The amount of naturalization now going on is only exceeded by the amount of labor put upon the streets."—*Journal*, *October* 12, 1874.

"When you are around near policemen and other suspicious characters to-day it would be well to keep your eyes open, or you might get them closed."—*Journal*, *October* 13, 1874.

"In connection with the disreputable Irish police force, the Irish Catholics of the southwestern portion of the city will undoubtedly attempt this year by bullying, brawls and intimidation, to repeat the tactics so successfully used in the fifth and twelfth precincts last year."—*Journal*, *April* 17, 1875.

Now, laboring men, and particularly Irish laboring men, you know what Mr. Harrison and his organ thought of you in 1874-75. To-day they are posing as the champions of the workingman, and are particularly solicitous for the welfare of the Irishman. Why this change? Do street gangs work faster now? They say that tobacco is a necessity for the workingman and must be made cheaper. Does smoking a pipe interfere less with work now than it did in 1874? Has the Catholic Church amended its doctrines? Has the Irish countenance changed its features? We know of no such change. Is it possible that these people are only anxious to get your votes?

X.

LABOR DENUNCIATIONS OF HARRISON.

THE INDIANA FEDERATION OF LABOR, WHICH KNOWS HIM, EXPOSES HIS METHODS.

On the 7th of August, 1888, the State Federation of Trades of Indiana held its annual convention at Indianapolis. An attempt was made by the Republicans to capture the convention, as is shown by the following circular-letter sent out by the Republican State Central Committee of Indiana:

REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF INDIANA,
Room 4, Denison House.
INDIANAPOLIS, Aug. 4, 1888.

Dear Sir—We have reliable information that the State Federation of Trades meets here next Tuesday, and that the Democrats have determined to capture it and get a resolution through against Harrison. We are told that any member of a labor organization having credentials, so as to prove his membership thereof, will be entitled to admission.

We urgently request you to send here as many laboring men, opposed to this scheme, as may be possible.

There will be reduced railroad rates on that day. I hope that you will act with great discretion and promptness. Yours truly,

J. N. HUSTON, Chairman.

This letter aroused much anger on the part of the representatives of organized labor, and there was general agreement in the desire to frustrate any attempt on the part of a political party to thus interfere with the freedom of action of a secret organization. There were 147 delegates in the convention whose credentials were pronounced genuine. The convention was a harmonious and hard-working body, and so successfully and harmoniously did it act that it concluded its deliberations in a single day.

HARRISON AND MORTON DENOUNCED AS ENEMIES OF LABOR.

Before adjournment it passed the following resolutions.

WHEREAS believing that the policies of government should be general in their benefits and not fixed for the advantage of the few; and, further, that under laws now existing this principle has not been followed; and believing that the laboring masses are now interested in the success of such principles and policies as will give them a more equal chance with the employing class than of the success of any political party.

2. That we condemn the policy of legislation beginning in 1861, which has been to enable the bankers and bondholders of the nation to secure for government pledges obtained with greatly depreciated paper money (generally about 50 cents on the dollar), though bearing interest in gold on a full 100 cents, a redemption of those pledges in coin at a fabulous premium, while every other obligation to soldier, sailor or citizen was legally payable in the paper money of the United States.

3. That we are opposed to all laws which have steadily and almost wholly transferred the enormous burdens of oppressive taxation from the money kings of the country to the great army of consumers, until to-day the latter class is practically the sole pack-horses of this boasted republic of freedom and popular rights, while yet producing all its wealth and enjoying all its comforts.

Resolved, That we cannot support the candidates of the Republican party for President and Vice-President, because both of them are wanting in sympathy for the laboring classes. This was shown by General Harrison in the memorable strike of 1877, when he volunteered to command a company of soldiers to shoot laboring men down, after having refused to attempt a settlement by peaceable means. For four days' service as captain of said company, he received and receipted for twenty silver dollars, which was as much blood money as the "thirty pieces of silver" for which Judas Iscariot betrayed the Savior of mankind. It has been shown by Morton, in his career as a Wall-street money shark, and as a sharer in the unholy gains of many greedy corporations, that have cruelly oppressed their employes. In trying to get possession of the shingle on which was inscribed "Shoes made and repaired by Levi P. Morton," offering a large sum for it that he might destroy the evidence of his former humble occupation, Morton has shown himself ashamed of the condition to which he was born, thus sacrificing all claim to the respect and support of the honest laborers of the land who have no blushes for their employment.

Resolved, That in voting on fourteen different occasions against measures that were proposed in the Senate of the United States for the restriction of Chinese cheap labor, and in his often-repeated private avowals of a willingness that the naturalization laws should be extended so as to give Chinamen the right to become citizens, Harrison has given the strongest possible proofs of his utter disregard of the interests and welfare of American workingmen.

Resolved, That for reasons here specified and for the further fact that these Republican candidates, in their habits, thoughts, sympathies and associations are of the class that would inaugurate an aristocracy on the ruins of free government.

Resolved, That organized labor in other States is cordially invited to co-operate with us in the enforcement of the sentiments and objects herein expressed.

DENOUNCING MR. HARRISON'S PET NEWSPAPER.

WHEREAS on the night of July 8, 1886, John C. New & Son, proprietors of the Indianapolis *Journal*, summarily, and without provocation, discharged the entire force of union printers in their employ who refused to obey their arrogant mandate in severing their connection with the Indianapolis Typographical Union No. 1, turned said employes upon the streets and imported from distant localities a large number of "rat" printers whom they have since kept at work in the *Journal* office.

WHEREAS said John C. New & Son, since the perpetration of this cowardly outrage and insult, have continued to conduct the said *Journal* in open hostility, not only to union printers, but to organized labor of all kinds by refusing to accede to any method of arbitration looking to an amicable settlement of differences; by maliciously misrepresenting the objects of organized labor; by wantonly distorting the honorable methods by which workingmen aim to attain a furtherance of their desires; by dishonestly obtaining and publishing the laws, secret work and private legislation of the Knights of Labor and other organizations, wherever opportunity enables them to do so; by attacking the private character and distorting the purposes of representative workingmen whose leadership is recognized, and whose character we reverence, and are pledged to protect; by maintaining in the reportorial, news and editorial columns of the "rat" *Journal* a position of unreasonable hostility to fair pay, shorter hours of labor, and improved economic condition of the laboring classes; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Indiana Federation of Trades and Labor Unions in convention assembled regard the conduct of John C. New & Son in their employing rat printers in the Indianapolis *Journal* office, and their persistent warfare upon organized labor, as both an injustice and an insult to the workingmen of Indiana.

Resolved, That we pledge the efforts of this organization and all whom it can control or influence, to antagonize, by every honorable means, the said John C. New & Son and the said *Journal*; and that we appeal to the patriotic workingmen of this State to aid us in this worthy effort so long as the said New & Son shall refuse to conduct a strictly union office, and shall persist in maintaining a position of hostility to organized labor.

Resolved, That to consummate this purpose a copy of these resolutions be placed before every organization subordinate to this federation, that the hostility of the said New & Son to organized labor may be fully known; and that to carry out this endeavor a sufficient number of copies of these resolutions be printed by this federation, to be properly distributed throughout the jurisdiction of this federation.

LABOR INTERESTS IN CONGRESS.

The labor committee of the House, composed in its democratic majority of well known friends of the interests of workingmen, has to be certain in promoting the demands made by intelligent organizations.

February 17, Mr. O'Neill, of Missouri, offered the following amendment to appropriation bill, adopted by vote 182; negative, 53, was concurred in by the Senate and is now a law:

"The Public Printer is hereby directed to rigidly enforce the provisions of the eight-hour law in the department under his charge."

Among the bills of this kind passed by the present Congress, which had their origin in the Democratic House, are the laws establishing a Department of Labor, introduced by Mr. O'Neill, of Missouri, Chairman of the Labor Committee; and the law to limit the hours that letter-carriers in cities shall be employed per day, known as the letter carrier's eight hour law, introduced in the House by Mr. McAdoo, a Democratic representative from New Jersey.

Among those passed by the Democratic House and now pending in the Senate, are:

The bill to prevent the production of convict labor from being furnished to or for the use of any Department of the Government, and to prevent the product of convict labor from being used upon public buildings or other public works; the bill to prevent the employment of alien labor upon public buildings or other public works and in the various Departments of the Government, and so forth; the bill to protect mechanics, laborers and servants in their wages; and the bill to create boards of arbitration or commission for settling controversies and differences between railroad corporations and other common carriers engaged in interstate and Territorial transportation of property or passengers and their employes; the bill to protect free labor and the industries in which it is employed from the injurious effects of convict labor by confining the sale of the goods, wares and merchandise manufactured by convict labor to the State in which they are produced.

CHAPTER XXX.

CLEVELAND AND CORPORATIONS.

INSISTING UPON FAIR TREATMENT FOR BUSINESS CORPORATIONS YET HOLDING THEM TO A STRICT ACCOUNTABILITY.

The public duties and rights of private corporations were the subject of repeated consideration by Mr. Cleveland when Governor of New York, and his views were stated in terms so explicit and just as to merit and receive the approval of fair-minded men who informed themselves as to the particular grounds of his action.

In accepting the nomination for Governor, in October, 1882, he thus defined his position, from which he has never wavered:

"Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes, and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere they should be protected; but when by combination or by the exercise of unwarranted power they oppress the people, the same authority which created should restrain them and protect the rights of the citizen. The law lately passed for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations, should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effectuate its objects and with a due regard for the interests involved."

Almost the first act performed by him as Governor was in fulfillment of the law here referred to, the Railroad Commission Act, which authorized the appointment of three Railroad Commissioners, one from each of the two great political parties, and one upon the nomination of the Anti-Monopoly bodies. Despite great pressure to the contrary, and without waiting for a proposed amendment of the law, the Governor promptly nominated three commissioners, in literal compliance with the old law, accepting without hesitation the Anti-Monopoly candidate, Mr. O'Donnell. The fact that the work of the Railroad Commission has been so well done as not only to justify its creation to those even who were originally doubtful of its value, but also to be satisfactory to the Anti Monopoly sentiment which led to its formation, is due to the conscientious care with which Governor Cleveland, ignoring every consideration but the purpose of the law, selected the members who were to serve upon it.

CHECKING THE AGGRESSIONS OF CORPORATIONS.

Upon April 2, 1883, the Governor, jealously regarding the interests of the public, as opposed to those of corporations, vetoed a bill tending to increase the power of telegraph companies to use the public streets, from which message the following extracts are made:

"A fatal objection to this bill is found in the provision allowing the corporations therein named to enter upon private property, and erect and maintain their structures thereon without the consent of the owner. It seems to me that this is taking private property, or an easement therein, with very little pretext that it is for a public use.

"If a private corporation can, under authority of law, construct its appliances and structures upon the lands of the citizen without his consent, not only for the purpose of furnishing light, but in an experimental attempt to transmit heat and power, the rights of the people may well be regarded as in danger from an undue license to corporate aggrandizement."

Upon June 14, 1884, despite great opposition from the parties interested, he signed a bill requiring such companies to put their lines under ground on or before November 1, 1885. So, upon May 29, 1883, he vetoed a general street railroad bill, upon the ground that its design was "more to further private and corporate schemes than to furnish the citizens of the State street railroad facilities, under the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and within the limits therein fixed for the benefit of the people."

Upon April 6, 1883, in further exhibition of his disposition to keep corporations within the limit of the laws creating them, he vetoed a bill to extend the time for the payment of the capital stock of a corporation, saying:

"Our laws in relation to the formation of corporations are extremely liberal, and those who avail themselves of their provisions should be held to a strict compliance with their requirements. * * * This company and its stockholders have assumed for their own benefit certain relations to the State, to the public and to their creditors, and these relations should not be disturbed. If corporations are to be relieved from their defaults for the asking, their liability to the people with whom they deal will soon become dangerously uncertain and indefinite."

PUBLICITY OF CORPORATION OPERATIONS REQUIRED.

In his message to the Legislature at the beginning of his second year, the Governor, in vigorous language, called attention to the duty of railroad corporations, and of all others as well, to truly inform the public as to their operations. In the present season of distrust and distress, consequent upon a supposed failure to discharge this duty, these words of the Governor are appropriate. After commending the requirement by the Railroad Commissioners of quarterly reports from the railroad companies, he says:

"It would, in my opinion, be a most valuable protection to the people if other large corporations were obliged to report to some department their transactions and financial condition.

"The State creates these corporations upon the theory that some proper thing of benefit can be better done by them than by private enterprise, and that the aggregation of the funds of many individuals may be thus profitably employed. They are launched upon the public with the seal of the State, in some sense, upon them. They are permitted to represent the advantages they possess and the wealth sure to follow from admission to membership. In one hand is held a charter from the State, and in the other is proffered their stock.

"It is a fact, singular though well established, that people will pay their money for stock in a corporation engaged in enterprises in which they would refuse to invest if in private hands.

"It is a grave question whether the formation of these artificial bodies ought not to be checked or better regulated and in some way supervised.

"At any rate they should always be kept well in hand, and the funds of its citizens should be protected by the State which has invited their investment. While the stockholders are the owners of the corporate property, notoriously they are oftentimes completely in the power of the directors and managers, who acquire a majority of the stock and by this means perpetuate their control, using the corporate property and franchises for their benefit and profit, regardless of the interests and rights of the minority of stockholders. Immense salaries are paid to officers; transactions are consummated by which the directors make money, while the rank and file among the stockholders lose it; the honest investor waits for dividends and the directors grow rich. It is suspected, too, that large sums are spent under various disguises in efforts to influence legislation.

"It is not consistent to claim that the citizen must protect himself, by refusing to purchase stock. The law constantly recognizes the fact that people should be defended from false representations and from their own folly and cupidity. It punishes obtaining goods by false pretenses, gambling and lotteries.

"It is a hollow mockery to direct the owner of a small amount of stock in one of these institutions to the courts. Under existing statutes, the law's delay, perplexity and uncertainty leads but to despair.

"The State should either refuse to allow these corporations to exist under its authority and patronage, or acknowledging their paternity and its responsibility, should provide a simple, easy way for its people, whose money is invested, and the public generally, to discover how the funds of these institutions are spent, and how their affairs are conducted. It should at the same time provide a way by which the squandering or misuse of corporate funds would be made good to the parties injured thereby.

"This might well be accomplished by requiring corporations to frequently file reports made out with the utmost detail, and which would not allow lobby expenses to be hidden under the pretext of legal services and counsel fees, accompanied by vouchers and sworn to by the officers making them, showing particularly the debts, liabilities, expenditures and property of the corporation. Let this report be delivered to some appropriate department or officer, who shall audit and examine the same; provide that a false oath to such account shall be perjury, and make the directors liable to refund to the injured stockholders any expenditure which shall be determined improper by the auditing authority.

"Such requirements might not be favorable to stock speculation, but they would protect the innocent investors; they might make the management of corporations more troublesome, but this ought not to be considered when the protection of the people is the matter in hand. It would prevent corporate efforts to influence legislation; the honestly conducted and strong corporations would have nothing to fear; the badly managed and weak ought to be exposed."

Thus, it will appear from the Governor's own words, with which his actions have been in full accord, that he has insisted that corporations shall observe the limitations of the laws creating them; that their privileges shall be exercised in subordination to the rights of the public; that their affairs shall be open to public scrutiny; and that to their members and the public alike they shall be honest and fair.

MAINTAINING THE PUBLIC FAITH.

In this same spirit of exact and equal justice, which has demanded of corporations compliance with the provisions of law binding upon them, the Governor has observed the express rights given to them by law. His principle has been "The public faith must be scrupulously kept." Upon this principle he undertook to act in the matter of the veto of what has come to be known as the "Five Cent Fare Bill."

The elevated Railroads of New York city, under their charters, charged an uniform rate of fare of five cents during certain of the morning and evening hours in which the great body of workingmen went to and from their homes, and ten cents for the rest of the day. In 1883 the Legislature passed a bill to make the rate of fare five cents throughout the day This bill the Governor vetoed, upon the ground that it involved a breach of faith on the part of the State. The general railroad law, passed in 1850, and for nearly a quarter of a century declaring the policy of the State, had promised that the Legislature would not reduce the rates of any railroad until its reduced rates should produce a profit of ten per centum on the capital actually expended. The Governor declared that until the profits of these roads should have been ascertained to exceed this limit, the policy of the State forbade their reduction. A subsequent examination by the Railroad Commission, consisting of one Democrat, one Republican and one Anti-Monopolist, showed that the earnings of the roads were not such as to justify the proposed reduction of fare, thus justifying the action of the Governor.

Another reason for his veto was found in the express provisions of special acts applicable to these roads. It was therein provided that the company should under bonds pledge itself to pay a certain percentage into the city treasury which should "constitute an agreement in the nature of a contract between the city and constructing company, entitling the company to the legalized rates of fare, which shall not be changed without the mutual consent of the parties."

The railroad company having made these payments to the city, the Governor considered that under those terms of this act there had been constituted "an agreement in the nature of a contract" between the city and the company, which the State could not in good faith abrogate.

It also appeared that still another contract in writing, to the same effect, had been made between the rapid transit commissioners and the railroad companies, before the roads were built and to induce their construction, thus constituting a third promise on the part of the public which this bill proposed to break. The Governor did not believe that the people of New York nor its Legislature, when brought to a knowledge of these facts, would desire this great State to be even suspected of trifling with its obligations, and so in a message so explicit as to necessarily reach great length, he transmitted to the Assembly the reasons why he was unable to approve the bill. The effect justified his estimate of the honor of the State and of its legislators. (A majority voted to sustain his veto, while two thirds would have been necessary to overrule it.) From every side came expressions of commendation for the scrupulous attention that had been given to the maintenance of the public faith.

Among many expressions in opposition to the bill was a most emphatic communication from the Mayor of the city of New York, earnestly asking for the veto of the bill, concerning which, as a measure particularly relating to the City of New York, the Mayor of that city seemed to be particularly qualified to speak.

The bill having been vetoed, letters of commendation and hearty approval were received from all parts of the State, from men of every shade of political opinion and in every walk of life.

THE RAILROAD COMMISSION'S CONCLUSIONS.

Subsequently to the veto of the bill an examination of the cost and earnings of the elevated railroads was undertaken by the Railroad Commissioners, of whom none reported a limitation of a five cent fare for the whole day, though one recommended a "judicious extension of the commission hours," by adding three hours, in which a five cent fare should be charged, and submitted a bill to that effect, which was introduced in the Republican Legislature of 1884, but was defeated by a Republican Senate, and never reached the Governor for action.

The report of the majority of the commission contained the conclusion that a reduction to a five cent fare throughout the day would, at the number of passengers carried in 1882, "reduce the gross income so as to prevent the roads from even paying interest on their bonded debt in full. The laboring classes of New York are carried between the hours of 5:30 and 8:30 A. M., and 4:30 and 7:30 P. M., at five cents, upon trains which run at intervals of forty five seconds. The reduction would not so much benefit them, therefore, as it would the class who are better able to pay ten cents than the laborers are to pay five."

Thus did the result show that the Governor was justified in his refusal to weaken respect for the promises of the State, and that in this as in his whole course of action concerning corporations, the Governor has been controlled by no partiality or favoritism, but only by a just regard for the rights of the State and the public and the observance of public faith.

The suggestion that his action on the Five Cent Fare Bill was taken out of deference to the capitalists controlling those roads is quite absurd, in view of the fact that all of those most prominently named in connection with them opposed him and supported the Republican candidate for the presidency.

Neither corporations nor corporators had from him any favor nor injustice. The equal administration of the laws were his aim and practice with reference both to them and to the public.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE RESTRICTION OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

THE POSITION OF THE TWO PARTIES ON THIS QUESTION OF VITAL INTEREST.

Mr. Thurman and Senator Hoar as Consistent Representatives of their Respective Parties on this Issue—The Legislation Proposed, the Bayard Treaty, and What Chinese Competition Means to American Labor.

I.

THE DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW FROM WHICH THE QUESTION WAS CONSIDERED.

On September 10, 1870, Allan G. Thurman, who had then just concluded his first year of service in the United States Senate from the State of Ohio, made a speech at Cincinnati, in opening the Ohio Democratic campaign of that year. In it he indulged in the following reference to the Chinese question, then new in politics.

MR. THURMAN'S OPINIONS IN 1870.

"I do not think that a large Chinese immigration to this country is desirable. I do not think it would be a valuable acquisition. On the contrary, I think it would be a seriously disturbing element. In race, civilization, habits, education, and religion the Chinese are widely different from our people—so different as to form a very striking contrast. The European immigrants are of the same race, religion, and civilization as ourselves, and while they add immensely to the power and wealth of the Republic, they do not seriously disturb the substantial homogeneity of our white population. Their migration, therefore, benefits the country and deserves encouragement. Not so with the Chinese. They will never become one people with us. Were they to dwell here for centuries they would probably be as distinct from the white race as are gypsies in Spain from the pure-blooded Spaniard. * * * This immigration is in no proper sense of the word voluntary. It is a kind of Chinese slave trade. Instead of an independent, self-reliant body of freemen, it introduces a horde of quasi-slaves, working at half wages by the command of a taskmaster.

"And this leads me to notice a statement I have seen, that this country needs cheap labor; in other words, men who will work for low wages; that there is a scarcity of laborers here, and therefore, Chinese laborers should be imported to supply the deficiency. I do not concur in this view. My opinion is that we, or rather our posterity, are much more likely to suffer from a redundancy of population than from a dearth of it. In thirty years from now

we will have one hundred millions of people, without counting a Chinese immigrant, in sixty years two hundred millions, in one hundred years probably four hundred millions. We are in no danger of a scarcity of laborers.

"Nor do I think that low wages are a blessing to any country. In the opinion of an eminent thinker, Buckle, low wages and despotism are inseparable. It will be found, I think, that the freer the institutions of a country are, the greater will be the tendency to fair wages for labor. Low wages are mainly owing to an unequal and unfair distribution of the annual production of wealth. This annual production, which is nearly all the result of labor, is being constantly divided into four parts—rents to the landlord, interest to the money lender, profits to the business man, and wages to the laborer. Now, if the wages be low it must be because the annual product is small and all classes suffer, or because that product is unfairly distributed. In general, the latter is the cause, and when wages are very low the laborer gets but a bare subsistence, while the other classes, or some of them, accumulate enormous wealth. And thus society becomes divided into the very rich and the very poor. That this is an unfortunate condition for a country is too obvious to need remark, and that its tendency is hostile to free institutions, as well as to the material comfort of the people, is undoubtedly true. I have, therefore, no sympathy with the cry for cheap labor and low wages. They may give rise, it is true, to great public works and magnificent structures, but the benefit is gained at the expense of a suffering people. The Pyramids are striking monuments of the pride and ostentation of kings, but they are more striking evidences of a degraded condition of the laboring class. That country is likely to be most free and happy where the annual production of wealth being justly distributed labor obtains a fair reward."

MR. HOAR STATES THE REPUBLICAN POSITION.

On April 25, 1882, during the discussion of the twenty-year Chinese Restriction Bill in the Senate of the United States, Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, laid down the following principle:

I will not deny to the Chinaman any more than I will to the negro, or the Irishman, or Caucasian, the right to bring his labor, bring his own property to our shores, and the right to fix such a price upon it as according to his own judgment and his own interest may seem to him best. I denounce this legislation not only as a violation of the ancient policy of the American Republic, not only as a violation of the rights of human nature itself, but especially as a departure from the doctrine to which the great party to which I belong is committed in its latest declaration of principles.

Even as late as July 3, 1884, after a new treaty had been made with the Chinese and additional legislation was proposed for the purpose of carrying it into execution, Mr. Hoar said in the Senate:

"This is a bill to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to the citizens of other countries. It rests, in my judgment, upon sheer barbarism. * * * I only wish to re-affirm my disapprobation of this legislation and the principle upon which it depends, and to state that in my judgment, the American people will repent in sack-cloth and ashes one day the policy they are inaugurating.

During the debate on the same bill in the House, the late Godlove S. Orth, then a Republican Representative from the State of Indiana, and second in rank on the Foreign Affairs Committee, maintained the same doctrine in this language:

He takes no interest in our Government! Do you mean by this that he does not immediately on his arrival, repair to the "sand lots" of San Francisco and harangue the boisterous multitude upon their special duty on election days? This objection comes with a poor grace when it is known that we refuse to give him an interest in our Government or permit him to assume the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. We deny to him the rights which we cheerfully accord to every other immigrant, and, as if to emphasize this denial, the fifteenth section of this bill provides that hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship, and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

II.

RESTRICTING IMPORTATION OF CHINESE.

HISTORY OF THE ATTITUDES OF PARTIES ON THE QUESTION SHOWN BY DISCUSSION AND VOTES.

These different declarations, coming from representative men in the Democratic and Republican parties respectively, are indicative of the prevailing opinions on the question of Chinese immigration held by the majority of public men in the two parties—one representing that care for the interest of the American laboring man, which has been the distinguishing feature, not only of Mr. Thurman himself, but of his party as well, and the others representing the sentiments, impulses and opinions of the majority of their party.

CHINESE COOLIES TOOK THE PLACE OF SOLDIERS.

The immigration of Chinese to this country began during the civil war. The number who had come before the enactment of the Contract Labor Law, in 1864, was small, but taking advantage of this act, and the absence of those of the laboring population with the Union armies in the field, the protected manufacturers of the country were swift to exercise the new-given right thus given them to import Coolie labor from China. Large numbers of these found employment upon the Central Pacific Railroad, and many of the large fortunes made by men on the Pacific coast, who have since betaken themselves either to New York or to Europe, to live in luxury, are the result of this employment of servile labor, and the displacement of more than the equivalent number of American working men. Among these is D. Ogden Mills, owner of the New York *Tribune*, who has recently become extremely solicitous about American labor.

After the return of the soldiers from service in the army, it soon became manifest that the Chinese would become a plague to the Pacific coast. It was not, however, until the year 1872 that any well defined action was taken by the Legislature of that State looking to a restriction of immigration.

EFFORTS TO RESTRICT IMMIGRATION KILLED BY REPUBLICANS.

Beginning in 1869, individual members of the Senate and the House had presented resolutions or bills, having for their object the restriction of such immigration. Among these may be enumerated the following :

On the 6th of December, 1869, Senator Williams, of Oregon, introduced a bill to regulate the immigration of Chinese and prohibit their importation under contract. On the 24th of February, 1870, Senator Chandler, of Michigan, a Republican from the Committee on Commerce, to which the bill had been referred, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and moved that it be indefinitely postponed, which was done.

On the 10th of January, 1870, Mr. Johnson, of California, introduced a joint resolution to regulate and restrict Chinese immigration, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. The committee, the majority of whom were Republicans, refused to report it back to the House.

On the 6th of June, 1870, Senator Stewart, of Nevada, introduced in the Senate a bill to prohibit contracts for servile labor, but even this measure could not meet with favor at the hands of a Republican Senate, and it was defeated.

June 7, 1870, Mr. Sargent, of California, introduced a bill to prohibit contracts for servile labor, which was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, but the influences were strong enough to prevent this measure from ever being reported back to that body.

July 9, 1870, Mr. Cake, of Pennsylvania, introduced a resolution against the importation of Chinese coolies under contract and directing the Committee on Education and Labor to investigate the subject. The resolution was referred to that committee, but was never heard of afterwards.

July 7, 1870, Mr. Mungen, of Ohio, introduced a joint resolution in regard to the protection of our laboring classes against Chinese immigration, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but there it remained. This was not the way to protect labor in the opinion of the Republican party, and the resolution was pigeon-holed.

On the 18th of December, 1871, Mr. Coughlan, of California, a Democrat, introduced a bill to prohibit contracts for servile labor, which was referred to the Committee on Judiciary. The reference of this bill was subsequently changed to the Committee on Education and Labor, which reported a substitute, which was recommitted to the same committee, and that was the last of it.

On the 30th of April, 1872, Senator Casserly, of California, a Democrat, having previously received a memorial on the subject from the Legislature of his State, introduced a bill to prohibit contracts for servile labor and to amend and enforce existing laws against the coolie trade. This bill, like all others of its kind, was referred to a hostile Republican committee, and was never heard of again.

As will be seen, each and every one of these resolutions was referred to a hostile committee, where it slept the long sleep.

MR. THURMAN STATES THE CASE.

The agitation, however, continued intermittently until the year 1879, when the Senators and Representatives from California, representing the aroused sentiment of the Pacific Coast, presented memorials without number and bills, looking to the restriction of immigration. The case of the Pacific Coast and the constitutional right of the United States to thus far abrogate the treaty then existing with China, known as the Burlingame Treaty, were presented by Senator Thurman on February 13, 1879, during the discussion:

Mr. President, I have a very few words to say on this bill, and scarcely anything at all upon the general question involved in it. I shall assume the arguments already made at this session and at previous sessions have convinced the Senate that a limit ought to be placed upon the emigration of Chinese to the United States, if, indeed, that migration ought not to be stopped altogether. What I shall say, therefore, will relate mainly to the mode by which a stop or limit is to be put to that migration. It has been said that it can only be done by the negotiation of a new treaty. I do not know that that proposition has been distinctly advocated upon this floor, but if it does lurk in the mind of any Senator, I beg him to listen to the very few observations that I have to make upon it. To me it seems perfectly clear that the proposition cannot for a moment be sustained, and that it would be ruinous to this country or to any other to hold that a treaty can only be put an end to by the nego-

tiation of another, for that would put you completely at the mercy of the party with whom you had negotiated a treaty. Take, for instance, this very case. If we can only put an end to this treaty by negotiating a new treaty with China, then it is in the power of China, by refusing to negotiate a new treaty, or such a one as we desire, to hold us to this treaty, however detrimental to our interests it may be.

Mr. Hamlin. Will the Senator allow me to ask him if he knows of any one who holds that doctrine?

Mr. Thurman. I said I did not know. Treaties are like partnerships. There is no such thing as an indissoluble partnership. There is no such thing as an indissoluble treaty. Either party may declare it abrogated.

I say, therefore, Mr. President, that the true way is, there having been no modification of this treaty by the treaty-making power, and, so far as we know, no attempt having been made to modify it, there having been nothing of that kind done, many, many years have elapsed since the treaty was made and the evils growing every year greater and greater, and the danger to which we are exposed by this migration becoming every year more and more imminent, it is now the duty of Congress without delay to take this matter in hand.

Are we prepared, sir, to invite the American laborer to this competition—to yoke him with this fellow to plow the fields, delve in the mine, or work in the shops of capital seeking the cheapest labor? Sir, we want no such laborers, either foreign or native. We want no class that can or will accept the bare necessaries of life only as the price of its labor. We want no class to whose vision is forever closed all prospect of advancement, comfort, independence, and progress. If there be such now anywhere in this broad land, it would be our first and highest duty, so far as we had constitutional power, to lift the dark veil of despair which shuts out the prospect of elevation and advancement. It is our duty to dignify and ennoble labor, not to debase and degrade it.

* * * * * * * * *

It is, sir, in my judgment, our duty to pass this bill. To reject it is to invite to our shores millions of an inferior and degraded race to drag down to their own level the American laborer.

PARTY RECORDS ON THE QUESTION.

House bill No. 2423, to restrict Chinese immigration by limiting the number of immigrants to be transported by vessels to the United States to fifteen on each trip, passed the House on January 14, 1879, by the following vote: Yeas—Democrats, 104; Republicans, 51. Total, 155. Nays—Republicans, 56; Democrats, 16. Total, 72. A majority of the Republican members thus voted against the bill, while more than six out of seven of the Democratic members voted in its favor. In the Senate the vote was as follows: Yeas—Democrats, 22; Republicans, 19; Independent, 1. Total, 42. Nays—Republicans, 20; Democrats, 8. Total, 28.

The bill thus passed, the first presented to Congress on this subject, was vetoed by Mr. Hayes, upon the ground that Congress had no power to enact a law which contravened the treaty with China. Upon the question whether the bill should pass over the veto, the result in the House was: Yeas—Democrats, 88; Republicans, 22. Total, 110. Nays—Republicans, 81; Democrats, 15. Total, 96. The first effort to overcome this evil had failed, with a large majority of the Republican members of both the House and Senate voting against it at every stage, while an equally large majority of Democrats had voted in its favor.

ATTITUDE OF PARTIES AFTER A NEW TREATY HAD BEEN CONCLUDED.

On September 17, 1880, a new treaty with China was ratified, whereby this Government acquired the power of restricting immigration without giving reason for offense to China. A bill was, therefore, introduced early in 1881 in the first ses-

sion of the Senate, of which General Harrison was a member, providing for the exclusion of Chinese for the term of twenty years. In this discussion Senator Morgan, of Alabama, met the objections to the constitutionality of the measure in the following language:

Has the power been denied, or will any Senator here rise in his place and deny it, that the Congress of the United States by the enactment of a statute has the right to repeal any treaty that has been adopted and ratified by the treaty-making power?

Will any Senator undertake to say that the treaty-making power of this country is not after all subordinate to the legislative power? If he does he will deny the whole legislative history of our country, and he will set aside and hold for naught the opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is the right and province of the legislative power of this country to repeal treaties where they are found to contravene the best interests or general welfare of the people.

A vote was reached on this measure in the House on March 23, 1882, which stood as follows: Yeas—Democrats, 98; Greenbackers, 8; Republicans, 61. Total, 167. Nays—Republicans, 62; Democrats, 4. Total, 66. In the Senate on April 5, 1882, the vote stood: Yeas—Democrats, 31; Republicans, 6. Total, 37. Nays—Democrats, none; Republicans, 28; Independents, 1. Total, 29.

This bill was vetoed by President Arthur upon the ground of the unconstitutionality of the measure and for the further reason, as he said:

No one can say that the country has not profited by their work. They were largely instrumental in constructing the railways which connected the Atlantic with the Pacific. The States of the Pacific slope are full of evidences of their industry.

When the bill was returned to the Senate the vote on its passage, notwithstanding the objections of the President, was: Yeas—Democrats, 31; Republicans, 6. Total, 37. Nays—Republicans, 28; Independents, 1. Total, 29.

A new bill was then introduced into the Senate, reducing the term of restriction from twenty to ten years. This bill passed the House by the following vote: Yeas—Democrats, 103; Republicans, 91; Greenbackers, 7. Total, 201. Nays—Republicans, 84; Democrats, 3. Total, 37.

The bill passed the Senate by the following vote: Yeas—Democrats, 31; Republicans, 9. Total, 40. Nays—Republicans, 24; Democrats, none; Independents, 1. Total, 25. This bill was signed by President Arthur and became a law.*

No attempt has been made to follow the discussion in the Senate and House in all its ramifications upon either the main bill or upon the amendments, but the following recapitulation of the votes on the passage of bills to restrict Chinese immigration and upon the vetoes of Presidents from 1879 to 1882, will give a correct idea of the party position on this question during this time:

*The record of General Harrison on this question, including his assistance in getting Chinese naturalized in Indianapolis and his votes in the Senate, is fully treated in the chapter succeeding this under the title, "Harrison and the Chinese."

FINAL VOTES IN SENATE AND HOUSE ON BILLS TO RESTRICT CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

DATE.	DEMOCRATS.		REPUBLICANS.	
	Yeas.	Nays.	Yeas.	Nays.
Senate				
February 15, 1879	22	8	19	20
March 9, 1882	30	1	8	22
April 5, 1882*	31	0	6	26
April 28, 1882	31	0	9	24
Total	114	9	42	94
House of Representatives.				
January 28, 1879	104	16	51	56
March 1, 1879†	88	15	22	81
March 23, 1882	98	4	61	62
April 17, 1882	103	3	91	34
	393	38	225	233
Total votes in Senate and House	507	47	267	327

POSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

The Democratic position on this question so far as the candidate for Vice-President on the ticket for this contest is concerned has already been set forth not only in the quotations made from his speeches at different times, both in the Senate and out, but in his vote at every turn in favor of the restriction of this dangerous and threatening immigration.

President Cleveland was not in public life during any of this period, but in his letter of August 17, 1884, accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, he said:

Related to this subject, while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our government and add to our citizen population, yet as a means of protection to our workingmen a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come or are brought to our land, do not intend to become Americans, but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor.

In his inaugural, delivered on March 4, 1885, he emphasized this declaration by saying:

The laws should be rigidly enforced which prohibit the immigration of a servile class to compete with American labor, with no intention of acquiring citizenship, and bringing with them and retaining habits and customs repugnant to our civilization.

In his first annual message sent to Congress December 8, 1885, he again asserted the right of Government to restrict such immigration in the following language:

The admitted right of a government to prevent the influx of elements hostile to its internal peace and security may not be questioned, even where there is no treaty stipulation on the subject. That the exclusion of Chinese labor is demanded in other countries where

*Vote to pass Senate bill No. 71 over President Arthur's veto.

†Vote to pass House bill No 2423 over President Hayes' veto.

like conditions prevail is strongly evidenced in the Dominion of Canada, where Chinese immigration is now regulated by laws more exclusive than our own. If existing laws are inadequate to compass the end in view, I shall be prepared to give earnest consideration to any further remedial measures, within the treaty limits, which the wisdom of Congress may devise.

In his second annual message sent to Congress, December 6, 1886, he still further adverted to the question in connection with the new Chinese Treaty then pending in the State Department, and said:

I am not without assurance that the government of China, whose friendly disposition towards us I am most happy to recognize, will meet us half way in devising a comprehensive remedy, by which an effective limitation of Chinese emigration, joined to protection of those Chinese subjects who remain in this country, may be secured.

III.

A NEW TREATY NEGOTIATED.

UNDER PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S CONVENTION WITH CHINA CHINESE ARE TO BE EXCLUDED FOR TWENTY YEARS.

On March 16, 1888, the President transmitted to the Senate a new Treaty just concluded with China, under which the immigration of Chinese to this country was absolutely prohibited for a term of twenty years. In his brief message accompanying the letter of the Secretary of State, he said:

In view of the public interest which has for a long time been manifested in relation to the question of Chinese immigration, it would seem advisable that the full text of this Treaty should be made public, and I respectfully recommend that an order to that effect be made by your honorable body.

MR BAYARD TO THE PRESIDENT.

In his letter to the President, notifying him officially of the conclusion of the Treaty, Secretary Bayard said:

Shortly after the advent of your administration it was considered advisable, in view of the manifest popular discontent in the States bordering upon the Pacific, growing out of the presence there of Chinese laborers and their obvious lack of assimilation with the sympathies, habits, and interests of our own citizens, and the demonstrated inefficiency of the statutes intended to restrict their coming among us, that an effort should be made to procure the desired relief by obtaining the consent and co-operative action of China by means of an amended treaty, and thus avoid the necessity of a resort to separate legislation, which, without the co-operative assistance of the Chinese Government, would be less effectual, and might also be open to exception as being in conflict with or in derogation of the stipulations of existing conventions, and possibly as impairing our good understanding with a friendly power.

The temporary absence from the United States in 1885, and the subsequent illness of the then Chinese minister, unavoidably delayed negotiations, but upon the arrival of his successor, the present minister, Chang Yen Hoon, propositions were speedily submitted to him for a convention absolutely prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers, and after some further delay, arising from a visit made by him to Europe last summer, the treaty herewith transmitted has been concluded.

By this arrangement we have secured the co-operation of China in the main purpose and object of the treaty, which is plainly stated in the first article of the convention to be the absolute prohibition of Chinese laborers from coming into the United States for twenty years, and its renewal thereafter for a similar period, unless notice shall have been given as provided in Article VI.

This precludes the return of any Chinese laborers who are not now in this country, and forbids the coming into the United States of Chinese laborers from any quarter whatsoever.

From this inhibition are excepted any Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of one thousand dollars ($1,000) or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement.

Considerations of humanity and justice require these exceptions to be made, for no law should overlook the ties of family, and the wages of labor are entitled to just protection.

Judging also by the statistics of the class in question and from general experience, such excepted cases will be practically few in number, infrequent, and easily capable of such regulations as will prevent abuse.

The regulation and control of the issue of such certificates of return will be wholly in the hands of United States officials, and power to prescribe other laws at discretion may be exercised by the United States.

Such right to return is for a limited period, and the certificates are invalidated by the perpetration of fraud in connection with their procurement or use, and the United States are free to adopt such measures as may become advisable to check or punish any abuse.

In the course of late litigation in the United States courts in California, arising out of the contested claims of certain Chinese laborers to return to the United States under the certificates now provided by law, it has been pertinently suggested by the learned judges before whom the cases were tried that the detailed information contained in the certificates themselves, as now issued to the Chinese, furnishes the means of fraudulent entry of Chinese laborers, to whom such certificates have been fraudulently transferred and who are not entitled to come to the United States. And it has been pointed out that if all the facts requisite for complete identification of the departing Chinaman were retained in the United States official custody, and a paper containing only a simple number, and properly marked, signed and countersigned by the officers, were furnished, the means of detecting and preventing fraud in the transfer of the certificate would be given, and the present abuses made almost impossible of recurrence.

FULL TEXT OF THE TREATY OF EXCLUSION.

The full text of the Treaty, so far as it relates to the exclusion of Chinese from the United States, is as follows:

WHEREAS on the 17th day of November, A. D. 1880, a Treaty was concluded between the United States and China for the purpose of regulating, limiting or suspending the coming of Chinese laborers to, and their residence in, the United States;

AND WHEREAS the Government of China, in view of the antagonism and much deprecated and serious disorders to which the presence of Chinese laborers has given rise in certain parts of the United States, desires to prohibit the emigration of such laborers from China to the United States;

AND WHEREAS the Government of the United States and the Government of China desire to co-operate in prohibiting such emigration, and to strengthen in other ways the bonds of friendship between the two countries;

Now, therefore, the President of the United States has appointed Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State of the United States, as his Plenipotentiary; and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China has appointed Chang Yen Hoon, Minister of the Third Rank of the Imperial Court, Civil President of the Board of Imperial Cavalry and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, as his Plenipotentiary; and the said Plenipotentiaries having exhibited their respective Full Powers found to be in due and good form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE. I.

The High Contracting parties agree that for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States shall be absolutely prohibited; *and this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in the United States, whether holding return certificates under existing laws or not.*

ARTICLE II.

The preceding article shall not apply to the return to the United States of any Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of one thousand dollars, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement. Nevertheless, every such Chinese laborer shall, before leaving the United States, deposit, as a condition of his return, with the collector of customs of the district from which he departs, a full description in writing of his family, or property, or debts, as aforesaid, and shall be furnished by said collector with such certificate of his right to

return under this Treaty as the laws of the United States may now or hereafter prescribe, and not inconsistent with the provisions of this Treaty; and should the written description aforesaid be proved to be false, the right of return thereunder, or of continued residence after return, shall in each case be forfeited. And such right of return to the United States shall be exercised within one year from the date of leaving the United States; but such right of return to the United States may be extended for an additional period, not to exceed one year, in cases where by reason of sickness or other cause of disability beyond his control, such Chinese laborer shall be rendered unable sooner to return—which facts shall be fully reported to the Chinese consul at the port of departure, and by him certified, to the satisfaction of the collector of the port at which such Chinese subject shall land in the United States. *And no such Chinese laborer shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the return certificate herein required.*

ARTICLE III.

The provisions of this Convention shall not affect the right at present enjoyed of Chinese subjects, being officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for curiosity or pleasure, but not laborers, of coming to the United States and residing therein. To entitle such Chinese subjects as are above described, to admission into the United States they may produce a certificate from their Government or the Government where they last resided, visé by the diplomatic or consular representative of the United States in the country or port whence they depart.

It is also agreed that Chinese laborers shall continue to enjoy the privilege of transit across the territory of the United States in the course of their journey to or from other countries, subject to such regulations by the Government of the United States as may be necessary to prevent said privilege of transit from being abused.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

ARTICLE IV.

In pursuance of Article III, of the Immigration Treaty between the United States and China, signed at Peking on the 17th day of November, 1880, it is hereby understood and agreed that Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, either permanently or temporarily residing in the United States, shall have for the protection of their persons and property all rights that are given by the laws of the United States to citizens of the most favored nation, excepting the right to become naturalized citizens. And the Government of the United States reaffirms its obligation, as stated in said Article III, to exert all its power to secure protection to the persons and property of all Chinese subjects in the United States.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

ARTICLE VI.

This Convention shall remain in force for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of ratifications; and if, six months before the expiration of the said period of twenty years, neither Government shall formally have given notice of its termination to the other, it shall remain in full force for another like period of twenty years.

The trivial amendments inserted by the Senate are printed in italics. They add no substantial safeguard to those already assured by the treaty itself, and only served to delay the final ratification. The effect of this was very well described by Representative Bynum, of Indiana, in a speech made in the House on August 14, when the legislation to carry the treaty into effect was under discussion:

The treaty as first negotiated was certainly strong enough in its provisions. It was satisfactory to everybody who for twenty years had been contending for a prohibition of this immigration, but it seems that its terms were not sufficient to satisfy the Republican members of the Senate, who had up to that time opposed every measure of restriction. That this amendment has had a reverse effect to its provisions is perfectly evident. By its adoption the treaty had to be again sent to the Chinese Government for ratification in its amended form. That Government can withhold its ratification until every Chinaman holding a return certificate gets back. The complaints are numerous that our present laws are not effective, and that Chinese laborers are coming in daily in violation of them. The delay, therefore, occasioned by the Senate amendment, will not only let all those that hold certificates have time to return, but will also allow all those that may be able to get in in violation of law. Its adoption has therefore resulted in increasing instead of restricting the number of immigrants.

IV.

REPUBLICAN EVASION OF THIS LAW.

HOW THE FEDERAL JUDGES HAVE PERMITTED THOUSANDS OF CHINAMEN TO LAND ILLEGALLY.

For some months, indeed ever since the enactment of the Chinese Restriction Law, complaints have continually come from the Pacific coast that the laws were not thoroughly executed. No fault has been found with the customs authorities to whom this task is given primarily. But it has been charged that the Republican Federal Judges, at San Francisco—Sabin and Sawyer—have permitted a large number of Chinese immigrants to land under the operation of the habeas corpus.

The method of procedure has been simple, yet effective, so far as the introduction of these aliens was concerned. Under the law, each Chinaman leaving the port of San Francisco, or any other on the Pacific coast, was entitled to a certificate giving a thorough description of him, by means of which he could re enter the United States. It was soon discovered that thousands of Chinamen who had never been in this country, were seeking to enter by means of forged certificates. They had acquired some knowledge of the topography of San Francisco, evidently by careful coaching on the part of the companies importing them.

HOW THE THING IS DONE IN SPITE OF THE LAW.

When the customs authorities would refuse to admit these people, the master of a vessel would become tired, after a few days of delay, of feeding and caring for this large number of Chinamen. He would, therefore, make application to the Judges of the United States courts for a writ of habeas corpus, which would permit him to land these forbidden immigrants. By this means large numbers of them, amounting, it is asserted in California, to something like 25,000 since the passage of the Restriction Law, have been landed at the port of San Francisco.

This has induced such serious complaints upon the part of citizens of California, that on July 25, 1888, an immense mass meeting was held to protest against this policy. This was held under the auspices of the Cigarmakers Union, all the labor organizations of the city joining in it.

THE VIGOROUS PROTEST OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR.

Herman Gutstadt spoke as follows:

As things are at present we are impotent. Talk as we please, the Judges go on raking in $3 a case. Think of it, $3 for three minutes! Why should a few pesky shysters be allowed to go on practicing this nefarious business? Sabin, Sawyer and Houghton run the entire machinery of the law to suit themselves. Though we be impotent, we can let them know our eyes are upon them, and if they do not modify their career of the past they had better look to the future. And we can have President Cleveland and Congress find out whether they are doing things right or wrong. We can have the finger of scorn pointed at them. More, we can hire an attorney who is not afraid of Judge Sawyer and Judge Sabin, and prevent the flow of fraudulent coolies into this country. More at least than is being done now. In my trade of cigarmaker there is not one of the 4,000 Chinese in it out of employment, while a large per cent. of white cigarmakers are.

There is no trade more important than this, and none which has received less support from the people. If the people were to assist the cigarmakers in their struggle there is no question that a thousand white ones would be employed instead of the few hundred who are eking out a living. The action of Sawyer and Sabin is helping to crush the cigarmakers

as well as other white laborers. These Judges, to my mind, must be either incompetent or dishonest. If a Judge lets a Chinaman loose in San Francisco for five or six months, although his right to land is yet in doubt, and then asks him whether there are cars on Kearny street, or whether there is a Chinatown in San Francisco, or whether it snows in Oakland, can you think that he is competent when he accepts his statements and lands him? There must be an ulterior object to all this, and I have the right to think there is. White men are sacrificed daily and hourly to the Mongolian god. What are we going to do about it? This is not only a question of principle; it is a question of something more substantial. There is to be a committee appointed to-night, I understand, to collect funds, the expenditure of which is to be regularly published. This committee will consist of well-known citizens, and will endeavor, if it cannot stop, to check the work of these Federal Judges.

METHODS SUGGESTED FOR PREVENTING THIS IMPORTATION.

He was followed by James H. Barry, who made the following remarks:

I am tired making anti-Chinese speeches and tired listening to them. The time for speech-making has passed. The hour for action has come. Let me not be misunderstood. I am an upholder of the law, as you are. We have the right to demand that our public servants intrusted with the administration of the law shall faithfully fulfill that trust. It is our right to insist on it, and, by the great Jehovah, we shall insist on the right. For years the Federal Judges have been landing Chinese on no other pretext except that it is their right. They take them from the ships, bring them into court and release them so that they may go into Chinatown and hunt up perjured evidence. Then they are discharged as prior residents. I do not know whether the law permits them to do this, but if it does the law should be changed. No matter how good the Bayard treaty may be, the Federal Judges, looking through their spectacles, will nullify it. I believe they would render a total Exclusion Act useless. If the Federal Judges don't know it we do, that two-thirds of the Chinese witnesses who go into the Federal Courts perjure themselves. Shall the Federal Judge be permitted to admit these coolies in defiance of law, or if they are not doing it in such defiance shall Congress not repeal the law? Let us elect Congressmen who will either better this law or have these Judges impeached if they are doing wrong. If Congress fails to act then "we will meet again in Philippi."

A STRONG MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

As a result of this meeting the following memorial to Congress was unanimously adopted.

MEMORIAL.

To the Senate and the House of Representatives:

The people of San Francisco, in mass meeting assembled for the purpose of devising some means to save our State from the incoming of Chinese coolies, whose immigration is expressly prohibited by the laws passed by you, do represent as follows:

We recognize that Congress has responded to the wishes of the people of the United States by adopting such legislation as we all deemed necessary to, and adequate for, that end. That such legislation would have been sufficient to accomplish that end for which it was intended had it been accomplished in good faith, according to the spirit in which it was devised, there can be no doubt.

Although that law has been upon the statute books since 1882 and was amended four years ago with the intent to strengthen its provisions inorder to meet the technical objections raised by the judiciary on the Federal bench of this Coast, the fact remains that a larger number of Chinese are entering the port of San Francisco to-day than have entered at any other time in our history. There are practically no greater restrictions upon the entry of Mongolians than upon that of Europeans, the only difference being that a head tax is imposed upon Mongolians for the benefit of the courts instead of the treasury.

Thus have the efforts of Congress to protect American labor from ruinous and degrading competition with a servile race been defeated. The situation is so alarming as to endanger the peace of this State, because the judges whose duty it is to uphold the law have brought the administration of the law into contempt.

If not to the law, where can the people look for protection? If the efforts of Congress heretofore to protect the people shall continue to be thwarted, the people must and will protect themselves.

By your Act of 1882, as amended, it was provided that certain certificates would be the sole evidence of the right of any Chinaman to land. The administration of this law was placed in the hands of the Collector of Customs. In the attempt to carry out the provisions of this law the customs officials have been thwarted at every step by the mandates of the Federal Courts. By the abuse of the right of habeas corpus the administration of the Act has been taken from the hands of the Collector of Customs and usurped by the courts. The examination of Chinese on board ships by the customs authorities provided for in your Act —which was the greatest safeguard against the fraudulent landing of coolies—has been vetoed by the Federal Courts, although it was approved by the President. So determined have been the judges to defeat the plain and only purpose of the law that they have gone the length of threatening with imprisonment the customs officials who have sought to perform the sworn duty imposed upon them by the Congress and President of the United States.

Since you ordained in 1884 that no Chinaman should enter this country without possessing a certain certificate showing his right to land, 9,000 have been landed by habeas corpus. This violation of law has been accomplished through the agency of the Federal judges who have set up a standard of their own above and in defiance of the law. Clothed with that discretion which is inseparable from a proper exercise of the judicial office, they have, in every instance, used it in behalf of the Chinese and against the spirit of the law. Every doubt has been resolved against the interests of the people. Had they been paid attorneys of the Chinese while sitting on the bench, they could not have worked more persistently and eagerly at throwing down the guards which you set up against this immigration. Each coolie landed by habeas corpus represents legal fees amounting to $20. The Circuit Court, which is the conduit through which this Asiatic filth flows, has for its fee-receiving clerk a near relative of the Judge. So great has been the inpour of this profitable, though forbidden immigration, that the regular machinery of the court has proved inadequate to the demand.

A subsidiary court not contemplated by statute has been created for the admission of Chinese, and no fee now goes to waste. This subsidy court receives a fee of $3 for each Chinaman landed, and does its work at the rate of one Chinaman every ten minutes during business hours. At the present time there are in San Francisco's Chinatown no less than 4,000 certificateless coolies landed upon habeas corpus, turned loose on bail and awaiting examination. Many of them have been on shore as long as six months. The only proof of prior residence required by the Circuit Court and its annex from these men is an ability to answer certain questions tending to show a slight familiarity with the geographical features of San Francisco, and the entry of their names in the books of the Chinese Six Companies or in the accounts of a Chinese merchant. Every one of this army of coolies can secure his final discharge at the expense of a false oath and the payment of the required fees. Meantime, this swarm of Asiatics who are supposed by law not to be in the country, are actively competing with American labor in all branches of industry and aiding in the reduction of the scale of wages to the Chinese level. The amount represented on the bonds for which Chinese residents are surety is already in excess of the assessed valuation of all the property owned in San Francisco by the Chinese population.

That the interpretation placed upon the law by Judges Sawyer and Sabin and Commissioner Houghton is not a necessary, but an arbitrary interpretation, is shown by the brief sitting of Judge Ross of the Southern District of California. This jurist was recently invited to sit upon the Circuit bench in this city. His rulings were such as to exclude the Chinese, and such as to spread dismay and panic among the whole colony of fee-receiving officials, coolie brokers, attorneys, straw-bondsmen, and all other parasites who are living and fattening upon the decaying remains of the Restriction Act. Judge Ross' sitting was brief. He has not been invited to sit on the Circuit bench again. He has been dropped from Judge Sawyer's visiting list.

We, the people of San Francisco, appeal to Congress to end this monstrous conspiracy, to save the Pacific Coast and the country from the consequences of an abuse of judicial power unparalleled since the time of Jeffries. The House of Representatives has created a committee to investigate the subject of contract labor. We invite that committee to visit this city. We promise to place before it facts which will demonstrate the truth of every allegation made in this memorial. When this proof has been made and submitted to Congress we demand remedial action. What that action should be is self-evident. No law which you have placed upon the statute books has been able to withstand the hostile and destructive assaults of the Federal Judges of this Coast.

You have given us a new treaty and contemplate the passage of a still more stringent Exclusion Act. We are grateful for these honest efforts to save us from Chinese association and competition, but in the light of experience what confidence can be felt that any law or any treaty will be carried into effect while its administration rests in the hands of Judges who have annulled every existing statute. While they remain upon the bench Chinese exclusion is impossible.

We demand the impeachment and removal of Lorenzo Sawyer, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of the Ninth Circuit, and of George M. Sabin, District Judge for the District of Nevada.

EFFORTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

While no complaint has been made against the efficiency of the Department of Justice as represented by the District Attorney at San Francisco, the Solicitor-General, Geo. A. Jenks, when his attention was called to the matter, addressed the following letter to the District Attorney:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, August 9, 1888.

JOHN T. CAREY, ESQ., *U. S. Attorney*,
San Francisco, California.

Sir—There is much complaint concerning the negligent enforcement of the Chinese Restriction Act in California. As representing the Government in the enforcement of the law in your district, you are instructed to use the utmost energy, intelligence and care to see that it is strictly enforced, so far as lies in your power. Leave nothing undone that will prevent a violation of the law. Very respectfully,

G. A. JENKS,
Acting Attorney-General.

V.

WHAT LABOR GETS IN CHINA.

THE WAGES PAID IN DIFFERENT PROVINCES OF CHINA FOR SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOR, REPORTED BY REPUBLICAN CONSULS.

It will be of interest to a large number of people to know what Chinese labor means, not only in China itself, but in California as well. In volume 3 of the "Consular Reports on Labor in America, Asia, &c," published by the Department of State in January, 1885, transmitted to Congress by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, then Secretary of State, the following is given as the rate of wages in Amoy, one of the principal departments of China:

GENERAL TRADES.

WAGES PAID PER MONTH OF TEN HOURS PER DAY IN THE PROVINCE OF AMOY, CHINA.

Occupations.	Lowest.	Highest.	Occupations.	Lowest.	Highest.
Building Trades.			*Other Trades—Cont'd.*		
Bricklayers	$7 00	$9 00	Dyers	$16 00	$20 00
Masons	9 00	18 00	Engravers	8 00	10 00
Plasterers	7 00	9 00	Gardeners	5 00	7 00
Roofers	7 00	9 00	Hatters	5 00	6 00
Plumbers	5 00	6 00	Jewelers	14 00	16 00
Carpenters	8 00	10 00	Laborers, Porters, &c.	5 00	6 00
			Nail-makers (hand)	4 00	6 00
Other Trades.			Potters	4 00	5 00
			Printers	5 00	6 00
Bakers	8 00	9 00	Sail-makers	8 00	10 00
Blacksmiths	4 00	6 00	Tanners	9 00	10 00
Strikers	2 00	3 00	Tailors	6 00	9 00
Book-binders	4 00	6 00	Tinsmiths	9 00	10 00
Brickmakers	6 00	8 00	Weavers (outside of		
Brewers	7 00	8 00	mills) of cloth	7 00	8 00
Butchers	8 00	10 00	of silk	22 00	24 00
Brass-founders	6 00	8 00			
Cabinet-makers	6 00	8 00	*Household wages in Towns and Cities.*		
Confectioners	....	3 00	Wages paid per mon. to household servants.		
Coopers	1 50	1 70	(*Towns and Cities*) *in Amoy.*		
Cutlers	4 00	8 00	Household servants (in native employment)	$1 00	$3 00
Distillers	7 00	8 00			

WAGES AND LIVING IN OTHER PROVINCES.

In Hancow Consul Sheppard reported that "the rate of wages for journeymen mechanics differs little in the various trades, thirteen or fourteen cents per day being a fair average, with food furnished by employers."

Consul Seymour reported that the average rate of wages at Canton, in Southern China, for bakers, bookbinders, brickmakers, winemakers, butchers, confectioners, cigarmakers, distillers of essences, boatmen, dyers, gardeners, hatters, shoemakers, nailmakers, potters, printers, leather ware makers, saddle and harness makers, tailors, tinsmiths and porters ranged from $4 50 to $5.50 per month. Among those

known as skilled trades, such as bricklayers, masons, plasterers, roofers, plumbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, coopers, engravers, jewelers, clockmakers and ship carpenters, the rate ranged from $4.50 to $8 per month.

These wages, it must be remembered, represent those of the larger cities of China, and are, no doubt, as in all other countries of the world, larger than in the smaller towns and in the rural localities.

The average cost of living for these different cities and provinces is given at about $3.00 per month.

"The clothing of male laborers," the report continues, "is very simple and inexpensive. Two garments, generally, are only worn, trousers and a sort of loose blouse, both of ordinary cotton cloth, either white or blue. In cold weather these are padded with cotton batting. The better classes vary the upper garment by elongation, when the blouse becomes a robe, which is often covered by a third garment, a sleeveless tunic of cloth. Materials are varied as means allow, and silks and satins supplant the cotton cloth. The cost, of course, depends on material, but the essential cotton garments of laborers cost about $3.00, and two suits last at least a year."

As to political rights, the common people have none and seem not to care for them. They seem to live in abject fear of rulers, but appear not to discuss the possibility of change. One would judge they never thought, and were contented with their abject condition. No emigration has ever occurred from this region. Education, even in the Chinese sense, is very limited, but most men can read a few characters and write them as well, and can keep accounts.

This is the kind of laborers of whom China can furnish perhaps one hundred millions without in any way affecting its own industries or its own resources. This is the kind of labor which Mr. Harrison and his Republican friends have sought to bring into this country without restriction, to take the food from the mouths of our own workingmen, and then to raise the cry of high wages and protection. It certainly lies very little in their mouths to make such a cry after their own actions in the matter have been thoroughly exposed.

VI.

CHINESE COMPETITION IN THIS COUNTRY.

WHAT IT MEANS IN SAN FRANCISCO—WAGES AND COST OF LIVING AND THE DEGRADATION OF THE INHABITANTS.

As showing the rate at which the Chinese live in San Francisco, it has been ascertained from the most reliable sources that the average is about as follows:

Rent per month	$2 00
Food	5 00
Clothing—Average per month	1 00
Total	$8 00
Total per annum	$96 00

It has also been ascertained that only one-fourth of the clothing, which is certainly not extravagant in amount, was made of goods produced in this country; while of the food consumed 75 per cent. was imported from China.

Of the earnings of these laborers fully 75 per cent. is sent each year to China.

The rate of wages for which these people are willing to work in San Francisco is shown in the following table:

RATES OF WAGES PAID TO CHINESE.

Class of Labor.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.
Domestic servants	$25 00 per month	$18 00 per month	$21 50 per month.
Cooks	30 00 per month	10 00 per month	20 00 per month.
Laundrymen	12 00 per month	6 00 per month	10 00 per month.
Cultivators of soil	30 00 per month	25 00 per month	27 50 per month.
Farm laborers	25 00 per month	20 00 per month	22 50 per month.
Brickmakers	35 00 per month	25 00 per month	30 00 per month.
Slippermakers	5 00 per week	4 00 per week	4 50 per week.
Bagmakers	6 00 per week	4 50 per week	5 25 per week.
Miners	2 00 per day	1 50 per day	1 75 per day.
In canneries	1 25 per day	75 per day	1 00 per day.
Boot and shoemakers	1 75 per day	75 per day	1 25 per day.
Cigarmakers	$4 to $12 per 1000		
Cigar strippers	Paid by the piece		
Fishermen	Nearly all on their own account		

ALMOST ABSOLUTE LACK OF CHINESE HOMES.

As showing the domestic condition of these people, it may not be amiss to say that out of 96,723 Chinese residents of the Pacific Coast States and Territories in 1880, only 4,513 were women, a disproportion absolutely unknown in any community which ever existed since the creation of Eve, and one which shows that these people when migrating here have no idea of becoming part and parcel of our American citizenship, so that the "little brown man," of whom Senator Hoar spoke so lovingly a few years ago in the Senate, has come to this country for the purposes of revenue only, and has no idea of remaining longer than it is necessary to acquire the small sum which will enable him to set up as a rich man and capitalist at home.

THE TERRIBLE CONDITION OF THE CHINESE QUARTER.

In July 1885, there was published in the city of San Francisco a report made by the special committee of the Board of Supervisors of that county, upon the condition of the Chinese Quarter. The section of the city known as the Chinese Quarter is included in twelve blocks. In these twelve blocks were found bunks to the number of 15,180, each bunk being occupied on an average by two persons. The further results of this system are set forth in the following:

All great cities have their slums and localities where filth, disease, crime, and misery abound; but in the very best aspect which "Chinatown" can be made to present, it must stand apart, conspicuous and beyond them all in the extreme degree of all these horrible attributes, the rankest outgrowth of human degradation that can be found upon this continent.

Here it may be truly said that human beings exist under conditions (as regards their mode of life and the air they breathe) scarcely one degree above those under which the rats of our water-front and other vermin live, breathe, and have their being. And this order of things seems inseparable from the very nature of the race, and probably must be accepted and borne with—must be endured if it cannot be cured—restricted and loooked after, so far as possible, with unceasing vigilance, so that, whatever of benefit, "of degree" even, that may be derived from such modification of the evil of their presence among us, may, at least, be attained, not daring to hope that there can be any radical remedy for the great, overshadowing evil which Chinese immigration has inflicted upon this people.

Your committee have found, both from their own and individual observations and from the reports of their surveyors, that it is almost the universal custom among the Chinese to herd together as compactly as possible, both as regards living and sleeping rooms and sleeping accommodations. It is almost an invariable rule that every "bunk" in Chinatown (beds being almost unknown in that locality) is occupied by two persons. Not only is this true, but in very many instances these bunks are again occupied by "relays" in the daytime, so that there is no hour, night or day, when there are not thousands of Chinamen sleeping under the effects of opium, or otherwise, in the bunks which we have found there.

Besides these bunks, rolls of bedding, for use in sleeping on floors and various other sleeping accommodations, are found. All these bunks, rolls, etc., have been carefully noted and enumerated in their reports furnished to us by the surveyors; and from them we reach the following results of an estimated enumeration of the population of "Chinatown."

HOW THESE HUMAN HERDS LIVE.

They describe the methods of living in Chinatown with its filth and its vile smells as follows:

Descend into the basement of almost any building in Chinatown at night; pick your way by the aid of the policeman's candle along the dark and narrow passageway, black and grimy with a quarter of a century's accumulation of filth; step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of sewage abominations with which these subterranean depths abound. Now follow your guide through a door, which he forces, into a sleeping room. The air is thick with smoke and fetid with an indescribable odor of reeking vapors. The atmosphere is tangible. Tangible—if we may be licensed to use the word in this instance—to four out of the five human senses. Tangible to the sight, tangible to the touch, tangible to the taste, and, oh, how tangible to the smell. You may even hear it as the opium-smoker sucks it through his pipe-bowl into his tainted lungs, and you breathe it yourself as if it were of the substance and tenacity of tar.

It is a sense of a horror you have never before experienced, revolting to the last degree sickening and stupefying. Through this semi-opaque atmosphere you discover perhaps eight or ten—never less than two or three—bunks, the greater part or all of which are occupied by two persons, some in a state of stupefaction from opium, some rapidly smoking,

themselves into that condition, and all in dirt and filth. Before the door was opened for your entrance every aperture was closed, and here, had they not been thus rudely disturbed, they would have slept in the dense and poisonous atmosphere until morning, proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a people of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions.

HOW "PROTECTION" IS PREVENTED BY THESE PEOPLE.

They also advert at some length and with considerable bitterness to the men who would cry for the protection of American labor, and yet would permit the influx of this element to come into competition with our own, as follows:

The essentially American policy of a tariff for protection to home industry is not alone on trial as against the opposing doctrine of free trade. Protection against the "pauper labor of Europe" as a system of public policy may be advocated, upheld and practiced as we will, but it is clear that the doctrine is absolutely nullified, and the laws that are enacted to support it are successfully and effectually evaded by the importation, not of the *products* of pauper labor, but of pauper labor itself, of a far lower grade than that of Europe, viz: the Asiatic.

The political party which claims to be the party of protection to home industry by means of a high tariff necessarily stultifies itself if it fails to set itself against the greater of these dangers, the importation of Asiatic pauper labor, as well as against the free importation of the products of European pauper labor.

For it is clear that Asiatic labor here upon our own soil, which can exist here at a less cost for living than can even the pauper labor of Europe exist upon European soil, not only possesses a dominant advantage over home labor, but also over the "pauper labor of Europe" itself, about which we declaim so earnestly. If this "Asiatic pauper labor," tolerated upon our own soil, can produce here any article of manufacture cheaper than the same article can be produced in Europe, the advantage is not alone the difference in the cheapness of the product, but in the tariff which is imposed on the article thus manufactured in Europe and imported here. Therefore the Asiatic laborer residing here literally commands the situation.

The result of such a competition is indisputable. Either the American laborer must come down to a level with the imported "little brown man" in habits of life and desires, or he must become a helpless pauper himself.

This is not the gospel of the "Sand Lot;" it is the gospel of political truth, upon which all parties should agree who have the welfare of society at heart, and to whom humanity itself ought not to plead in vain.

Cool and dispassionate consideration of this great overshadowing question is now the necessity of the hour, uninfluenced by the senseless jargon of "The Chinese must go," or any shibboleth of the demagogue. Planted here in this young but already great metropolis is a Mongolian population, forming about one-eighth of the entire community, and probably one-fourth of the laboring classes, equal to the task of competition in any line of skilled or unskilled manufacture. Their habits and mode of life render the cost of support less than one-fifth of that of the ordinary American laborer, who exercises what is commonly recognized as the strictest rules of economy and thrift. This first coming of the wave of Chinese labor is to-day in more than successful competition with the home workman here in the production of every article of clothing, cigars, and other like necessities and luxuries of life, to the extent that, practically, [the occupation of the skilled home laborer is gone, indeed, even at this early stage of the contact.

HOW THE INFLUX OF THIS SERVILE CLASS CONTINUES.

It is within the province and scope of this report to supply this "missing link" through the facts which have been collated in this investigation, and about which there can surely be no dispute, if human evidence is of value at all in the search for truth, hidden where it may be:

Your committee, then, apart from theorizing, invite the attention of the Board and of the American people to their exhibits of facts relating to this subject of Chinese labor here in San Francisco alone, and the inevitable result which must sooner or later be reached all over the land as the Chinese tide advances and sweeps competition to the winds.

It need not be said that the discussion of this phase of the question is useless now because of the treaty and the legislation which is supposed to prohibit Chinese immigration; for the fact is but too apparent to every resident of San Francisco that Chinese immigration is still flowing in in appalling numbers, and the treaty and the prohibitory legislation scarcely modifies the strength of the tide, much less prohibits. Therefore it is more than in order at this time to analyze and discuss the effect of Chinese pauper labor upon the welfare of the American laborer and the American people.

HOW THE CHINESE ARE DRIVING OUT WOMEN AS WELL AS MEN.

In setting forth the kind of work done by these men—how it has taken the bread from the mouths of men, women and children in San Francisco—they say:

There are employed in Chinatown to-day not less than 2,326 Chinese workmen engaged in the manufacture of clothing of various descriptions, boots and shoes, leather, cigars, etc., all of which are produced for consumption here in competition with the American workmen engaged in the same line of manufacture. Most of this labor is carried on through the use of the best modern machinery, in the operation of which the Chinese workman becomes an adept in a short space of time. Machinery for the manufacture of boots and shoes in the large establishments operated by Chinese labor supplies a large share of the demand for the whole Pacific coast. The Hop Kee Company, on Dupont street, an establishment employing at some seasons of the year three hundred men, finds a market for its goods as far east as Salt Lake City at present, and will at no distant day invade the country east of the Mississippi, giving manufacturers there an opportunity to become pratically acquainted with the effects of "Chinese cheap labor" and the results which follow in its train.

In the manufacture of clothing, ladies' underwear, shirts, etc., 1,245 sewing machines are kept actively at work, all operated by male laborers with a skill that is equal to the best efforts of the American woman, as well as the American man, in this direction, and all run with such quick-handed, untiring energy, that it suggests one of the most curious physiological problems of the day to understand how a people, nurtured and fed as they are, can possess the vitality and physical force necessary to the results which they achieve in this direction.

Most of this labor is carried on by "piece work" and to fill orders for large "down-town commercial houses" engaged in the sale of the class of goods thus produced. The heavy, strong-stitched jean overalls which find so large a market on the coast are made by the Chinese workmen at the rate of about 55 cents per dozen pairs. The work thus produced—at a price which would reduce the American worker, male and female, to a lower level than the "woman" in "The Song of the Shirt"—the Chinaman thrives upon and is prosperous and happy. But it is a prosperity and happiness that is based upon a mode of life that a homeless cur upon the streets might not envy, upon which the American laborer could not exist until a succession of generations had so brutalized and blunted his race proclivities that he had degenerated into a condition worse than barbarism and become a curse to civilization, instead of what he is to-day, the vital strength of a nation.

VII.

HOW TO PROTECT LABOR IN EARNEST.

During the discussion of the Chinese Restriction Act in the Senate in 1882, Senator Jones, of Nevada, told his Republican colleagues an amount of truth not often heard by them from one of their own party. In speaking of protection, he said:

I have noticed, Mr. President, that most of those who are in favor of the largest liberty being extended to the Chinese immigrant to this country are also in favor of a tariff—a tariff which has been urged as necessary to protect the American laborer from the degradation of competition with the pauper labor of Europe, as it is usually termed. In reality, if we may judge of their motives by the action of the men who are now advocating a tariff, it was not the American laborer they wished to protect against the pauper labor of Europe, but it was the American capitalist, the lordly manufacturer, that they wished to protect against the free competition of the capitalist of Europe. Our capitalist manufacturer wanted a larger interest on his money than the capitalist of Europe was willing to accept, and he was given the benefit of a tariff.

Let us see how that tariff works. It works in this wise, that everything that the capitalist manufacturer has to sell he sells in a protected market; he sells in a market in which foreign capitalists cannot compete with him.

How is it with what he has to buy? For the principal article he has to buy, to wit, the labor of men, he demands free trade in the broadest sense, not only free trade in bringing in laborers of our own race who can soon accommodate themselves to our conditions of life, but the bringing in a class of laborers who have been inured to poverty by thousands of years of training. The capitalist asks the broadest free trade for that, his own market in any event being protected.

Now, how is this with the laborer? Everything he wants to buy he has to buy from his capitalist master in a protected market: everything he has to sell, to wit, his labor (and, unlike the capitalist, he can not hold it away from sale; unlike the capitalist, he can not wait for better times, or travel here and there where he pleases to sell it, but he must sell it every day), he must sell in the openest market in the world. This is the theory in favor of the laborer that the gentleman (Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts) propounds to us. We reject it, and by this bill propose to bar out this degrading this shocking competition with our people. And yet he tells us we are striking a blow at labor, that we are proposing to inflict injury on the laborers of our country.

Ah! sir, when the artisans and laborers of this country shall be made to understand that they are subjected to free trade in labor they will demand as one of the conditions of their existence that they shall have an open market in which to buy that which they want if it is an open market in which they must sell their labor, the only thing they have to sell. They will never consent to a tariff on bales and boxes and hampers of goods coupled with free trade in human brain and muscle.

The Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Dawes) told us that he wanted the American people to know that this bill was a blow struck at labor. Yes, sir, it is a blow struck at degraded, underpaid, underclothed, underfed labor, and it is a blow in favor of that fair remuneration which the forces of our civilization up to this hour have decreed that the laborer should get.

WHAT HARRISON'S PERSONAL ORGAN THOUGHT.

The Indianapolis *Journal* was in March, 1882, when the Miller anti-Chinese bill was pending in Congress, the personal organ of Benjamin Harrison, as it is to-day. Its editorial columns were filled with praises of the Chinese, and with denunciations of those who were trying to keep them out of the country. On March 2, 1882, in a leading editorial, the *Journal* said:

They who shout "The Chinese must go" are as mistaken as the dweller on the Yazoo, who stands upon its banks and curses the Father of Waters. Repulsed from our shores, the Chinese will pour into Peru, into the South Sea Islands, into Spain, into Cuba, into Mexico, to him the lower levels. But finally he will overspread districts whose inhabitants have miscalculated the extent and might of the flood. HIS VIRTUES ARE SOBRIETY, MODESTY, PATIENCE AND ECONOMY, AND HE IS A TEACHER TO THE LABOR OF ALL LANDS. WHATEVER HIS FAULT, HIS LESSON MUST BE LEARNED BY THE STRIKERS AND GRUMBLERS EVERYWHERE, for none has so successfully met and triumphed over the harder conditions of life. He is a marvel, an astonishment, and a surprise, but a warning and an admonition as well.

REPUBLICAN OPINION IN CALIFORNIA IN 1882.

The position assumed by the Republican newspapers of the Coast, and particularly of San Francisco, on the Chinese question, was outspoken in denunciation of those Republican members of Congress and particularly Senators Harrison, Edmunds, Ingalls, Sherman, Hoar and Dawes, who so bitterly opposed the anti-Chinese legislation of the Forty-seventh session.

The opinions of the Republican papers of this city at that time on the attitude of the Republican leaders, is best shown by extracts from them.

THE DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVES DEFENDED.

[*San Francisco Call, April* 10, 1882.]

Notwithstanding that most of the Republican Senators, except those who represent the States of the Pacific, opposed the passage of the anti-Chinese bill, which President Arthur vetoed, there *is a studied effort to deceive our people* by saying that Democratic Congressmen are trying to defeat the passage of another anti-Chinese bill. We have reason to believe there is not a word of truth in it, for did not nearly all of the Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress do their utmost to pass the bill which the President, *instigated by his stalwart friends, vetoed?*

A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT REPUDIATES HIS PLATFORM.

[*San Francisco Call April*, 5, 1882.]

The recent exercise of the veto power by President Arthur in reference to the Chinese bill is perhaps the most arbitrary act an American President has ever performed. * * * The message is worse for the President and for his party than if he had based it on an excessive term of prohibition. It is a *flat contradiction of the platform on which he was elected*, and raises the question whether the anti-Chinese plank in the Republican platform was not a deliberate deceit practiced on the people of this Coast.

HARRISON CANNOT CONTINUE IN PUBLIC LIFE.

[*San Francisco Bulletin, April* 3, 1882.]

The opposition to the Chinese exhibited by these facts has been extending instead of decreasing. It is, in short, the development of a great labor question, which *no public man can face and continue in or enter public life*. It has already been formulated as protection to American labor, which is just as necessary as protection to American manufactures.

HARRISON'S HOSTILITY TO THE PACIFIC COAST.

[*San Francisco Bulletin, March* 30, 1882.]

This State is to be saved by wise limits to Chinese immigration, or it is to be hopelessly cursed by an immigration which is irredeemable and outside of all future improvement. The journals and the politicians who prefer the latter alternative are not the friends of this country, and no argument of their assumed philanthropy can make them such. The forces and the influences which are at work to-day in favor of unrestricted Chinese immigration are hostile to the Pacific Coast and to the best interests of the whole country. *He who is not with us is against us.* Hostility to the proposed measure is hostility to the prosperity of the Pacific States.

HARRISON PROVED HIMSELF AN ENEMY TO LABOR.

[*San Francisco Chronicle, April* 12, 1882.]

We call the attention of the honest and sincere Senators and Representatives from California, Oregon and Nevada to this situation, and in the name of the laboring classes of the coast ask them to use their utmost endeavors for the passage of the ten-year exclusion bill. Half a loaf is better than no bread. * * * What the American laborers of the Pacific Coast want is immediate relief, and whoever opposes that, in whatever way, *is their enemy.*

THE DEMOCRACY THE FRIEND OF LABOR.

[*San Francisco Call, February* 9, 1882.]

We fear that it is not quite so certain that a bill restricting Chinese immigration will be passed during the present session of Congress, as some of our contemporaries seem to anticipate. Certain it is that Republicans alone cannot pass it, for they have not a majority in both houses of Congress, and it is also known that some Republicans will oppose any and all bills. No bill can possibly pass Congress unless it be approved by a majority of the Democratic members of the Senate and House of Representatives. Of this our citizens may be assured; but as *the Democratic party is proverbially the friend of labor*, there cannot be any doubt that they will generally favor the passage of such a bill as will relieve this coast of its present troubles.

HARRISON NAILED FAST ON THE RECORD.

[*San Francisco Bulletin, April* 29, 1882.]

The bill for the exclusion of the Chinese passed the Senate yesterday by a vote of thirty-two to fifteen—twenty-two Democrats, nine Republicans, and David Davis, President pro tem., voting for it. * * * All the Democratic Senators from the West and those from the South voted for the bill. Ingalls, of Kansas, was inclined to assist us, but the missionary sniveling was probably too much for him, and he voted against the bill. Of the fifteen votes in the negative eleven were furnished by New England—all its Senators but one. This indicates that the area of Chinamania is confined principally to that section, with a queer extension in the direction of Georgia. This area is also that which is devoted to the manufacture of cottons for the Chinese trade. The other four negatives were:

HARRISON, OF INDIANA;

INGALLS, OF KANSAS;

LAPHAM, OF NEW YORK;

SHERMAN, OF OHIO.

The bill which went through the Senate was passed by the House by the enormous vote of two hundred and one to thirty-seven, six more than two-thirds of the whole body. Of the two hundred and one, one hundred and seven were Democrats and ninety-four Republicans. * * * We will have the law on our side to stop the yellow tide, and the people of California will see that the law is executed. No technicalities, evasions or loop-holes will be tolerated on this Coast.

TARIFF PROTECTIONISTS ENEMIES OF LABOR.

[*San Francisco Chronicle, April* 28, 1882.]

A close analysis of the proceedings of the Senate on the two Chinese bills demonstrates that the opposition came from the railway corporations, the banking monopolists, *the tariff protectionists* and the manufacturing interests of New England, Pennsylvania, Ohio and other States. All monopolies are the *natural enemies of independence in the laboring class—the natural friends of cheap and servile labor*. It is good and wise policy for us of the Pacific States, who are demanding the exclusion of the myriads of Chinese threatening us with invasion, to treat this Eastern combination as enemies, and to *strike back at them whenever it is possible* to deliver a blow without injury to ourselves.

THE REPUBLICANS FAVORED CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

[*San Francisco Bulletin, March* 10, 1882.]

The bill suspending Chinese immigration passed the Senate yesterday. * * * The great body of the negatives were Republicans. It is proper to state that two of them—Edmunds and Ingalls—would have voted for the bill if the term of suspension had been reduced to ten years. The only real Democratic vote in the negative—for Davis, of Illinois, is an unknown political quantity—was Brown, of Georgia. * * * It is quite apparent from the above vote that if the Republicans in the House cannot be rallied to the support of the measure more generally than in the higher chamber, there is some danger of the failure of the bill. Only a fifth of the Republican Senators voted against it. If these proportions are maintained in the House, the shave by which the bill is likely to pass will be a very light one, unless, indeed, broader views are more generally accepted there.

HARRISON WAS ONE OF THEM.

[*San Francisco Call, March* 10, 1882.]

The anti-Chinese bill has passed the Senate by a majority of nearly two to one of the Senators voting—29 to 15. It is a matter for congratulation that but fifteen Senators were willing to place themselves on record *in opposition to the right of a government to regulate immigration*. The position taken by the opponents of the bill would have required us to sit quietly down and let foreign hordes crowd into our country without regard to their fitness to share with us the responsibilities of government.

DEMOCRATIC ACTIVITY ASSURED SUCCESS.

[*San Francisco Chronicle*, *March* 5, 1882.]

The Senate will pass the bill by an overwhelming majority. It is so far openly antagonized by but one Senator, and meets with but a half-hearted opposition from only a few others. The activity of leading Democrats in the Senate indicates that it may receive the united support of that party, and we think it will get the votes of nearly all the Republican Senators. * * * It reminds both of the great national political parties that they solemnly pledged themselves to the principles of this bill, and demands that they shall each abide by that pledge or accept the consequences of a false and fraudulent promise.

ARTHUR FAILED TO SIGN IT JUST THE SAME.

[*San Francisco Bulletin*, *March* 25, 1882.]

The approval of the Chinese bill by President Arthur will have the effect of restoring the political equilibrium on that subject, somewhat disturbed by the Democratic preponderance in its favor. In that case the Republicans will have furnished the bill, the management of the same in both Houses, and the votes, though *small in number*, necessary to carry it. The bill could not have gone through either House if the Republicans had stood in the way. If, in addition, the endorsement of a Republican administration is given, it will be difficult to make any special party capital out of the measure. * * * Two vetoes on this subject from Republican Presidents would *use up the Republican party for a generation or more on the Pacific coast*. The immediate and most deplorable effect would be to increase largely the Mongolian deluge that is pouring in upon us. So great and alarming is that deluge that it is important that the bill should be signed as soon as the necessary forms can be gone through.

]Extract from Letter of John J. Ingalls:]

VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER,
Washington, June 16, 1888.

"Sherman, Allison, Harrison, etc., HAVE RECORDS THAT WOULD BE AWKWARD * * * ON THE CHINESE QUESTION."

NO USE TO MAKE THE FIGHT.

M. H DE YOUNG, MEMBER NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE FROM CALIFORNIA, GIVES IT UP WHEN HARRISON'S NAME IS MENTIONED.

(*Atlanta Constitution, Chicago Dispatch, June 23:*)

I had a talk with M. H. De Young, the well-known California editor, on Saturday, just before he had been called into conference, representing Blaine's interest, with a few leaders representing the other candidates. Harrison had made a heavy gain that morning, receiving 217 votes against 93 on the third ballot Friday evening, and his friends hoped to have the conference agree upon him. De Young said:

"*It is absurd to talk of agreeing on Harrison; he cannot carry the Pacific Coast, nor can he carry several other States, which would be Republican, on account of his record on the Chinese question. The labor vote will be against him, and California will never support a man who voted against the Chinese bill and every phase of the Chinese treaty. Further than this, he voted to naturalize Chinamen and give them the right of suffrage, and Allison did the same thing. If either of these two is nominated we might as well give up the fight in California.*"

CHAPTER XXXII.

HARRISON AND THE CHINESE.

I

FOR THE CHINESE WHEN AT HOME.

HOW HARRISON PROFITED BY THE NATURALIZATION OF CHINAMEN IN INDIANA DURING THE DORSEY CAMPAIGN IN 1880.

In October, 1880, while the contest preliminary to the presidential election of that year was being waged in Indiana, the Republicans concluded that it would be a stroke of business to naturalize a lot of Chinese in the city of Indianapolis and vote them for their candidates for State offices. Accordingly, five such Chinese applied for naturalization papers to Daniel M. Ransdell, the clerk of the courts in Marion county, in which Indianapolis is situated.

The question thus raised was new, from the legal point of view, as no Chinaman had previously been naturalized, and Ransdell was in some doubt as to the tenability of his position. His regular legal adviser was William A Ketcham, of the Indianapolis bar, who also expressed some doubt on the question.

Ransdell, who had been a soldier in Harrison's Indiana regiment during the late war, had been accustomed to rely upon his friend for advice on those more knotty points of the law with which his regular counsel did not feel thoroughly familiar. Among them was this question of issuing certificates of naturalization to the Chinese who had applied for them. The doubt was resolved by Harrison in favor of giving papers to the applicants, which was done. It was generally asserted that a written opinion affirming that the clerk of the courts had this power, was given by John B. Elam, then Republican district attorney, and now the law partner of General Harrison.

WHERE THEY WERE VOTED.

Three of the Chinamen were located in the eleventh ward of the city and two in the seventeenth ward—each ward at that time constituting a voting precinct. On the day of the State election, October 5, 1880, one of the newly-made citizens (?) presented himself at the polling place in the eleventh ward, and his vote was challenged by Joseph W. Nichol, a Democratic lawyer in good standing before the courts of Marion county, upon the ground that no court or court officer had a right, under the constitution or the laws, to issue certificates of naturalization to Chinese.

In spite of this challenge the vote of the Chinaman was sworn in and received by the election officers, a majority of whom were Republicans. It was known that the Chinaman had presented a Republican ticket, as he had been brought to the polls and vouched for by a Republican lawyer, George Carter by name.

In the seventeenth ward one of the Chinamen presented himself at the voting place under the patronage of one of the leading Republican workers of the precinct, who offered the Mongolian's ballot to the election officers. His right to vote was challenged by Austin H. Brown, who for many years had been the representative of Indiana on the Democratic National Committee. As in the eleventh precinct, the vote was sworn in and accepted by the election officers, a majority of whom were Republicans, as in the other case, and the vote went to swell the Republican majority which the State gave as the result of the free use, by Mr. Dorsey, of the commodity since known as "soap."

ONLY SENATOR SENT BY CHINESE VOTES.

Thus it was that Benjamin Harrison advised and consented to the naturalization of Chinese who voted the Republican ticket, and it was a legislature chosen at the election in question which sent him to the United States Senate where, both by votes and dodging of votes, he did all he could to admit Chinese without restriction. He is the only Senator of the United States, for any State, who during the entire history of this country ever represented a Chinese constituency, and that, too, a constituency which he himself had by his own advice made into voters.

II.

FOR THE CHINESE IN THE SENATE.

HOW HARRISON VOTED FOURTEEN TIMES IN FAVOR OF IMPORTING CHINESE INTO THIS COUNTRY WITHOUT LET OR HINDRANCE.

I.

On March 8, 1882, Senator Hoar introduced the following amendment to the Chinese exclusion bill then under consideration:

"*Provided*, That this bill shall not apply to any skilled laborer who shall establish that he comes to this country without any contract by which his labor is the property of any person other than himself."

On this 17 Republican Senators voted "aye," including BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana.

II.

On the same day Mr. Hoar picked his flint and tried again with the following amendment:

"*Provided* further, That any laborer who shall receive a certificate from the U. S. Consul at the port where he shall embark that he is an artisan coming to this country at his own expense and of his own free will, and has established such fact to the satisfaction of such Consul, shall not be affected by this bill."

On this amendment 19 Republicans voted aye, among whom was found BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana.

DODGED TWICE IN ONE DAY.

On March 9, 1882, upon an amendment offered by Senator Farley, of California, to prohibit the naturalization of Chinese, BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana, is recorded as dodging, although on April 25th following he voted against this amendment.

The same policy was pursued on the same day on a proposition submitted by Senator Grover, of Oregon, to make the term "Chinese Laborers" include all Chinese, whether skilled or unskilled.

III.

On the same day, March 9, 1882, Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, offered an amendment changing the term of exclusion from twenty to ten years. Mr. Harrison was absent, but paired with Mr. Maxey, of Texas (Democrat), who, before the vote was taken, rose in his place in the Senate and said:

Mr. MAXEY—On this particular amendment I am paired with the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Harrison), who is necessarily absent. I would vote "nay" if he were here, and the Senator from Indiana would vote "aye."

This is of course equivalent to a vote in favor of this amendment. Twenty Senators, all Republicans, voted for the amendment, and twenty one, all Democrats except four, voted against it.

IV.

Again, on the same day, March 9, 1882, when the vote was taken on the final passage of the twenty years exclusion act, Senator Harrison was still absent. When his name was called, Senator Maxey, of Texas, again rose and said:

Mr. MAXEY—I was paired with the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Harrison) on the ten years' amendment. In the note which he wrote me he said if that amendment should be voted down he would vote against the bill. I am inclined to think that under that statement he would regard it as a pair upon the bill, because the amendment was voted down, and therefore I shall decline to vote. I should vote for the bill, and he, from the statement made to me, would vote against it.

Thus did Benjamin Harrison, even during a temporary absence from the Senate, still insist upon carrying out his scheme to promote the unrestricted importation of servile labor. This was his way of "protecting" American labor even when it would have been possible for him to have dodged.

The bill was passed by a vote of thirty-five ayes, all but eight of which were cast by Democratic Senators, to fifteen nays, only one of which, that of Senator Brown, of Georgia, was cast by a man who had been chosen as a Democrat.

V.

On April 5, 1882, when Senator Farley proposed to take up President Arthur's veto of the Chinese Restriction Bill, twenty-five Republican Senators voted against it, among them appearing the name of BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana.

VI.

At the same session Senator Sherman moved that the bill be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, there to be smothered. Only eighteen Republican Senators voted for this, but among them appears the name of BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana.

VII.

On the same day, again, the motion to refer the President's veto message, with accompanying papers, to the Committee on Foreign Relations, in order to kill it, was voted for by nineteen Republican Senators. As usual, the name of BENJAMIN HARRISON is found with them.

VIII.

On the same day, on the question of passing the bill, notwithstanding the objections of the President, twenty-one Republican Senators voted "nay." Among them, consistent to the last in favor of the free and unrestricted importation of the Chinese hordes, stands the name of BENJAMIN HARRISON, OF INDIANA.

IX.

On April 25, 1882, a new bill to prohibit Chinese immigration for ten years, was introduced in the Senate, and on the motion to strike out section 14, which provided that

"Hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship, and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed,"

the vote was 26 ayes, 32 nays and 18 absent.

BENJAMIN HARRISON voted aye, and thus declared himself in favor of the policy he had promoted in his own city in 1880, when five Chinamen were naturalized upon his recommendation and advice, in order that they might vote for the Republican candidates for State offices and thus save some of Dorsey's "soap."

X.

In the new restriction bill, as in the old one, the following amendment was proposed:

Sec. 15. That the words Chinese laborers, wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining."

Twenty-nine Republican Senators voted, on April 25, 1882, in favor of striking out this amendment, which was adopted by a majority of one.

As usual, BENJAMIN HARRISON was found among the advocates of the unrestricted importation of cheap labor by the creation of a condition whereby it might be brought in.

XI.

When this provision was reported to the Senate from the Committee of the Whole on April 28, MR. HARRISON again voted with nineteen of his Republican colleagues in favor of this loophole for the introduction of cheap labor.

XII.

On April 28, Senator Edmunds moved the following amendment:

"The words Chinese laborers, wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean persons usually engaged in manual labor."

Seventeen Republican Senators voted in favor of this construction of the bill, among whom appears the name of BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Indiana.

XIII.

On the same day Senator Edmunds moved to strike out the section prohibiting absolutely the naturalization of Chinese and to insert the following in lieu thereof:

"Nothing in this act shall be construed to change the existing naturalization laws so as to admit Chinese persons to citizenship."

On this proposition sixteen Republican Senators voted "aye," and BENJAMIN HARRISON'S name is found among the rest.

XIV.

The bill came up for final passage on the same day, April 28, 1882, when, after having voted thirteen times in favor of unrestricted immigration of Chinese and dodging twice, BENJAMIN HARRISON again cast his vote against the enactment of a law which had for its purpose the protection of American labor from unnatural competition with the unnumbered hordes of Asiatics.

SENATOR HARRISON DODGES AGAIN.

On July 3, 1884, the bill introduced in the House by Mr. Page, of California, entitled "An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to the Chinese, approved May 6, 1882," passed.

Under the interpretation of the Exclusion Act by the Republican Federal Judges of California, it had been found that Chinese were coming in almost without restriction. These judges held that Chinese on the island of Hong Kong, after its cession to Great Britain, did not come within the provisions of the Exclusion Act of 1882.

The new bill consequently sought to so amend the act that the spirit as well as the letter of the law would be obeyed by the courts of the Pacific Coast, so that Chinese, wherever born, would be excluded. This had been the interpretation given to the law by Judge Stephen J. Field, who was then the only Democrat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States.

But the action of the Republican Judges, Sawyer and Sabin, had been such as to let everybody in. The bill was passed in the House by a large majority, and in the Senate only twelve Republicans could be found to vote against it. Senator Harrison returned to his old tactics and dodged the vote, even with his scruples against violating a treaty—which had served him so well in the long discussion two years before.

Whatever else may be said of it, nobody will ever question the consistency of Benjamin Harrison's record on the Chinese question. From first to last he voted in the Senate against every proposition to exclude Chinese imported labor—labor imported under contract in the interest of "manufacturers" who, another Senator has recently said, "are most benefited by our tariff laws." He voted in favor of every scheme by which they should be permitted to come here, and declared, in an address before a literary society, that "the Government had no more right to exclude the Chinese than it had to forbid the coming of Irish and Germans."

From the day when, in 1880, he advised and profited by the naturalization and votes of Chinamen in his own city of Indianapolis, down to his last utterance, his last vote or his latest "dodge" of a vote in the Senate, he has shown himself the same consistent advocate of the free and unrestricted importation of Chinese labor, and the consequent degradation of American labor, in whose behalf he is now showing such a lively interest.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MR. HARRISON'S UGLY WORD "SUBSIDY."

HIS IGNORANCE EXPOSED — THE PLAN OF THIS COUNTRY FOR EXPEDITING OCEAN MAILS COMMENDS ITSELF TO OTHERS.

In all the addresses which have been made to me, there has been some reference to the great question of protection of our American industries. I see it upon the banners which you carry. Our party stands unequivocally, without evasion or qualification, for the doctrine that the American market shall be preserved for our American producers. We are not attracted by the suggestion that we should surrender to foreign producers the best market in the world. Our sixty millions of people are the best buyers in the world, and they are such because our working classes receive the best wages.

But we do not mean to be content with our own market. We should seek to promote closer and more friendly commercial relations with the Central and South American States. And what is essential to that end? Regular mails are the first condition of commerce. The merchant must know when his order will be received, and when his consignment will be returned, or there can be no trade between distant communities.

What we need, therefore, is the establishment of American steamship lines between our ports and the ports of Central and South America. Then it will be no longer necessary that an American Minister, commissioned to an American State, shall take an English ship to Liverpool to find another English ship to carry him to his destination. WE ARE NOT TO BE FRIGHTENED BY THE USE OF THAT UGLY WORD "SUBSIDY." We should pay to American steamship lines a liberal compensation for carrying our mails instead of turning them over to British tramp steamships.

We do not desire to dominate these neighboring Governments; we do not desire to deal with them in any spirit of aggression. We desire those friendly, political, mental and commercial relations which shall promote their interests equally with ours. We should no longer forego those commercial relations and advantages which our geographical relations suggest and make so desirable.—*From Benjamin Harrison's Speech to a Delegation, July 30.*

By the system of foreign mail service adopted under this administration, the fastest ships are selected from week to week without regard to nationality. When American ships can be found competing with these conditions they are preferred and are paid four times the rate paid to foreign ships.

The following expresses the opinion of American citizens of this system, and was addressed to the Postmaster-General of the United States:

WHAT AMERICAN MERCHANTS SAY OF THE PRESENT POLICY.

We regret that the postal administrations of some European countries appear not to manifest an equal interest in the prompt and speedy transmission of mails to this country. Under the system of mail dispatches to the United States followed by these European countries, the mails, being often forwarded by steamers of a comparatively low rate of speed, frequently arrive at New York after the arrival of faster steamers belonging to other lines, which, although leaving European ports later and arriving in New York before their competitors, are excluded by some countries from the privilege of carrying mails. This policy, besides causing delay in the mail deliveries, results in many instances in loss and annoyance to the importer, whose goods frequently arrive before the mails containing the invoices necessary to enter such goods, thus involving him in disputes and difficulties with the United States customs authorities.

We therefore take the liberty of requesting you to use your good offices with the postal administrations of such countries, so far as may be consistent with international comity, for the general adoption of the same policy so successfully inaugurated by your Department of dispatching all foreign mails within the territory of the Postal Union by the first and fastest steamers, without regard to the flag under which they sail.

We are, dear sir, with high regard, your obedient servants.

This memorial to the Government of the United States was signed by all the leading merchants, bankers and business men of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, New Orleans and Charleston.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN THINKS OF IT.

The department complied with the request, and Great Britain replied through her Prime Minister as follows:

"I have the honor to inform you that Her Majesty's Postmaster-General has had under his consideration the representation of the United States Postmaster-General, copy of which was enclosed in your note of the 7th ultimo, respecting the postal communication from Europe to the United States.

"In reply to your above-mentioned note I beg to assure you that the influentially signed expression of opinion enclosed therein will not be lost sight of when an opportunity occurs for reconsidering the arrangements now in force for the conveyance of the mails from this country to New York, but as you are doubtless aware, the efforts which Her Majesty's Postmaster-General has from time to time made to adopt the American transatlantic system have not received so much support in this country as would at present warrant a disturbance of existing arrangements."

THE LIBERAL SYSTEM OF PAYMENT UNDER THE SYSTEM.

The rates of compensation for sea-conveyance of mails to foreign countries paid by Great Britain, Germany and the United States, to National and Foreign Steamship Companies, is shown in the following table:

COUNTRIES.	To National Steamers.		To Foreign Steamers.	
	Letters per pound.	Prints, etc. per pound.	Letters per pound.	Prints, etc. per pound.
Great Britain	72 cents.	6 cents.	44 cents.	4½ cents.
Germany	56½ "	4.3 "	44 "	4½ "
United States	$1.00	8 "	44 "	4½ "

The Postal Contract of Great Britain with the Cunard Steamship Company is separate and distinct from the contract of the Company with the Admiralty. The Postal Contract is for a term of three years and provides for the conveyance of the mails as cargo at so much a pound, as shown in the above table. The admiralty contract is for a period of five years with a subvention at so much per registered ton per annum.

THE BEST RESULTS SECURED BY THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

The wonderful advancement being made in naval architecture, so far as speed of the vessels is concerned, makes it questionable to tie the Postoffice Department in long contracts to certain lines of vessels which may be considered fast to-day but very slow to-morrow; and the policy of dispatching the mails by the fastest steamers tendered has met with so much favor with all classes of people that if at this late day they were deprived of the privilege of dispatching their letters by the quickest possible route it would undoubtedly create much dissatisfaction.

As to the system of dispatch of the mails by the fastest steamers, and obtaining the data for such dispatch, the Department requires the various exchange offices dispatching mails from the United States to foreign countries by sea to make report of the hour and minute that the mails are received by the steamer, and requires the steamer to report the day, hour and minute that the mails are delivered at the port of destination.

INCREASED COMPENSATION PAID TO AMERICAN VESSELS.

The increased cost to the Government by reason of the payment to the American steamship companies the total sea and inland postage on the United States mails conveyed to foreign countries as compared with the cost of the service when only the sea postage was paid, is demonstrated by the following statement:

1. The Postmaster-General's report for 1884 shows that the trans *Pacific* service cost in the year 1884 (when the companies received only the sea postage on the mails conveyed) the sum of $19,125.78.

As shown by the Postmaster-General's report for 1887, the trans-Pacific service cost $38,465.49. The American steamers plying in this service received both the sea and inland postage and part of the steamers being of foreign build and register received the sea postage only on one fourth that paid to American ships.

The miscellaneous service paid in 1884 was $37,132.69, while for 1887 this same service cost the Government $51,416 44. Both of these periods include foreign as well as American built steamers. In the period for 1884 is included Cuban and Mexican service, which cost about $18,000, fully one-half of the total cost of the Central and South American service.

EXPEDITING THE SERVICE TO CUBA.

The Cuban service was transferred in 1885 from the Foreign Mails Division to the railway mail service, and since that date the mail for Mexico have been forwarded almost exclusively overland by rail. If this service had been transferred prior to that time the cost of the service would have been, instead of $37,000, less than $18,000, and in making the comparison, therefore, between the payment of both the sea and inland postage, and the payment of the sea postage only, you should compare the sum of $18,000 with that of $51,416.44.

So far as the Central and South American service is concerned, under this administration nearly three times the total amount expended in 1884 has been used each year in dispatching the mails to those countries by American steamships.

GREAT BRITAIN ASKS TO USE OUR CENTRAL AMERICAN MAILS.

And as to the condition of the merchant marine plying in trade with those countries, the total list of sailings annually, for the last six years, of the steamers from New York, New Orleans and San Francisco, has steadily increased from 1883 to 1888. In 1883, five hundred and sixty sailings were made from these ports to various destinations; in 1888, eight hundred and sixty one vessels sailed, an increase of thirty sailings over 1887 and an increase of three hundred and one sailings over 1883, an average of one sailing for each business day in the year. This service is used by foreign countries as a most expeditious route for the dispatch of their mails for these countries. Great Britain, while it has vessels plying direct in this service to those ports, has recently addressed this Department a communication requesting to take advantage of the more expeditious route via New York to the Central American States.

It will be seen that to tie our mails up to subsidized lines for a term of years would be to destroy the system which now serves the commercial interests of our citizens so admirably, while discriminating always in favor of American ships where possible.

The subsidy put upon the appropriation bill by the late Senate amendment, and which was overwhelmingly defeated in the House by a vote of Republicans and Democrats together, and which is so strongly sustained by General Harrison, would have been mostly paid to the Pacific Mail Lines, which are the Gould, Sage and Huntington property, and the Brazil Line, of which Mr. Henry K. Thurber is President, and Mr. C. P. Huntington (who bought the Roach interest), the largest owner.

The following is the Postmaster-General's communication to Congress condemning that scheme in the interest of the public service:

POSTMASTER-GENERAL DICKINSON ON SUBSIDY SCHEMES.

The remaining provision of the bill is as follows:

"To provide more efficient mail service between the United States and Central and South America and the West Indies, $800,000. To promote the purposes of this appropriation the Postmaster-General is hereby authorized and directed to contract with American built and registered steam-ships for the transportation of the United States mails to such ports in said countries as in his judgment will best subserve said postal service. Said contracts shall be for a period of not less than five nor more than ten years, at a compensation not exceeding, for each outward trip, $1 per nautical mile of the distance in the most direct and feasible sailing course to secure the ends above set forth.

"The Postmaster-General shall cause schedules to be furnished by the contractors, stating dates of departure of steam-ships from the United States six months in advance, and in case of unreasonable failure of any steam-ships to depart with mails on the date or dates therein stated the Postmaster-General may withhold from the contractor or contractors, as penalty, one-half the contract price for said trip or trips, and in the event of continued failure to depart on dates stated in the schedule the Postmaster-General may annul the contract or contracts, or the same may be terminated by Congress."

It will hardly be claimed for this legislation that it is either demanded or required, or that it can be utilized for the benefit of the postal service merely. The resources and powers of the Department have proved entirely adequate to afford to the citizens of the United States a foreign mail service equal to, and in most cases superior to, that of any nation in the world. Nine-tenths of our foreign letter mail crosses the Atlantic, and the settled policy of the Department has been to employ the swiftest vessels from week to week for carrying the mails. The Department, at the request of prominent merchants, importers, and bankers of the United States having commercial relations with foreign countries, has endeavored to induce foreign postal administrations to adopt a similar policy to promote expedition and security in correspondence.

Under the present system, on routes other than to European ports, mails have been carried in American steam-ships at four times the rates paid for transatlantic service, although no foreign vessel has ever refused or hesitated to accept the sea postage, or one-fourth the rate paid to American bottoms. Under the present conditions the Central and South American letter mail increases at the rate of about 10 per cent. in weight a year, and the number of sailings to West Indian and Central and South American ports from the three ports of New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco increased in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, from 712 to 831. In addition to the compensation paid in money, all common carriers by water are greatly benefited by carrying the mail. Provision for their benefit in Brazillian ports are as follows: Mail steamers are allowed to immediately discharge their cargoes, preference being given them before any other vessel and before they have been entered at the custom-house, both on week days and on Sundays or holidays.

They may sail at any hour, day or night, after they have received the mail, and cannot be detained under any pretext whatever beyond the hour fixed for sailing. Similar benefits are provided for mail steamers at other West Indian and Central and South American ports. While the Department in every case has given the preference to American ships at four times the cost of carriage on competing foreign ships as permitted by law, yet in very many cases because of very much greater expedition or because of the absence of proper facilities in American steamers, or because of very great delays, the other ships offering have been given the business at the lower rate on the principle that the first duty of the Department to our citizens under the law was to give them the best, most expeditious, and certain mail facilities within its resources.

HAMPERING THE DEPARTMENT AND THE MAIL SERVICE.

If there shall be superadded to the functions of postal administration that of administering a subsidy or a bounty for the promotion of American shipping interests, I can readily see why, in practice, these two offices must so conflict that, so far from being of advantage to and promoter of efficient mail service, such a subsidy, with such a purpose, in the hands of the Postmaster-General must antagonize and overbear the primary object of his office, which is to give to the correspondence of our citizens the best expedition and certain transmission. If the bounty or bonus system is to be revived, it should be done without involving this Department in the complications certain to arise from administering it, and without hampering its fundamental rule of action, which is that the mails must go at all events.

While we granted aid to Pacific railroads, with conditions imposed that the mails should be carried for a credit on the debt, yet the Department was left free to employ better or more expeditious routes in its discretion. The proposed legislation will be in effect a mandate to the Postmaster-General to contract with American-built as well as American-registered steamships for the transportation of the mails to the ports of Central and South America and the West Indies for a period of not less than five years, and with a compensation for each outward trip of $1 per mile. There is no condition for advertisement, and, indeed, unlike even the British subsidy acts, competition is not contemplated or permitted, as the contracts are to be limited to American ships, and as to these will be practically limited to those now in existence, between whom there is comparatively no competition because of the number which can be employed in the service.

A SCHEME FOR THE BENEFIT OF A SMALL NUMBER OF PERSONS.

In the present conditions the proposed law might as well have named the few persons to whom this money is to be paid. Even the laws under which American ships might be compelled to carry the mails have been repealed, and it goes without saying that the proposed legislation intends the Department to pay the maximum rate provided, *i. e.*, $1 per nautical mile for five years to these few persons, without troubling them with any negotiations as to terms, and, indeed, as you will observe, without even the lodgment of discretion in the Department to designate from what ports of the United States the mails shall sail. It may be said in passing that presumably the "terminal points" from which sailings will be made, if self-interest, as is usually the case, governs, will be those from which the greatest number of nautical miles may be computed, rather than from those at which the convenience and needs of the service would be suited. It may be noted also that the schedules of sailings are to be furnished by the contractors, and not by the Postmaster-General; altogether from an analysis of the proposed legislation it would seem to exclude the exercise of any power of any representative of this Government to provide for this mail service in the interest of the people, except after contract, which must be on the carrier's own terms, and after the carriers have fixed the schedule according to their ideas of what the mail service should be, to compel them to conform to their own expressed views and decision as to the public convenience and the public interests.

I beg you to believe that in this criticism of the bill I am not commenting unfavorably at this place upon a policy of granting bounties to American ships. I do think, however, that the carrying out of that policy should not be involved in the postal administration. Such gifts should be voted and given directly, if the Government shall determine to pursue a policy of engaging in this branch of private business. With very great respect, however, to the framers of the bill, I do seriously object to that provision of the proposed legislation which places the mail service at the mercy of any firm, individual or corporation. While, indeed, the subsidized lines might be compelled to carry the mails if tendered, yet the Department should be independent, and should at all times be enabled to send the mails by the most expeditious routes and make use of the best facilities afforded for that purpose from among all carriers offering. The Department should be free to take advantage of all sailings, of increased facilities coming from increased business, of changes for the better wrought by time, extension of commerce and competition, and should not be tied up for a decade to single lines of communication, unstimulated to improvement and all progress by the existence of a settled, inordinate and certain income.

THE BEST SERVICE ALWAYS COMMENDED.

The mails of this country were carried to Central and South America and the West Indies for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1887, by foreign steamers at a cost of $7,936.27 at the single rate, and by steamers of American register at a cost of $39,381.57. The number of miles sailed by the foreign ships employed was 666,448; the miles sailed by the ships of American register employed were 546,758. It will be seen, on the plan of payment proposed, which is fixed without regard to the amount of mail carried, that the service, which cost us in the fiscal year 1887 $47,317.84, would have cost us, if paid for as proposed, $1,218,206. It is estimated that the weight of mails will be for the next fiscal year increased 20 per cent. over these figures, and from what I have before shown it will be seen that the number of sailings will be increased in about the same ratio. The total cost of the sailings under this bill, predicted upon the business of 1887, can be but an approximate standard by which to estimate the cost under a provision of $1 for every nautical mile for each outward trip.

But without regard to the cost, it is perfectly evident that "American-built ships" alone, with which the Department can now contract under this bill, and with which it must contract for a term of years, can not perform the service absolutely essential. Heretofore, as I have said, whenever it has been possible and consistent with the best interests of the public, which this Department serves, American ships have been employed to carry the mails at four times the rate paid to foreign ships; yet with this policy steadily maintained, to give proper service at all it has been necessary to employ other carriers. One of the most serious disadvantages from connecting the proposed subsidy with this Department will be that, even in cases where service is not furnished to certain ports by American ships at all, carriers that might be had will hardly suffer the enormous discrimination in compensation for the carriage of the mails. The conditions would certainly predispose human nature to refuse to perform the service at all.

Again, it will not recommend itself to our people if, with this enormous compensation avowedly for the carriage of the mails, frequency of transmission shall be largely curtailed, even to ports touched by American ships, as must be the case where we pay one carrier about two hundred and fifty times as much as we offer for the same service to another. In my opinion, the bill would not be advantageous to the service, but the disadvantages would be positive in so far as this Department is concerned; while if it shall become a law, the Department will of course faithfully administer the fund in accordance with the spirit of the act. I feel confident that such administration will result only in a very great pecuniary benefit to a dozen individuals, at the expense and embarrassment of good service, and of inconvenience, injustice, and material injury to the great body of the people, whose money will be used in the purchase of those results.

THE POST-OFFICE NOT THE PURVEYOR OF SUBSIDIES.

Considering this as a subsidy pure and simple, unconnected with the postal service, it becomes a question of general policy with which this Department has nothing to do. The

subject has been ably and exhaustively discussed in Congress, notably in the Thirty-fifth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth and Forty-ninth. You, sir, and other distinguished members of the Post-Office Committee, as at present constituted, have on the floor of the House presented the learning which the history of the subject, political economy, or the experience of legislation can teach. It has been frequently demonstrated by the experience of this and other countries, that to enable one line by Government aid to carry more cheaply and thus to destroy competition, does not promote commerce. The most successful ocean steamship lines of the Continent—those of Hamburg and Bremen—receive no pay from the Government other than the moderate postage rates. The British precedent is not in point and would not be even if Great Britain did not offer her mail service to the carriers of the world. "Her aims are political and not commercial. She must have constant communication with the colonies, and she has spent large sums for this object. She must have an efficient and capable transport service for the protection of those colonies." The views of that Government are stated in Mr. Scudemore's report as follows:

"The question (mail subsidy service) can not be dealt with on commercial principles. * * * For the sake of keeping up such communication with the East as the nation requires, they must set commercial principles at defiance, and cost what it may the nation must either pay them what they lose thereby or forego the communication."

WHY ENGLAND MAY AFFORD TO PAY A BOUNTY.

Of course England may subsidize lines of ships to open up new markets for her surplus, because she freely exchanges commodities with such markets, and her policy is after establishing the commerce to steadily decrease the subsidy. If the policy of giving bounties to promote commercial relations with other countries be ever adopted again after the failures in our history, it would seem that its adoption should be deferred until closer commercial relations with those countries can be maintained, and are not antagonized by an opposing system of laws. Commerce in the very essence of its meaning is exchange. It is not to sell and never to buy. The individual or nation does not exist that will buy all one has to sell for cash with no reciprocal return in profitable exchange. Cargoes out and cargoes back are needed for the creation of a merchant marine. The cargo out will not be bought unless we buy in exchange, and it will be bought if we are willing to trade. Until these conditions come, subsidies may maintain a line so long as the subsidy lasts and then the line will go down for want of legitimate trade. If, however, the subsidy policy is to be pursued, I venture to suggest the Mexican method. When a ship arrives with a cargo the tariff tax is divided with the ship owner, the latter taking 50 per cent. of the duty on the goods he brings in payment on account of his subsidy. The trading-ship is thus enabled to remit to the consignor, if he will employ his ship, a portion of the government duties, and thus the ship owner is indeed enabled to promote trade with foreign countries directly. An improvement upon the Mexican method in the interest of the promotion of trade and of the building of ships to conduct it, would be to enable the owners and the builders to receive at the port of consignment in that country still a greater proportion of the duties imposed by the government upon the cargo.

In this way the Mexican ship would be enabled to get her cargo, charge a fair profit for carriage, and sell to the Mexican consumer at a price at which he could conveniently buy, take out a cargo for exchange, and repeat the process, to the cultivation of much closer commercial relations with foreign countries, and to the maintenance of Mexican shipping. Of course, the Mexican method is somewhat cumbersome, and the same end might be reached without indirection and without the payment of a subsidy by the removal or reduction of the Mexican tariff on imports.

OUR BUSINESS RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

While on the subject of closer commercial relations with South and Central America, for the promotion of which the bill under consideration is doubtless intended, I call your attention to some interesting figures. Our total trade with Brazil for the year ended June 30, 1887, was as follows:

Total imports	$52,955,591
Our total exports to Brazil were	8,137,794
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	47,076,473
We did impose a tariff upon	5,876,708

Our total trade with Central America for the same period was as follows:

Total imports	$7,709,978
Total exports	3,006,714
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	7,195,705
We did impose a tariff upon	441,916

Our total trade with Venezuela was as follows:

Total imports	$8,444,967
Total exports	5,504,215
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	8,248,450
We did impose a tariff upon	12,786

Our total trade with the United States of Colombia was as follows:

Total imports	$4,771,303
Total exports	7,158,235
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	3,984,559
We did impose a tariff upon	16,594

Our total trade with the Argentine Republic was as follows:

Total imports	$4,104,102
Total exports	6,364,545
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	3,347,936
We imposed a tariff upon	752,256

Our total trade with Chili was as follows:

Total imports	$2,863,233
Total exports	2,069,138
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	2,634,396
We did impose a tariff upon	228,897

These illustrate the universal rule by which the limitations upon commercial relations and the carrying trade with all the countries of Central and South America may be measured. A comparison of the amount brought into the country free of tariff with what we send in exchange is instructive. It should be noted that of the Brazilian imports free of duty, the large proportion value is the item of coffee, after deducting which the lesson on exchange of trade as bearing on closer relations with all these countries is the same, and the universal one.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

DON M. DICKINSON,
Postmaster-General.

Hon. JAMES H. BLOUNT,
Chairman of the Committee on the Postoffice and Post-Roads, House of Representatives.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE FREE WHISKEY POLICY.

I.

A CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THE MORAL EFFECT OF INTERNAL TAXES UPON THE CONSUMPTION OF INTOXICATING SPIRITS.

[*From the New York Evening Post.*]

"The tax on whiskey by the Federal Government, with its suppression of all illicit distillation and consequent enhancement of price, has been a powerful agent in the temperance reform, by putting it beyond the reach of so many," said Mr. Blaine in the "Paris Message." In this statement the "uncrowned king" summed up one of the most striking features of our national development during the last quarter of a century. The subject is so important that it deserves examination, and fortunately the Bureau of Statistics a year and a half ago made an investigation which furnishes all the facts desired.

For nearly fifty years before the war the manufacture of distilled spirits in the United States had been free from all specific taxation or supervision by the Federal Government, and being produced mainly from Indian corn, whiskey was sold at a very low price. The average market price in this city was only twenty-four cents per proof gallon, and common whiskey was sold in the saloons for three cents a drink. The consumption was naturally enormous, and the resulting demoralization of the people terrible. All through the farming districts the whiskey jug, which could be filled at the village store at the rate of only a quarter of a dollar for a gallon, was doing its work, and delirium tremens was a common scourge.

The establishment of the internal revenue system early in the war, with its heavy tax on whiskey, and the consequent great increase in the price of liquor, immediately showed its effect. In 1840 the consumption of distilled spirits had been 43,060,884 gallons; in 1860, under the free-whiskey regime, it had grown to 89,968,651 gallons. The first tax imposed was 20 cents per gallon in 1862, which was increased to $1.50 in 1864 and $2 in 1865, and finally settled at 90 cents in 1875. The check placed upon the consumption of liquor by the tax was at once visible, the total falling from 89,968,651 gallons in 1860 to but 79,895,708 in 1870. The more vigorous enforcement of the law against illicit distillation after 1870 still further reduced the amount of liquor drunk, and in 1886 the consumption was only 72,261,614 gallons.

This reduction in total consumption for the whole country by no means represents the actual diminution relatively to the population. In 1840, under free whiskey, the total had been 43,060,884 gallons for a population of 17,069,453, which was an average of 2.52 gallons per capita. In 1860, still under free whiskey, the total had been 89,968,651 gallons for a population of 31,443,321, or an average of 2.86 gallons per capita. In 1886 the consumption was only 72,261,614 gallons, although the population had nearly doubled since 1860, and was then estimated at 59,000,000, so that the average per capita was only 1.24 gallon. "The amount of whiskey consumed in the United States per capita to-day is not more than 40 per cent. of that consumed thirty years ago," said Mr. Blaine in the "Paris Message," and the figures above cited show that he was right.

The tax on whiskey was originally levied "purely as a matter of finance," to quote Mr. Ernest H. Crosby's happy phrase, but it was soon appreciated that there was a "moral side" to the question. So long ago as 1868 Senator Edmunds rebuked a colleague who had suggested that it was "a question of expediency, which has nothing to do with morals," and insisted that, even then, it was "too late to advance the doctrine that when we are dealing with subjects of taxation, we have not a right to consider questions of morals as connected with the operation of such taxation." At that time Mr. Edmunds declared that "the true principle upon which taxation ought to be imposed is to put the highest possible rate on articles of luxury, and what can be more so than this?" And the Republican party heartily endorsed this position.

The oligarchy of slave-holders before the war demanded of the Democratic party that it should break its pledges and repeal the compromise which it had declared to be a final settlement of the question at issue. The oligarchy of the protected interests is equally remorseless in its demands upon the Republican party today. The Republicans have always maintained that the question of morals must be kept in mind when taxation was under consideration, and have held that the fact that the tax on whiskey operated as a "powerful agent in the temperance reform" was a sufficient argument against the repeal of this levy on a luxury, "the production of which," in Mr. Edmunds's words, "it would be a great advantage to this country if it could be discouraged instead of encouraged." Now the protected interests insist that the tax on whiskey must go, rather than the taxes on the necessaries of life, and the Republican party in national convention yields to the demand. Whether a majority of the voters are ready to deluge the country with cheap whiskey remains to be seen.

II.

HOW THE NEW POLICY OF THE REPUBLICANS WOULD BRING THE PRICE OF WHISKEY DOWN TO TWO GLASSES FOR FIVE CENTS.

[*From the New York Times.*]

The Republican platform declares for "the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system." That this means the removal of all national tax on whisky rather than the reduction of any of the existing duties on imports is made plain by the context of this declaration. The position taken is this: The party would deal with the surplus by reducing internal taxes, by entering upon a policy of extravagant expenditures, by increasing duties so as to check imports, and finally by sweeping away all internal taxes rather than reduce duties on raw materials and the necessaries of life. The reduction of internal taxes would not suffice to get rid of the surplus. The sentiment of the country is so opposed to a policy of extravagant expenditures that Congress will never venture upon it. The tendency of opinion has been so long and so strong in favor of a revision and a reduction of the tariff that there is no chance that a proposition to increase duties would be countenanced. Hence, as the surplus continued and the other devices for reducing it failed, the Republicans would be brought face to face with their last resort, and if they fulfilled their promise they would be compelled to try the abolition of the whisky tax.

What would be the effect of such a policy if carried out? The only power the National Government now has for aiding in the restriction of the liquor traffic and thereby promoting the cause of temperance is the power to lay a tax on alcoholic beverages. This tax was originally imposed in time of war on the principle of taxing luxuries or those things the consumption of which should be restrained rather than encouraged, and solely for the purpose of raising revenue, but it has proved the most potent agency for restricting the sale and consumption of whisky that has been in existence. Fully two-thirds of the present price of the commonest brands of whisky is due to the Government tax, and the suppression of illicit distillation and of a wide diffusion of production is wholly due to the Government

supervision made necessary for the collection of the tax. Of course the removal of the tax would greatly cheapen the price of whisky, and as Mr. BLAINE said in his "Paris message" would "increase its consumption enormously." That it would have that effect no man of sense and veracity can for a moment deny. Mr. BLAINE is not a specially trustworthy authority in matters of statistics, but his statement that the amount of whisky consumed in this country to day is "not more than 40 per cent. per capita of that consumed thirty years ago" is borne out by other evidence. His further statement that the Government tax and supervision has been "a powerful agent in temperance reform" is beyond question.

Suppose this tax removed and this powerful temperance reform agent abolished, how would it affect efforts at restriction or prohibition by State legislation? In any State, or in any county under a local option system, in which the people had succeeded in establishing a prohibition policy, the difficulty of enforcing it would be increased many fold. Cheap whisky would make its way much more easily than dear whisky, and it would be impossible to prevent clandestine sales. Where the license system prevails the present fees are acknowled to be very inadequate for purposes of restriction, but with the tax removed they would be much less effective than the tax alone would be if there were no license laws at all. High license itself would be practically useless, for the highest annual fees proposed, or likely to be prescribed, bear no proportion to the added cost which the Government tax now imposes upon a year's sales. State taxation, if heavy enough, might be made to operate with some effect upon sales in open bar rooms, but there would be no co-operation in legislation between neighboring States, and cheap whisky would make its way everywhere with pernicious effect.

The worst blow to the cause of temperance would come from the unregulated and uncontrollable sale of liquor outside of drinking places. With whisky at twenty or twenty-five cents a gallon from the distillery, it would be within the reach of all, and by the bottle, the jug, the keg, and the barrel it would invade every community and pervade every home not guarded by rigid principles and carefully-trained habits. Its evil influence and direful consequences would be multiplied at once, and the liquor power, which is now so formidable, might become irresistible. The people have not heretofore realized how much the restriction of the liquor traffic and the progress of temperance reform have owed to the Government tax upon alcoholic beverages for nearly a generation, but the Republican platform has sharply reminded them of it, and they are beginning to think of its effects and the possible consequences of removing it. These consequences are offered for what? As a means of preventing a reduction of duties on materials that would increase our industries and cheapen production, and on such articles of necessity or comfort as clothing and blankets.

III.

HOW THIS RESULT WILL CERTAINLY BE EFFECTED UNDER THE POLICY PROPOSED AT CHICAGO BY THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

[*From the Chicago Tribune, (Rep.)*]

Wipe out the internal revenue altogether, what would be the result then? Down would go whiskey to twenty-five cents a gallon, and by retail to three cents a glass, as it was in anti-war days, when the best Monongahela whiskey could be had for five cents a swig, and common whiskey for three cents; and all the evils of those days would be let loose again with redoubled force, because money with which to buy liquor is so much more plentiful now.

There are plenty of men living who can remember the 25-cents-a-gallon whiskey days. They can remember how the farmers came to the towns, some with jugs, some with kegs, and some with barrels. Some would give excuses that they were afflicted with all the diseases to which flesh is heir, and which could only be cured by whiskey. They had malaria, and might have snake bites to cure. Their drinking water was so poor they could not use it without mixing whiskey with it.

Never were farmers in such an unhealthy and moribund condition as in those days. They could not get through harvesting, threshing, ploughing, corn-husking, or log-rolling without it. It was as necessary to the hay-mowing and the harvest as the scythe or the sickel. The whiskey jug on such occasions was as common in the West as the rum-jug in New England, when every one from the deacon to the farm hand had his wet rations. In those days of cheap whiskey there were ten drunkards to one now. Delirium tremens was a common disease; now it is rare. Then every one filled up with whiskey or rum. It was one of the staffs of life in every house.

Then came the high tax on whiskey. Nearly a dollar was imposed upon every gallon, and the price was correspondingly enhanced. The whiskey which had sold for 3 cents a glass went up to 10 or 15 cents; the finer qualities to 20 and even 25 cents a glass. The keg and barrel business among the farmers ceased, and even the jug business became rare. If the farmer brought home his jug, it lasted five times as long as when it cost but two shillings. The consumption of whiskey fell off. Mr. Blaine said in his Paris message in answer to Mr. Cleveland's tariff message last December: "The amount of whiskey consumed in the United States per capita to-day is not more than 40 per cent. of that consumed thirty years ago." And the statistics more than bear out his assertion.

IV.

HE CANNOT RETURN TO A FREE WHISKEY PARTY. HOW HE VIEWS THE BELATED MORALITY PLANK.

[*From Gen. Clinton B. Fisk's letter of acceptance.*]

It was with great reluctance that I accepted these conclusions and came to admit the imperative need of a new party, while yet the party of my choice, the national Republican party, maintains its organization.

It costs me the sacrifice of cherished associations, when four years ago I enrolled myself in the ranks of party prohibitionists under the flag of Prohibition, bleached snowy white by the tears of smitten women and children through generations of sorrow and want. I have seen no hour of regret. Every day since then has shown yet more clearly the logic of my course, and the inevitable truth of my conclusions. In Michigan, in Texas, in Tennessee, and Oregon, so-called non-partisan efforts to establish prohibition have failed through partisan necessity, born of liquor elements in old party composition. In Iowa, Rhode Island and Maine, the laws have been shamelessly defied for like reasons. The entire trend of things these last four years has proven hopeless the broader range of prohibition through non-partisan means, and equally futile as a final consummation the narrower methods of local option and high licenses, while from the Supreme Court itself has come, with startling emphasis, a declaration so nationalizing this reform that it can never be made of local or State limitation again.

"The first concern of good government," said the recent National Republican Convention at Chicago, "is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home." Revenue, then, is not government's chief concern, whether coming from internal taxation or from a tariff on importations, and any source of revenue which discounts "the virtue and sobriety of the people," and begets impurity in the home, should be the first object assailed by every party professing to seek good government; while the revenue derived from such a source should be the first to be forsworn—not alternately, for the sake of a protective tariff, but positively for the sake of protection dearer and more vital than the tariff can ever yield. Had I not left the Republican party four years ago, I should be compelled to leave it now, when, after reading the words I have quoted from a resolution supplemental to but not included in its platform, and finding in these words my own idea of Government's "chief concern" set forth, I search the long platform through in vain to find condemnation of the saloon, or hint of purpose to assail it, or any sign of moral consciousness that the saloon is a curse, and its income too unholy for the nation to share.

If the "chief concern" has no place in a party's platform and a party has no policy as to that "chief concern," that party does not deserve the support of men who ove good government and would see it maintained. The Prohibition party's "chief concern" is for the purity of the home and the virtue and sobriety of the people.

That party is not labor's truest friend which would bar the importation of paupers from abroad or close the tariff door of competition to pauperize foreign industry, and then by a liquor system perpetuate the manufacture of paupers and criminals in our own midst with whom honest labor must compete, whom largely honest labor must support.

V.

THE POET OF THE NEW CRUSADE WHO HAS BEEN FOUND IN THE PERSON OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

[*From the New York Evening Post, July 6.*]

In all ages the crusades have appealed to the poets of the world. The delivery of the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidel was a theme of itself well calculated to fire the imagination, and the struggle abounded in incidents which readily lent themselves to verse. Take out of the middle ages that series of wars, and you take out of poetical literature the occasion for many a masterpiece.

Modern crusades also have had their bards. In that most recent one, which has but just passed into history—the crusade for the emancipation of the slave—John G. Whittier with his poet's pen did a work the importance of which it would not be easy to exaggerate. The moral wrong of slavery, the moral right of every man to freedom—these cardinal principles gained a power and significance that no prose orator could confer when set forth by the Quaker poet. Nothing served so well to bring the real meaning of human bondage home to the hearts of men as those verses of Whittier, trembling as they often almost seemed to be with the indignation which possessed his soul, like these lines, for example:

What ho!—*Our* countrymen in chains!
The whip on WOMAN'S shrinking flesh!
Our soil yet reddening with the stains
Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh!
What! mothers from their children riven!
What! God's own image bought and sold!
AMERICANS to market driven,
And bartered as the brute for gold!

The original "mission" of the Republican party, to free the slave, is accomplished, and the bard of that era, alas! grows old. Now that the party has a new mission, it must find a new poet in the prime of life. A successor to Whittier must be sought when the party enters upon the crusade for the emancipation of whiskey from that worse than Russian despotism under which it now labors. Happily the search need not be long. The poet of the new crusade is, indeed, already found. It was essential that he should be deeply imbued with religious conviction and profoundly animated by moral purpose. Who so perfectly meets these demands in a successor to John G. Whittier as Robert G. Ingersoll?

The true poet has something of the prophet's foresight, and discerns the future while it still remains hidden in obscurity to the common herd. Here, too, Col. Ingersoll shows his fitness for the succession. A year ago it might almost be said that nobody in this broad land foresaw that the approaching Presidential contest was to involve a great issue of emancipation, and that the moral sense of the nation needed to be aroused to the enormity of the servitude imposed upon whiskey by the internal-revenue tax. But even then Col. Ingersoll foresaw the coming issue and sounded the alarm. A little over a year ago he sent a friend a jug of whiskey, and accompanied it with this impassioned tribute, in the outward form of prose, it is true, but so instinct with the very soul of poetry that it really must be ranked as a poem:

I send you some of the most wonderful whiskey that ever drove the skeleton from a feast or painted landscapes in the brain of man. It is the mingled souls of wheat and corn. In it you will find the sunshine and shadow that chase each other over the billowy fields, the breath of June, the carol of the lark, the dews of the night, the wealth of summer, and

autumn's rich content—all golden with imprisoned light. Drink it, and you will hear the voice of men and maidens singing the "Harvest Home," mingled with the laughter of children. Drink it, and you will feel within your blood the star-lit dawns, the dreamy, tawny, dusks of many perfect days. For forty years this liquid joy has been within the happy staves of oak, longing to touch the lips of man.

It is true that the poet is here speaking of a rare brand of whiskey, but it is also true, in the words of the traditional Kentuckian, that "all whiskey is good; some whiskey is better than other, but all whiskey is good." Forty year whiskey may perhaps fire the imagination a little more vividly than whiskey ordinaire of a recent crop, but whiskey ordinaire is also "the mingled souls of wheat and corn," and will make a man feel within his blood "the star-lit dawns, the dreamy, tawny dusks of many perfect days." Every barrel of whiskey that is made is full of "liquid joy."

Here we see the great service of the poet to the crusade. When the prosy writer on that good Republican organ the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* tells us that the "Whiskey Trust" is a "powerful and baneful combine," and that it exercises "a despotic power not surpassed in Russia," the reader's pulse is not stirred; but when the poetical Ingersoll touches the theme and pictures the "liquid joy" which the iniquitous tax on whiskey denies a large share of mankind, "by putting it beyond the reach of so many," to quote Mr. Blaine's words—then, indeed, is the moral sense quickened and the voter aroused to action. To doubt that the Republican party, pledged as it is to the emancipation of whiskey, can carry the country is to doubt the enlightened conscience of the nation. To quote once more from Col. Ingersoll's predecessor as the bard of the Republican party:

Our fathers to their graves have gone;
Their strife is past, their triumph won.
But sterner trials wait the race
Which rises in their honored place—
A moral warfare with the crime
And folly of an evil time.

So let it be. In God's own might
We gird us for the coming fight,
And, strong in Him whose cause is ours,
In conflict with unholy powers,
We grasp the weapons He has given—
The light, and Truth, and Love of Heaven.

VI.

EVEN MR. BLAINE OPPOSED TO HIS PARTY PLATFORM.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our laborer, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, *we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes* [*that is, free whiskey*] rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

MR. BLAINE'S "PARIS MESSAGE."

I would not advise the repeal of the whiskey tax. Other considerations than those of financial administration are to be taken into account with regard to whiskey. *There is a moral side to it. To cheapen the price of whiskey is to increase its consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the reform wrought by high license in many States if the national Government neutralizes the good effect by making whiskey within reach of every one at twenty cents a gallon.* Whiskey would be everywhere distilled if the surveillance of the Government were withdrawn by the remission of the tax, and illicit sales could not then be prevented even by a policy as rigorous and searching as that with which Russia pursues the Nihilists. *It would destroy high license at once in all the States.*

VII.

THE PRICE OF WHISKEY AND FLOUR.

[*From the Providence Journal, (Rep.)*]

The Republican party, as represented at Chicago, proposes to reduce the surplus by making whiskey free. It proposes to do all it can to bring the bar-room price of a drink of whiskey down to two cents, and place a barrel of whiskey side by side with the flour barrel in the drunkard's house. It even proposes to ask the country to support it mainly because it will do this rather than give our people cheaper clothing and cheaper food. The party has indeed suffered a great change since its earlier days, when it could proudly and truthfully call itself the party of moral ideas, the party of the fireside and the home.

VIII.

HOW COL. INGERSOLL WOULD DO IT.

Colonel R. G. Ingersoll has apparently given up his crusade against religion and the Bible for the campaign in order to promote the success of Harrison and free whiskey. At the meeting held in New York city to ratify the nomination of Harrison and Morton the colonel thus announced the position of himself and his party:

"Mere liquor does not make drunkenness The moral question of the whole thing is to have the burden of government rest as lightly as possible. Temperance walks hand in-hand with liberty. I do not think that if the Mississippi River ran pure whiskey and the banks were loaf sugar, and the flats grew mint, and the bushes were teaspoons and tumblers, there would be one more drunken man than now. I am perfectly willing to have those who wear foreign velvets and drink Chateau Yquem pay the taxes, but I don't want to have the fellow who drinks the domestic article taxed one cent."

IX.

THE INTERNAL REVENUE TAX AND ITS EFFECT ON SALOONS.

The attempt of the Republican party to masquerade in the livery of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is meeting with ridicule from the very women who fashioned the garments. The sham was so apparent that no statesmanship was necessary to detect it. When, therefore, Miss Frances E. Willard, President of the Union, found that the Republican party, which has steadily advocated high license in local politics, had endorsed her demand for the repeal of the national liquor tax, her sentiment, instead of being that of self-congratulation, was that of scorn. In her address before the National Prohibition ratification meeting last Friday, she expressed this sentiment with all the emotional earnestness of which she is the mistress. She summed up the situation in the following words: "The party stands arrayed against itself in its State and national policy. The house is divided against itself and cannot stand."

It is the obviousness of the last sentence which gives to it its significance. For the past few years the restrictive taxation of the liquor traffic has been the one moral idea which the Republican party has everywhere endorsed. Yet the highest possible high license cannot compare in importance with the internal-revenue system. The Crosby bill as it passed the Republican Legislature proposed a tax of $500 upon each saloon where distilled liquors were sold; the internal-revenue system imposes a tax which averages $500 for every saloon, restaurant, drug-store, and grocery where liquors of any description are sold. The number of saloons and restaurants in the nation is but 90,000. The national liquor tax is $90,000,000. Were a high-license fee of $1,000 everywhere imposed and enforced, the concentration of the traffic would be such that the burden would not be equal to that which

the internal-revenue system now imposes. Mr. F. N. Barrett, of the *American Grocer*, whose estimates regarding the consumption of liquor were published by the Internal Revenue Department, calculates that half of the liquor consumed is bought not by the glass, but by the gallon. The effect of the internal revenue tax upon the price of this portion is easily estimated. The cheaper grades of whiskey can be manufactured for twenty cents a gallon. The tax raises this price 450 per cent. Had the Crosby bill been made a law the further increase would have been confessedly slight. Yet the party which advocated that, in the interests of morality, this further increase must be made, is now willing to make real the Irishman's dream of "whiskey a shilling a gallon, and no hanging for stealing," in order to preserve to the protected classes the extortions of the war tariff undiminished.

The argument which will be heard time and again during the coming campaign that the Prohibitionists also are in favor of repealing the internal revenue tax, is worthy of consideration. There is no doubt but that the Prohibitionists are the sincere friends of temperance. Why then do they seem to endorse the position of the Republicans?

This question is easily answered In the first place, they do not endorse it. At the ratification meeting mentioned above Chairman Dickey violently denounced this plank in the Republican platform, and Miss Willard sharply distinguished between the Republican idea of free trade in alcoholic liquor and the Prohibition idea of no trade at all. This distinction is a thoroughly tenable one, and will be endorsed by every Prohibitionist in the country who has not crazed his own intellect by violent rant about "blood money" and "compacts with hell."

In the next place, the chief argument of the Prohibitionists against high license does not apply to the national liquor tax. They have found in their municipal and State campaigns that the revenues derived from the saloons stand in the way of their agitation. Even the more sober-minded among them have thus come to regard high license as the liquor traffic's chief bulwark. It was very natural then that some of them should have supposed that the national liquor taxes would have a similar effect. The Republican platform demonstrates their mistake. The national revenues derived from the traffic, instead of being its national bulwark, are its national menace. If anything shall ever bring the Republican party to endorse national prohibition, it will be mainly the desire to get rid of this revenue. Prohibitionists will not support the Republican declaration in favor of untaxed whiskey until the Republicans shall support their declaration in favor of no whiskey. The mass of them at the South will follow the lead of Senator Colquitt and support the Democracy. At the North they will vote in increased numbers for their own party ticket. North and South, they will be alike repelled by the Republican declaration in favor of free whiskey.

The platform adopted at Chicago offends the common conscience of the nation quite as much as its common sense. To the average man the demand that the war taxes in all industries shall be maintained rather than diminish the bounties to the favored few is protection reduced to absurdity. In an equal degree the demand that the war tariff on necessities shall be maintained, even though its maintenance involves a whiskey deluge, is protection wedded to iniquity.

X.

"YOU PAYS YOUR MONEY AND TAKES YOUR CHOICE."

NATIONAL LIQUOR DEALERS.	NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY.
Resolved, That we are unalterably opposed to prohibition, general or local, as an invasion of the rights of the citizen	**We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the personal rights and liberties of citizens.**
Resolved, That we are in favor of both public and private morality and good order and popular education.	**The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.**
Resolved, That we most earnestly favor temperance and most strongly condemn intemperance.	

XI.

HOW THE EMANCIPATION OF WHISKEY IS TO BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE EFFORTS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

[*From the New York Evening Post, July 5.*]

The Republican party was formed to resist the aggressions of slavery, and was led to free the slaves as a war measure. In the language of the average republican stump-speaker nowadays, "its mission was to emancipate the slave." Or, as General Harrison put it in his speech accepting the nomination yesterday: "The republican party has walked in the light of the Declaration of Independence. It has lifted the shaft of patriotism upon the foundation laid at Bunker Hill. It has made the more perfect Union secure by making all men free."

For some time past the question has been discussed whether the "mission" of the Republican party wasended. The slave had been emancipated, and the party had done all which is possible, under the Constitution as interpreted by the Republican Supreme Court, to assure him the enjoyment of his new rights as a citizen. In its early history the great object of the organization had been the restriction of slavery, and later its work came to be a crusade for freedom. This old crusade had ended in triumph, and of late the party has seemed to be groping about for some new crusade against evil which would arouse the moral sense of the nation.

The Republican platform meets this "long felt want" in its demand for the emancipation of whiskey. The platform, it will be remembered, calls for "the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system," which, being interpreted, means the freeing of whiskey from the servitude in which it is now held. The odious nature of this slavery and the crying necessity for emancipation only need to be set forth to be appreciated by every candid mind. To produce a gallon of whiskey costs only about fifteen cents, and if whiskey were free from tax, it could be sold at a quarter of a dollar a gallon. But the tax of ninety cents a gallon puts the price up to $1.15 a gallon and ten and fifteen cents a drink, where under the emancipation policy it would be only two or three cents.

But this is by no means all of the injustice involved in the present servitude of whiskey. The tax enables the producers to raise the price to the poor consumer even above the higher level required at best by the interposition of the Government. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, one of the most prominent Republican newspapers in the West, thus exposes the iniquitous performances of "the Whiskey Trust," which, it says, was created and is fostered by the internal revenue system: "The Whiskey Trust is to-day the most powerful and baneful combine in the country, the Standard Oil Company alone excepted. It dictates terms to every distiller, and fixes the amount of product turned out, and the price of it, with a despotic power not surpassed in Russia."

Since human slavery was abolished in the United States there has been no such despotism as that under which whiskey now labors. The mere statement of the case must carry conviction to every candid mind. All over this great land are poor men who want whiskey and who want it cheap. But the Government steps in and claps a tax of nearly a dollar upon every gallon distilled. This carries up the price from two cents a glass to ten. The "Whiskey Trust" may exercise its power to carry the price even higher. For many years the poor drunkard has been sending up his lamentations over this worse than Russian despotism; but, like the cries of the poor slave a generation ago, they have long fallen upon dull ears. At last they have been heard, and the Republican party has declared for the emancipation of whiskey.

It is the happy fortune of "the party of moral ideas" that its new "mission" commends it alike to the drinkers and the temperance men. On the one hand, no more attractive bid for the vote of the "slums" could be made than the promise of whiskey for two cents a glass; while, on the other hand, the temperance men are bound to fight for the emancipation of whiskey because, in the words of Col. Ingersoll at the Republican ratification meeting in this city last week, "Mere liquor does not make drunkenness. The moral question of the whole thing is to have the burden of government rest as lightly as possible. Temperance walks hand in hand with liquor."

XII.

THE BLIGHT OF FREE WHISKEY.

[*From the speech of Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia, in the Senate of the United States, March* 12, 1888.]

Since the conclusive showing by the President of the necessity for getting rid of the immense and growing surplus, it has been discovered that the internal revenue taxes are intolerable burdens. It has also been discovered by some unknown species of political clairvoyance that Mr. Jefferson is exceedingly angry at their existence, and that all the other fathers of the Republic turn uneasily and unhappily in their graves.

But what is there in all this? Nothing but a subtle and inexcusable purpose to retard, if not altogether to prevent, a reduction of the tariff taxes on the necessaries of life. This is the purpose and the end, with few exceptions, of all the wild assertion and cunning pretense with which the taxes on whiskey and tobacco are arraigned before the bar of public opinion.

Aroused by the dangers to which a reduction of the surplus may expose monopolies and trusts, the partisans of high tariff spoliation have suddenly waked up to the fact that the internal revenue taxes are war taxes in a sense which does not apply to contemporaneous tariff taxes on the necessaries of life.

At the bare mention of taxes on whiskey and tobacco the cry of "war taxes" is raised, and night and day are made hideous with visions and howls of war, of bloodshed, of barbarism, of vandalism. But when you speak to them of other war taxes—of taxes on salt, on sugar, on rice, on coal, on iron, on clothing, on wool, on blankets, on farm tools—they are as gentle as sucking doves.

No respectable statesman of the country, of any party whatsoever, denies the advisability of excise taxes for meeting the emergencies which spring out of war. Does any such emergency now exist? The expenditures for the fiscal year on account of war pensions and interest on the war debt are estimated at $120,000,000. This would seem to constitute a full-grown emergency. The expenditures on account of pensions and interest on the war debt are obligations growing out of the war, and it would be manifestly inappropriate to meet them by tariff taxes on the necessaries of life, which we are taught to believe are peace taxes, pure and simple.

The internal tax upon spirits in 1865 was $2 per gallon. It has been reduced to 90 cents. When the war taxes upon the necessaries of life have been reduced a proportionate amount it will be time enough to commence the further reduction or repeal of the whiskey tax.

MR. JEFFERSON'S OPINION ON THE QUESTION.

Mr. Jefferson, it has been said, was opposed from principle to an excise tax on whiskey. Whatever at one time or another may have been his views on that subject, at the ripe age of eighty years, in a letter to General Samuel Smith, he declared himself in favor of an increase in the whiskey tax. Said he:

"I shall be glad, too, if an additional tax of one-fourth of a dollar a gallon on whiskey shall enable us to meet all our engagements with punctuality. Viewing that tax as an article in a system of excise, I was once glad to see it fall with the rest of the system, which I considered as prematurely and unnecessarily introduced. It was evident that our existing taxes were then equal to our existing debts. It was clearly foreseen also that the surplus from excise would only become ailment for useless officers, and would be swallowed in idleness by those whom it would withdraw from useful industry. Considering it only as a fiscal measure, this was right. But the prostration of body and mind which the cheapness of this liquor is spreading through the mass of our citizens now calls the attention of the legislator on a very different principle.

"One of his important duties is as a guardian of those who, from causes susceptible of precise definition, cannot take care of themselves. Such are infants, maniacs, gamblers, drunkards. The last, as much as the maniac, requires restrictive measures to save him from the fatal infatuation under which he is destroying his health, his morals, his family, and his usefulness to society. One powerful obstacle to his ruinous self-indulgence would be a price beyond his competence. As a sanitary measure, therefore, it becomes one of duty in the public guardians."

These are Mr. Jefferson's views. He did not think they were undemocratic. He would not advocate a policy that would abolish the tax on whiskey, dot the country all over with distilleries, reduce the price to a mere trifle, and fill the land with drunkenness, crime and vagabondage.

WHAT FREE WHISKEY WILL DO FOR THE SOUTH.

In the light of the wise and sober utterances of the sage of Monticello, I declare that no greater wrong could be perpetrated on my section than to abolish the whisky tax. It would flood our States with cheap whiskey, demoralize and brutalize our laboring class, and render worse than nugatory the labors of a quarter of a century in the interest of their advancement. It would be an outrage on all our people, but against the negro race it would rise to the proportions of a hideous and appalling crime.

A distillery upon every spring branch, a peck of corn bartered for a quart of whiskey, a jug of the devil's swill in every cabin will convert every neighborhood into a pandemonium, and expose to danger the purity of every Christian household. Families would fly into the towns and cities and abandon the country to the orgies of sensual drunken debauched wretches.

It is a universally recognized principle in all civilized governments that luxuries and articles promotive of vice are especially fitting subjects of taxation. This principle is of wise and just application in all governments, but peculiarly so in those which depend for their glory, their greatness and their perpetuity on the virtue and intelligence of their people.

It is impossible to deny honestly and logically the justness of the principle, or the fairness and propriety of its application to the taxes in question. Burdens upon vice are incentives to virtue. It is right to make vice and vicious tendencies pay dear for the privilege of existence. I am not for giving to whiskey, so far as the permit of government can give it, the unrestrained freedom of the country. Untaxed whiskey will be cheap whiskey. Cheap whiskey will necessarily result in increased consumption. Increased consumption will be followed by increase in lawlessness and crime and degradation.

All parties profess to admit that the government must cease to collect an immense surplus to be hoarded in the Treasury in defiance of the property rights of the people and at the risk of financial wreck and ruin; but there are men in both parties who seek to accomplish that end in such a way as to give the people no deliverance from the dominion of monopoly, no relief from the cumulative tyranny of trusts. They will remove the surplus willingly, even cheerfully, by drying up the fountains of the excise system; but they will not consent to remove a feather's weight of the burdens of taxation on the comforts and the necessaries of life.

WHAT THE REPUBLICANS SAY TO WORKINGMEN.

They are willing to relieve the distresses of the suffering, monopoly-ridden miners of Pennsylvania by furnishing them abundance of cheap whiskey, but deny them cheap food and clothing. To the demand for cheap coal, lumber, nails and blankets for the shivering men and women who dwell in the land of the blizzard, they graciously offer the comfort and protection that may be found in untaxed whiskey. To the Western farmer, who finds all the proceeds of his toil eaten up by outrageous taxes on all he buys, with no compensating benefits by reason of protection in anything which he sells, they offer a deluge of cheap whiskey. To the entreaty of the Southern farmer for cheap iron, cheap farm tools, cheap bagging and ties, cheap salt, in mockery of the hardships under which he struggles, comes the ready offer, in bland benevolence, of untaxed whiskey for whites, untaxed whiskey for blacks.

To the struggling needle-women, who demand cheap thread, cheap needles, cheap buttons, cheap scissors, cheap thimbles; to the toiling workingman, who asks a cheapening of the few articles that are necessary to the comfort of his humble home; to the freedmen, who ask cheap food, cheap clothing, cheap books, cheap agencies in their progress and elevation; to the manufacturer, who demands cheap raw materials as the sole condition to his successful competition with the whole world; to the shipping interests, which plead for free ships as a means of restoring the commerce of the country to its pristine glory and greatness—to each of all these worthy representatives of outraged and failing interests comes the cruel, the impious, the shameless offer of free whiskey. It is the sum of all good. It is the cure of every ill. It is the inspiration of despairing hope. "Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more."

XIII.

ABOLITION OF THE WHISKEY TAX—WHY THIS SHOULD NOT BE DONE SO LONG AS OTHER HEAVY TAXES REMAIN.

The argument against the repeal of this tax, on the ground that it was imposed during the war, cannot be better stated than has been done by Mr. Fairchild, the Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to the present Congress, wherein he says:

The chief cause for the prejudice against this tax seems to be that as there was no such tax before the war for the Union, it is looked upon as a remainder of the measures adopted to raise money to carry on the war, and which ought not to be continued in time of peace, and as interfering in some way with the natural rights of mankind to grow grain and tobacco and manufacture therefrom spirits, cigars, snuff, and the various forms of merchantable tobacco. Of course, taxation of whiskey and tobacco trespass no more upon the natural rights of man than does the taxation of his clothing, of his bedding, of every implement which he uses in the cultivation of his grain and tobacco, and in the distillation or manufacture of the same. The burden of the one tax is direct, known, fixed; the whole of it goes into the Government's treasury; the burden of the other is indirect and unknown, and only a portion of it comes into the treasury. It reaches the farmer or distiller increased by the profit upon itself, which every merchant must take as the clothing or tools pass through his hands on their journey to them from the foreign or domestic manufacturer.

Taxation there must be. The choice is between kinds of taxation; each man can decide for himself, if he will examine the subject free from prejudice, which is the least burdensome for him, for his family, and for his neighbors, and which is in the end better for his whole country. That internal taxation of spirits and tobacco began during the war is not a reason why it should be done away with now, if it be in itself wise. So the fact that the rates of customs taxation were raised during the same war far higher than ever before in our history, and have been continued until now, ought not to determine the manner of their treatment; this should rather depend upon what is just and expedient at the present time. Neither passion, prejudice, nor sentimentality should have place in the consideration of questions of taxation.

As to the expense of collecting the internal revenue, I suggest that an amalgamation of the customs and internal revenue systems is entirely feasible, and that thereby a large number of offices might be abolished, and that the expense of the whole system might be made not to exceed that of an efficient enforcement of the customs laws. I earnestly commend this suggestion to the careful consideration of the Congress. Is it the part of statesmanship to give up a machinery for its collection when, unless we are more favored than the other nations of the world, there will come a day when it will all be needed? If the law for the collection of this tax is unnecessarily oppressive, amend the law. To do away with the whole revenue from internal taxes at present would so diminish the revenues that it would be necessary either to lay duties on articles of importation now free, such as tea and coffee, or to suspend the sinking fund requirements, and also materially diminish other expenses of government.

But it is not well either to abolish or reduce internal revenue taxation; it is a tax upon whiskey, beer and tobacco, things which are in very small measure necessary to the health or happiness of mankind; if they are necessary to any unfortunate man they are far less necessary even to him than are a thousand other articles which the Government taxes. This tax is the least burdensome, the least unjust of all the taxes which Government lays or can lay upon the people; it should not be abolished, nor should it be reduced if, with due regard to the existing conditions of labor and capital, sufficient reduction can be made in the taxation of necessary articles which are in the daily use of all the people.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE RELIGIOUS REVOLT.

UNIVERSAL CONDEMNATION OF THE FREE-WHISKEY PLANK IN THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Journals of All Denominations Express the Utmost Abhorrence of the Whole Scheme.

The response to the declaration of the Republican platform in favor of repealing the tax on whiskey rather than to surrender any of the taxes on the necessaries of life, was almost instantaneous on the part of the religious newspapers of every denomination, and of the leading clergymen everywhere, as is shown by the following extracts from editorials and letters:

I.

HOW THE CHALLENGE WAS MET BY THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

From the Christian Union.

The Republican party has taken up the challenge of the Democratic party, and a clear and definite issue is presented to the American voter by the contrasted platforms. Let us state this issue in our own words. There is a surplus in the Treasury of $125,000,000, and an annual increase threatened of $60,000,000. If this accumulation goes on, the country will be soon involved in hopeless bankruptcy, because in that case the money which commerce needs will be locked up in the Treasury vaults. To protect the nation from this serious menace, two policies are proposed. The Democratic party proposes to confine appropriations of public money to such sums as are necessary for an economical administration of the Government; to retain the tax on alcohol; to modify the tax on tobacco; and to reduce the tax on imports by admitting raw materials free of duty, and by reducing taxes on all articles of necessity. If this involves some manufacturers in commercial distress, the party will regard the individual injury as counterbalanced by the general good. The Republican party proposes to abolish the tax on tobacco; to abolish also the tax on alcohol used in the arts and manufactures; if necessary, to do away with the national tax on alcohol altogether; to retain the present tax on imports substantially unchanged; to retain it, not because it is necessary for revenue, but because it will foster and promote American manufactures and keep up wages; and it proposes to accompany this policy of taxation with one of liberal appropriations, not only for immediate governmental necessities, but for the construction of a navy and of coast fortifications, for river and harbor improvements, for national aid to public education, and for pensions. With this explanation we put the policies of the two

parties in parallel columns, to make apprehension of the difference between the two easier and clearer:

	Rep.	Dem.
Tax on tobacco	Abolish.	Modify.
Tax on alcohol	Reduce or abolish.	Retain.
Tax on raw materials	Retain.	Abolish.
Tax on necessaries	Retain.	Reduce.
Tax on luxuries	Retain.	Retain.
Object of tax	Protection.	Revenue.
Expenditures	Liberal.	Economical.

It would be an absurd and a dishonorable affectation if we were to pretend to look upon the issue thus framed with indifference. We believe that it has vital relations to the future of our country. We believe that the coming election will be likely to settle the trend of national life for some years to come. Nor have we any wish to conceal our personal predilections and prejudices. They are in favor of economical expenditures and a lowered tariff.

II.

REVOLTS AT THE DOSE IN THE PLATFORM.

From the Chicago Standard.

We are heartily glad to see an article in the Chicago *Tribune* calling attention to what it termed "a blunder in the platform," and which in the view of a good many people is very much worse than simply "a blunder." It quotes from one of the resolutions adopted as a platform by the Republican Convention, still in session as we write, as follows:

"If there should still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, *we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes* (whiskey and tobacco) rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers."

This it very properly interprets as meaning "free whiskey," and also as a way of escape from any expedient for reducing the Treasury surplus which must involve modification of the present tariff. It then says:

"Four years ago the Republican party pledged itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and reduce the surplus. Now it is made to demand the placing of whiskey and tobacco on the free list in order to prevent any reduction of the surplus by correcting the inequalities of the tariff or by reducing the sugar tax. The Republican tariff platform of 1884 in substance declared:

"'The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus. The Republican *party pledges itself* to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus.'

"Is putting whiskey on the free list an honest redemption of this pledge?"

The *Tribune* advises that the Convention correct this "blunder" by an amendment to the platform, "striking out the plank in favor of free whiskey and declaring instead that the tax on liquor and tobacco shall be retained to meet the increasing expenditures for pensions and for the defrayment of service pensions." It declares its opinion that if this very serious mistake is not corrected, "it will cost the Republican party tens and possibly hundreds of thousands of votes." Judging by what we hear from temperance men who have always voted with the Republican party, and from what we know of the general sentiment of Christian people, heartily tired of whiskey rule, the *Tribune's* alternate estimate of the loss likely to follow the retention of such a feature in the platform, is much more nearly the right one.

III.

A BLUNDER THAT WAS A CRIME.

From the Chicago Advance.

No doubt the indignation will be deep and widespread in view of the cowardly and wicked refusal of the Committee on the Platform in the Republican Convention to voice the sentiment of all good citizens respecting the protection which the Government ought to afford the home against the saloon. It was a grievous blunder. It was a kind of blunder which amounts to a crime. It was just the kind of blunder which the merely cunning politician without conscience or moral sense is prone to make. We do not care to predict what the result will be. Of this we may be very sure, that whatever the platform may have said or refused to say, or however hard the manipulating politicians may have tried to wink it out of sight, before the campaign is over they will find that the question which they attempted to taboo is a question which represents a tremendously insistent and aggressive force in the politics of to-day, and still more so in that of the future.

IV.

WHAT THE PLATFORMS REALLY MEAN.

Rev. George R. Scott in the New York "Witness."

If a man votes the Republican ticket next fall he declares himself in favor of *free* whiskey, whether that is his intention or not. That's what the platform calls for. If he votes the Democratic ticket he thereby says, "I'm for a tax on liquor." If he casts his ballot for the Prohibitionists he announces the fact that he favors the annihilation of the liquor curse.

If this is not true there is no meaning in platforms, and they should never be written and submitted to the people.

V.

AN OMISSION THAT IS A CRIME.

From the Christian Nation.

Even anti-saloon Republicans must now realize the hopelessness of securing temperance reform through their party. Mr. Griffin and his followers have labored persistently and faithfully, only to be put off again and again by their party leaders. If "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," they must be sick indeed now. With what heart or face can they take another step in the agitation of their reform when their only reward from the great old party is utter obliviousness in its platform to the greatest—the only really great—moral and material issues now stirring the hearts of Americans! How can anti-saloonists remain a day longer in a party that dares to presumptuously ignore the principle that is so dear to their hearts? How can Christians remain in, and give their adherence to a party that dares to be silent on the curse of the liquor traffic, when the country is being desolated by its ravages, when the cry for help is heard on every hand, and the voice of God is thundering in his word, "No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of heaven?"

In the presence of these charges the Republican party is without excuse. Within its own ranks the question has been strongly agitated, and Christian voters have been persuaded to remain true to the party by pledges of temperance legislation. At its Chicago convention, fraternal delegates were present, either in person or by letter, from Christian organizations, pleading for a plank in their platform condemnatory of the liquor traffic, and pledging itself to temperance legislation. In the face of all of their pledges, these influences and appeals, in the face of multi-

tudes of suffering women and children, and a vast unnumbered army of men pushing on in desperation to drunkards' graves, in the face of mothers' and orphans' tears and prayers, this party deliberately decides against the principle of prohibition, against the best and highest interests of this country, against the convictions of the Christian men and women within its ranks, and turns to the saloon and the slums for its votes and its friends. So let it be. But in the light of all these things, the omission in its platform of any reference to the question of prohibition is of such gravity that it becomes a crime.

We have not been among those who have in season and out of season attacked the Republican party; we have contented ourselves with an advocacy of the principle of prohibition and the necessity for a third party. But we do not hesitate to declare at this time that as a party it is guilty of suppressing the truth and pandering to the most dangerous element in our country, and its crime deserves condemnation, and itself ignominious death.

VI.

"IT WOULD GIVE US FREE WHISKEY."

Letter of Rev. Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler to the Evangelist, June 28, 1888.

I claim the privilege, as an old-fashioned Lincolnite Republican, to enter my earnest protest against its reactionary "plank" on the most controverted question of the hour. In 1884 the Republican Convention wisely declared in favor of the revision of the tariff and the reduction of the enormous and *dangerous* surplus. But this year's Convention has strangely declared in favor of the practical maintenance of the present exorbitant and oppressive war tariff, and in order to provide against the accumulation of a surplus, it *suggests* a repeal of the taxes on whiskey and tobacco! Instead of taking off the burdens from many necessaries of life, it would give us free pipes and free whiskey!

Six months ago Mr. Blaine, in his so-called "message from Paris," very sagaciously said: "I would not advise the repeal of the whiskey tax. There is a *moral side to it.* To cheapen the price of whiskey is to increase its consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the reform wrought by high license in many States, if the national Government neutralizes the good effect by making whiskey within reach of every one at twenty cents a gallon. It would destroy high license at once in all the States." Very true, Mr. Blaine; and it would bring in a carnival of Beelzebub and Bacchus all over the land.

I am not the only dissentient against the extreme high tariff heresies of the late Convention. Many of the most powerful Republican journals are protesting against them, and such staunch and thoughtful Republicans as ex-Mayor Seth Low, and the Rev. Dr. Storrs, and many others of our Brooklyn citizens are in open revolt against them. Dr. Storrs said to me on yesterday that, as he could not turn Democrat, he should imitate Sambo in the story, and "take to the woods." If all of us Republicans who are opposed to free trade and free whiskey, and yet are strenuously in favor of reducing the present outrageously oppressive tariff, should follow the example of Dr. Storrs, the "woods" will be pretty full by next November.

The immense surplus in the National Treasury is fraught with increasing evils and dangers. There is a growing discontent among the intelligent working classes with high taxes on the necessaries of life. The many are now burdened for the benefit of the few. It is in the power of the Republicans in the present Congress to correct *immediately* many of the unjust features of this odious "war tariff," if they will set resolutely and boldly about it. They will thus "spike the guns" of the free traders. They will neutralize the unhappy effect of that pronunciamento in favor of free whiskey as an alternative. They will prevent a political cyclone that will gather volume as the season rolls on.

This is a question that deeply concerns both the financial stability and the public morality of the nation. For party politics in the narrow sense I care but little; for principles that alone can make parties effective for the public weal, I care a great deal. Thirty years ago I used my tongue and pen zealously for the Republican party in its early conflicts with the monster of chattel slavery. Its name and fame are dear to me; and I trust that it may not become itself enslaved to the reactionary rule of those who would build up monopolies at the expense of the great mass of the people. As this is a question of absorbing interest, and touches great moral issues, I do not hesitate to discuss it in these columns.

VII.

WILL MAKE THEIR PROTEST EFFECTIVE.

From the Northwestern Christian Advocate.

It is safe to say that the present year will witness a struggle which will remind men of the old slavery battles in ante-war times. While the great tariff issue will divide the two old parties, two or three apparently minor questions, which are really not minor, will figure to an extent which most men will not realize until the campaign is over. We regret that the liquor issue is ignored. It would seem as if the Republican party has lost nearly as many votes as it well can lose because of the action of the party in some of the States.

At the same time it is true that thousands who are now compelled to vote with the third party would remain in the Republican party, if it would but declare war on the saloon as an element in politics. It ought to be a reproach that the whiskey interest has more power in our large cities than have all the churches and schools combined. We have little doubt that thousands who are now indifferent to the thought would revolt if they would but stop to realize the disgraceful, not to say the dangerous, fact. As the debate progresses, more and more men will come to realize that significant state of the facts Thousands of good men have been waiting to see whether the Republican party would or would not revolt against the power that is the enemy of all the homes in the land.

The event will finally convince them that the ultimate test has been made, and that they must now make their protest in some effective way. We will inevitably be accused of partisanship in this suggestion, but we make it as an observer, and as a citizen who regrets that the party has so non-acted that it is in opposition to the express position of our church on an issue which has its unavoidable relations to the peace of every home in America.

VIII.

RESENTING THE SNEER "SUNDAY-SCHOOL POLITICIAN."

From the National Baptist.

Mr. Seth Low is an eminent Christian citizen of Brooklyn. He has twice been elected Mayor on an independent, non-partisan ticket. He is deeply interested in all that relates to the elevation and welfare of men, and especially of the working classes. His address before the Christian Conference at Washington last December upon "The Relation of the Church to the Capital and Labor Question," was most wise, just and humane; in fact, was one of the most admirable papers of that memorable occasion. Mr. Low looks upon politics and political parties as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself. He does not believe in sacrificing the end to the means. Recently Mr. Low has felt it his duty to express his dissent from some of the positions of the political party with which he has been identified through all his life. Thereupon the New York *Tribune* uses this language: "Mr. Low's aspirations ought not hereafter to lead him outside of a Sunday-school. He is designed by nature as a first-rate Sunday-school politician."

The sneer has not even the merit of originality; but be that as it may, it may well awaken surprise that in the last quarter of this nineteenth Christian century the epithet should be used as a term of reproach. So far as we are aware, what is meant by Sunday-school politics is carrying into politics the lessons which are taught in the Sunday-school; that is, the lessons of the Bible and of Christianity, the Ten Commandments, and the Sermon on the Mount, and the Gospels. Sunday-school politics involves the having of convictions, the believing that there is a right and that there is a wrong; that right is to be pursued, however unpopular, and that wrong is to be shunned, however gainful. We can well understand that those to whom politics is a trade worth just so much as there is money in it, to whom honor and justice and liberty and humanity are but a party cry, empty of meaning—we can well imagine that these men may find Sunday school politics very much in their way. They may be disposed to say with Lord Melbourne on a somewhat similar occasion, "This morality will ruin everything." Of course, if men have convictions, and follow their convictions, it will not always be easy to keep them in the traces. But to men whose convictions go back thirty years or so, and who remember when the Sunday-school and the Christian pulpit were the centre of the pulsations of the national life, who remember when men went from the Sunday-school to the army and to the battle-field and to the prison-hell and to death, the sneer at Sunday-school politics may seem somewhat ill-timed.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC CLUBS.

THE IMPORTANT WORK TO BE DONE BY YOUNG MEN WHO BELIEVE IN LOW TAXES, ECONOMY IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, AND IN THE TEACHINGS OF JEFFERSON, JACKSON AND TILDEN.

I.

After the triumphant return of the Democratic party to power in the Federal Government in 1885, the young men of the country naturally turned their attention to the devising of methods to extend a knowledge of the principles of the party and of its founders and of the honored men who have illustrated and embodied these principles through nearly a century of the existence of the Government of the United States.

Indeed the necessity for this earnest work of education had been recognized as early as 1882 by Chauncey F. Black, of York, Pennsylvania, who organized what is known as the Jefferson Democratic Association in his own town as well as in many neighboring places throughout the State of Pennsylvania. In May last these societies, and all others in Pennsylvania having a kindred object, held a State convention at Harrisburg and organized the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania.

The Young Men's Democratic Club, of the city of New York, had also been moving in the same direction for some time, and in April last a conference was held at the rooms of that club in New York. A temporary organization was then effected and a committee appointed with power to call a national convention of clubs. The committee fixed upon July 4, 1888, as the time and Baltimore, Md., as the place for holding the convention. More than five hundred clubs accepted the invitation by sending upwards of 2,400 delegates.

The convention met at noon on July 4, and adjourned *sine die* on the afternoon of the following day. The greatest enthusiasm and harmony characterized the proceedings, which were marked throughout with earnestness and patriotism. The work done by the several committees was painstaking and careful, and unanimous reports were submitted and accepted.

A constitution was adopted and a permanent organization formed under the name of "The National Association of Democratic Clubs." Chauncey F. Black, of Pennsylvania, was elected President of the association; Edward B. Whitney, Esq., New York, Secretary; and George H. Lambert, Esq., New Jersey, Treasurer. A Vice-President from each State and Territory was elected, and four members from each State and Territory were chosen for a General Committee.

Since the convention and the organization of the association at Baltimore many new clubs and societies have been organized and State associations formed.

II.

THE CONSTITUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE.

We, the Democratic Clubs of the United States, in convention assembled, associate ourselves together under the following constitution:

1. The name of the Association shall be THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC CLUBS.

2. The objects of this Association are as follows:

To foster the formation of permanent Democratic Clubs and Societies throughout the United States, and insure their active co-operation in disseminating Jeffersonian principles of government;

To preserve the Constitution of the United States, the autonomy of the States, local self-government and freedom of elections;

To resist revolutionary changes and the centralization of power;

To oppose the imposition of taxes beyond the necessities of government economically administered;

To promote economy in all branches of the public service;

To oppose unnecessary commercial restrictions for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many;

To oppose class legislation, which despoils labor and builds up monopoly;

To maintain inviolate the fundamental principle of Democracy—"Equality before the law;" and

To co-operate with the regular organization of the Democratic party in support of Democratic men and Democratic measures.

3. All political clubs and societies which concur in the objects of this Association are eligible to membership.

4. The officers of this Association shall consist of a President, a Vice-President from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall have the usual power of such officers, subject to the regulations of the General Committee.

5. The affairs of this Association when not in convention assembled shall be managed by a General Committee consisting of four members from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia, together with the officers of this Association, all of whom shall be ex-officio members of the General Committee, which shall have the power to designate an Executive Committee.

6. The officers of this Association shall be elected at each regular convention. The members of the General Committee shall be elected at each regular convention by the several States. Such officers and members of the General Committee shall hold office until their successors are elected or named.

7. The General Committee may fill any vacancies in their own body and in any of the offices of this Association, and are also authorized to admit clubs and societies to membership, but a convention shall have power to overrule any action of this Committee.

8. The Executive Committee shall raise funds by voluntary subscriptions to carry out purposes and objects of this Association.

9. The regular convention of this Association shall be held once in every four years, subsequent to the National Democratic Convention, the time and place to be fixed by the General Committee. Notice of at least two months shall be given by the Secretary to every member of this Association.

10. The General Committee may by a two thirds vote call a special convention of this Association, of which two months' notice shall be given.

11. In convention the members of this Association shall be entitled to representation as follows: Each club or society shall be entitled to one delegate and one additional delegate for every hundred members in good standing. But no club or society shall be entitled to more than five delegates.

12. When the clubs or societies of any State or Territory or the District of Columbia, not less than ten in number, shall have formed a State or Territorial or District Association, such Association shall be entitled to eleven delegates at large.

13. At a convention of this Association the vote on any question shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, and each State and Territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to cast the same number of votes as in the National Convention of the Democratic party.

III.

THE WORK BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION TO BE ACCOMPLISHED DURING THE PRESENT AND FUTURE CAMPAIGNS.

The Democratic party, in a position to make the coming fight on lines of its own choosing, has boldly taken Tariff Reform as the issue of the campaign, forcing the opposition into their present attitude of favoring free whiskey and tobacco rather than any reduction of import duties upon the necessaries of life and raw materials used in our manufactures.

But in advocating this most-needed reform, and in pledging ourselves to the support of measures which will relieve the people of pernicious and unnecessary tariff burdens, we have encountered the opposition of ignorance and prejudice and aroused the active antagonism of those receiving direct benefits from the present system of unequal and unjust taxation.

To remove this ignorance and overcome this prejudice, much educational work must be done. Proper documents and reading matter must be brought to every doubtful voter, and every Democrat should be prepared to demonstrate the truth of the principles we have adopted, as well as to urge the necessity of the measures to which we are pledged. The National Association of Democratic Clubs will do this work to the full extent of its means.

From the General Committee of the Association, an Executive Committee has been appointed, and headquarters opened in New York, in the building of the Democratic National Committee, No. 10 West 29th Street. For the routine work of the Association an office has been taken at No. 52 William Street, where communications may be addressed to the Secretary or the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and all inquiries received will be promptly answered. Campaign literature will be here kept in stock, ready to be shipped in bulk to members of the Association sending orders.

Every club or society belonging to the Association is expected to be in active and continual correspondence, and to report.

IV.

THE PURPOSES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The objects of the Association can not be more explicitly stated than in the following extracts from the address by its president ex-Lieut.-Governor Chauncey F. Black, of Pennsylvania.

"We are entering upon a new era in American politics. The administration of President Cleveland has met the expectations of the country; it has redeemed all its pledges; purified every branch of the government; reformed the grosser abuses of patronage; elevated the civil service, and replaced extravagance, corruption and partisan excess in every department with economy, integrity and legal accountability. These reforms are the necessary sequence of Democratic doctrines. They follow the application of Democratic fundamental principles—that is to say, a strict construction of the constitution upon the rule embodied in the 10th Amendment, taxation only for the support of government economically administered, and expenditures only for objects specifically enumerated—as naturally and inevitably as right living follows the adoption of Christian truth into the heart of the individual man. They have, in every instance, been the immediate results—the flower and the fruit—of Democratic rule. When Jefferon and his associates were chosen in 1800 they found a task of reformation before them almost precisely like that which confronted Grover Cleveland and his associates in 1884, and what Thomas Jefferson did Grover Cleveland has done.

"Mr. Jefferson was re-elected, and Jefferson Democrats continued to be elected for half a century—the golden age of the Republic—through which the country flourished in peace and unexampled prosperity. In like manner will Grover Cleveland be re elected in November, and in like manner will a long line of Democratic successors, following his glorious example, planting their firm steps in the prints of his, bring to this people peace and honor, reform in public morals, freedom in trade and business, and every blessing which flows directly from the restriction of the general government to its proper and limited sphere. Let no man doubt. The President will be re-elected—and the only question is one of majorities in the controlling States.

"Let us hail, then, with welcome and applause, the formation of State and Federal associations of Democratic societies to maintain the essential principles of our political system; but let us not neglect the institution and the regular maintenance of these societies in all the political subdivisions of county, ward and township, so that the constituencies of those central representative bodies shall be the Democratic people, in truth and in fact. Such an organization, permanent and enduring as the party itself, would insure the ascendency of the successors of Jefferson for an indefinite period.

WHAT SUCH SOCIETIES MAY DO.

"Let me illustrate: We are confronted, to-day, by the tariff question, and President Cleveland, like Mr. Jefferson, recognizing the paramount importance and vital character of the issue, as involving nothing less than the power of Government to lay the masses under tribute for the support of special interests and favored classes, has summoned the people to vote upon it, naked and alone, and thus to determine, once for all, whether the producers of this country are to be free or slave.

Does any man suppose, that, if the Democracy of the United States had at any time since 1880 been organized into Jefferson associations or Democratic societies, acknowledging the name and authority of Jefferson, there could have been the smallest division of opinion among us on this grave question? It would have been impossible. Errors and misconceptions would have been winnowed away in the keen blast of popular discussion in the voluntary Democratic assemblies. False doctrine would have been detected by the infallible touchstone of the Jeffersonian test, and the fallacies of the Bourbon protectionist, seeking to enslave labor to build up monopoly, would have been uniformly met by us as they were by our fathers. It would not have required the trumpet of our great leader—the fearless and invincible man of the people—who stands to-day where Jefferson and Jackson stood, to summon us to this critical contest for American Liberty: we would have been there long before he called, and the battle would have been won before it was joined.

"Mr. Jefferson said in the beginning, that this question of the alleged power of Congress to subsidize some at the expense of the whole, was a question between a limited and an unlimited government; between strong government and constitutional government; between freedom and slavery; between the right of a man to enjoy his own earnings, and the duty to pay it over to support the luxury of another. Mr. Jefferson believed that no man could be a protectionist, for the sake of protection, and be a Democrat. President Cleveland agrees with Mr. Jefferson and I believe I am safe in the statement that every enlightened Democrat in the United States agrees with President Cleveland. Had we been properly educated by means of Democratic societies, there never would have been any dissent. Let us now repair the deficiency; multiply the Democratic societies; circulate the Democratic scriptures; array the party of the people upon settled principles; and defend the constitution against the assaults of the Federalist in the future as in the past. President Cleveland will be re-elected, of course. Let us prepare now for the election of his successor; for just as certain as the time comes the Bourbon Federalist will be here in 1892 under a new name, and with a new ruse, to oppose the immortal Democracy, whose history is, and must ever be, consistent with the Union."

V.

A SUCCINCT STATEMENT OF WHAT DEMOCRATIC FAITH IS FOUNDED ON.

The temporary chairman of the Baltimore Convention, William E. Russell, Mayor of Cambridge, Massachusetts, still further expressed the purpose of the Association and then enunciated the principles which should guide the young men of the party, in his speech on taking the chair, from which the following extracts are taken:

"Thank God, we enter the fight with a living faith, founded upon principles that are just, enduring, as old as the nation itself, yet ever young, vigorous and progressive, because there is ever work for them to do. Our party was not founded for a single mission, which accomplished, left it drifting with no fixed star of principle to guide it. It was born and has lived to uphold great truths of Government that need always to be enforced. The influence of the past speaks to us in the voice of the present. Jefferson and Jackson still lead us, not because they are a glorious reminiscence, but because the philosophy of the one, the courage of the other, the Democracy of both are potential factors in determining Democracy to-day.

"Their faith and ours rest upon an abiding trust in the people, a belief that power can safely be put in their hands, and the broader the foundation the safer the structure of our Government. We believe in the freedom and equality of all men in the affairs of State and before the altar of their God; in the freedom of the individual from unnecessary restrictions and unnecessary burdens; that taxation with its enormous power and burdens is not to be used to take from one to give to another, nor to enrich the few at the expense of the many; that of itself it is not a blessing which excuses and demands a wild extravagance, but a necessary evil, to be lessened by prudence and economy; that it should be levied justly, equally, according to men's means, and not their necessities; upon luxuries, that endanger the home and the Republic, and not upon those comforts that make the humblest fireside more cheerful, and in its happiness and strength reflects a nation's prosperity.

THE DOCTRINES OF THE DEMOCRATIC CREED.

"We believe that a Government which controls the lives, liberties and property of a people, in its administration should be honest, economical and efficient, and in its form of local self-government kept near to the power that makes and obeys it. To safeguard the rights and liberty of the individual, the Democratic party demands home rule. Democracy stands beside the humblest citizen to protect him from oppressive government; it is the bulwark of the silent people, to resist having the power and purpose of government warped by the clamorous demands of selfish interests. Its greatest good, its highest glory, is that it is, and is to be, the people's party. To it government is a power to protect and encourage men to make the most of themselves, and not something for men to make the most out of.

"And, lastly, we believe in the success, the glory and the grand destiny of this great Republic. It leaped into life from the hands of Democrats. More than three-quarters of a century it has been nurtured and strengthened by Democratic rule. Under Democratic administrations, in its mighty sweep, it has streched from ocean to ocean, and is to-day not a North and South, and East and West, but a glorious union of thirty-eight sovereign States, re-united in love and loyalty, the great nation of sixty million loyal subjects. And now, under the last and best of Democratic administrations, the courage, fidelity, patriotism and Democracy of Grover Cleveland are holding it true to the principles of its founders."

The Association has entered upon its work under the most favorable auspices. It has secured the support and encouragement of the leaders of the party in every State where it has perfected its organization. It is working in perfect harmony with the recognized party organizations, National, State and local. So that its opportunities for doing good work are quite equal to the enthusiasm with which it has entered upon it. It is not a mere marching organization, but will devote itself to an intelligent effort to educate young men and all men in the political way they should go

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE GETTYSBURG REUNION.

Speeches of General Sickles, of New York; Governor Beaver of Pennsylvania; Governor Gordon and General Longstreet, of Georgia, at the Gettysburg Reunion July 1, 2 *and* 3, 1888.

At the reunion of Union and Confederate soldiers at Gettysburg July 1, 2 and 3, 1888, the following speeches were made by leading participants in the battle on both sides:

I.

GENERAL LONGSTREET'S SPEECH.

"*Mr. Chairman, Soldiers, Gentlemen and Friends:* I was not in time to witness any part of the engagement of the first day of Gettysburg, but am pleased to be here in time to witness the ceremony commemorating the days of honor of the Army of the Potomac and to express that sympathy that should go out from all hearts to those who know how to appreciate the conduct of soldiers who offer their lives on the altar of their country; and who may better attest to the bravery of the defenders of Gettysburg than those who breasted the measure of battle against them, and who could more forcibly realize that it was their heroism that grasped the culminating moment, resolved to resist the advancing aspirations of State sovereignty with the firmnesss that was justified by the strong ground upon which fortune cast their lines, amidst these formidable surroundings, these rock-bound slopes and heights, reinforced by balls of lead and iron, and ribs of steel, and American valor.

"The gage of the battle was pitched, and here the great army of the South, the pride and glory of that section, found itself overmatched, arrested in its march of triumph and forced to stand and recoil, but not for want of gallantry, fortitude, or faith. The battle of the second day by McLane's and Hood's divisions and part of Anderson's was as spirited as some of the dashing efforts of the First Napoleon, but before the end it was found to be work to upheave the mountain. That of the third day by Pickett's division and Trimble's marching 1,200 yards under the fire of a hundred cannon and 10,000 of musketry has no parallel nor is likely to have in the annals of war. This battle scene recurs to my mind with vivid force. The gallant Pickett at the head of my own old division, and Trimble, of even bearing, like soldiers on parade holding their men to their desperate work; the set features of the veteran Brigadiers Armstead, Garrett, and Lemper, vigilant of their compact files; the elastic steps of the troops whose half-concealed smiles expressed pleasure in their opportunity, marked a period that should fill the measure of a soldier's pride, and well did they meet their promise of their parting salutations with that confidence that commands success where it is possible.

"Their hammered ranks moved steadily on till marching up face to face they fell, their noble heads at the feet of the foe who, standing like their own brave hills, received with welcome the shock of this well-adjusted battle. Such is the sacrifice sometimes demanded by the panoply of armies arrayed for battle. But times have changed. Twenty-five years have softened the usages of war. Those frowning heights have given over their savage tones, and our meetings for the exchange of blows and broken bones are left for more congenial days, for friendly greetings and for covenants of tranquil repose.

"The ladies are here to grace the serene occasion and quicken the sentiment that draws us nearer together. God bless them and help that they may dispel the

delusions that come between the people and make the land as blithe as a bride at the coming of the bridegroom."

II.

GENERAL SICKLES OF NEW YORK.

General Daniel E. Sickles, of New York, made the following speech:

"This assembly marks an epoch. You are survivors of two great armies. You and your comrades fought here the decisive battle of a long and terrible civil war. Twenty-five years have passed and now the combatants of 1863 come together again on your old field of battle, to unite in pledges of love and devotion to one Constitution, one Union, and one flag. To day there are no victors, no vanquished As Americans we may all claim a common share in the glories of this battlefield. Memorable for so many brilliant feats of arms, no stain rests on the colors of any battalion, battery or troop that contended here for victory. Gallant Buford, who began the battle, and brave Pickett, who closed the struggle, fitly represent the intrepid hosts that for three days' rivaled each other in titles to martial renown. Among the hundreds of memorial structures on this field, there is not one bearing an inscription that wounds the susceptibilities of an honorable and gallant foe.

"This meeting is a historical event. We dedicate here on this battlefield to-day an altar sacred to peace and tranquility and union. We sow the seeds of friendship between communities and States and populations once hostile and now reconciled. We all share in the rich harvest reaped by the whole country, North and South, East and West, from the new America born on this battlefield, where the Republic consecrated her institutions to liberty and justice.

"It is sometimes said that it is not wise to perpetuate the memories of civil war, and such was the Roman maxim. But our civil war was not a mere conspiracy against a ruler; it was not the plot of a soldier to oust a rival from power; it was not a pronunciamento. The conflict of 1861–5 was a war of institutions and systems and policies. It was a revolution, ranking in importance with the French revolution of the eighteenth century and with the English revolution of the seventeenth, universal in its beneficent influence upon the destinies of this country, and ineffaceable in the footprints it made in the path of our national progress. The memories of such a war are as indestructible as our civilization. The names of Lincoln and Lee and Grant and Jackson can never be effaced from our annals. The valor and fortitude and achievements of both armies, never surpassed in any age, demand a record in American history. And now that time and thought, common sense and common interests have softened all the animosities of war, we may bury them forever, while we cherish and perpetuate as Americans the immortal heritage of honor belonging to a republic that became imperishable when it became free.

"The war of 1861–5 was our heroic age. It demonstrated the vitality of republican institutions. It illustrated the martial spirit and resources and genius of the American soldier and sailor. It was a war in which sentiments and ideas dominated interests. The lavish sacrifices of blood and treasure, the unyielding tenacity of the combatants, the constancy and firmness of the people on both sides, men and women, old and young, rich and poor, signalized the great conflict as the heroic age of the Republic. We now see that the obstinacy of the war on both sides compelled a settlement of all the elements of disunion between the North and the South. An earlier peace might have been a mere truce, to be followed by recurring hostilities. We fought until the furnace of war melted all our discords and molded us in one homogeneous nation. Let us all be devoutly thankful that God has spared us to witness and to share the blessings bestowed by Providence upon our country as the compensation for countless sacrifices made to establish on just and firm foundations a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

"For myself, I rejoice that I am here to day to meet so many comrades and so many foes, and to unite with all of you in pledges of friendship and fraternity. And now I ask you, one and all, the survivors of the blue and the gray, to affirm with one voice our unanimous resolve to maintain our Union, preserve our institutions and defend our flag."

III.

GOVERNOR GORDON OF GEORGIA.

Gen. Sickles introduced Gen. Gordon, who spoke on behalf of the ex-Confederates. As his swinging sentences were uttered there was frequent applause Gen. Gordon said:

Mr. President and Fellow-Soldiers: I greet you to-night with far less trepidation, and infinitely more pleasure than in the early days of July, 1863, when I last met you at Gettysburg. I came then, as now, to meet the soldiers of the Union Army. It would be useless to attempt utterance of the thoughts which now thrill my spirit. The temptation is to draw the contrast between the scenes which then were witnessed and those which greet us here to-night; to speak of the men with whom I then marched, and of those whom we met; of those who have survived to meet again twenty five years later, and of those who here fought and fell; of the contrast made by this mass of manly cordiality and good fellowship with the long lines of dusty uniforms which then stood in battle array beneath bristling bayonets and spread ensigns, moving in awful silence and with sullen tread to grapple each other in deadly conflict. I would speak of all these, and of the motives which impelled each, of the swaying tides of the three days' battles, of the final Federal victory, and of its preponderating influence in turning the scales of war, but the nature of the pleasing duty assigned me forbids this.

There is, however, one suggestion which dominates my thought at this hour, to present which I ask brief indulgence. Of all the martial virtues the one which is perhaps more characteristic of the truly brave is the virtue of magnanimity. "My fairest earldom would I give to bid clan Alpines chieftain live" was the noble sentiment attributed to Scotland's magnanimous monarch as he stood gazing into the face of his slain antagonist. That sentiment, immortalized by Scott in his musical and martial verse, will associate for all time the name of Scotland's King with those of the great spirits of the past. How grand the exhibitions of the same generous impulses that characterize the victors upon this memorable field.

My fellow-countrymen of the North, if I may be permitted to speak for those whom I represent, let me assure you that in the profoundest depths of their nature they reciprocate that generosity with all the manliness and sincerity of which brave men are capable. In token of that sincerity they join in consecrating for annual patriotic pilgrimage these historic heights, which drank such copious draughts of American blood poured so freely in discharge of duty as each conceived it, a Mecca for the North which so grandly defended it, a Mecca for the South which so bravely and persistently stormed it. We join you in setting apart this land as an enduring monument of peace, brotherhood and perpetual union. I repeat the thought with additional emphasis, with singleness of heart and of purpose, in the name of a common country and of universal human liberty, and by the blood of our fallen brothers, we unite in the solemn consecration of these battle hallowed hills as a holy, eternal pledge of fidelity to the life, freedom and unity of this cherished Republic.

I am honored to-night in being selected to introduce one of the distinguished representatives of that spirit of magnanimity of which I have spoken. I present to you a soldier without fear, reproach, or malice; a soldier whose blood was spilled and whose body was maimed, though then but a boy, while he bravely and gladly obeyed his country's commands. I introduce to you a statesman whose services are distinguished and whose record is stainless. I introduce to you a patriot whose extended hand and generous heart are ever open to all of his countrymen. Soldier, statesman, patriot, I present them all in the person of General-Governor James A. Beaver of Pennsylvania.

IV.

GOVERNOR BEAVER OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The introduction of Governor Beaver and the glowing tribute that was paid him as soldier, statesman and patriot was the signal for another outburst of applause and three hearty cheers. In his address of welcome Governor Beaver said:

MEN WHO WORE THE GRAY: I have been commissioned by my comrades of the Society of the Army of the Potomac—men who wore the blue—to address you in their behalf a few words of simple and sincere welcome. I might content myself with expressing the cordial feeling which prompted the invitation in obedience to

which you are here as our guests to-day. Those who commissioned me to speak for them, as well as you, will, however, expect something more. It is, perhaps, due to them, to you, and to the country at large, which views with interest the unique spectacle which we present, that something more should be said in order that it may be seen and understood of all men that we can talk frankly and fully of what has passed while we enjoy the present and resolutely and unitedly face the future. A generation ago we lived together as citizens of one country, subject to the provisions of a compact which had been made three-quarters of a century before by our forefathers. In accordance with what you considered its fair and just interpretation, and the agreement being itself, as you supposed, inadequate to protect you in certain rights of property, you determined to annul it so far as you were concerned; to withdraw yourselves from the binding force of its provisions, and to erect a separate and independent government, based for the most part upon the same principles, but providing for the rights of property and your views of interpretation. There was more or less of intense feeling involved; and yet I think I speak the words of truth and soberness when I say that, so far as we were concerned, there was nothing of personal animosity or bitterness or hate involved in the contest.

My own case is that which will, doubtless, illustrate many, many similar ones. My mother lived in Pennsylvania. She had three boys who wore the blue. Her only sister, and the only other child of her father, lived in Virginia. Her three boys wore the gray. They served in the Army of Northern Virginia; we served for the most part in the Army of the Potomac. Our deadly shots were aimed at each other in many battles of the war in which these two armies confronted each other. Did that fact, think you, obliterate the love which those sisters bore to each other, or that which animated their sons? Nay, verily. On our side the war was one of principles, of abstract ideas largely. On your side we admit, with your views of what was to be expected in the future, your property rights and private interests were directly involved; and hence the more intense feeling and ardor which you displayed. It is sufficient for our present purpose that the sword to whose dread arbitrament you had submitted, decided against you, and that your representative and ours so agreed at Appomattox. The questions involved are no longer at issue; that issue was settled and settled forever. The judgment of the court of last resort was pronounced. Your representative—honorable man that he was—accepted it for you. You as honorable men have stood by and are bound to stand by the decision. We as honorable men are bound to see to it that that decision is respected, and that you shall not be called upon to admit more, or to promise more than is involved in the decision.

Upon this platform we meet here to day. Upon this platform we stand as citizens of a common country. In standing upon it we claim no superiority over you; you admit no inferiority to us If such a feeling struggled for a place in our hearts the issues of this field should determine that question. You are our equals in courage, our equals in perseverance, our equals in intelligence, our equals in all that constitutes and dignifies and adorns the American character. You are Americans and so are we. The men and the women who remained in the rear, who took no immediate and active part in the contest on your side and on ours, have more to say about the decision and what is involved in the decision, and are more determined and outspoken in their demands than are we. They are doubtless trembling lest something should be said or done here to day which may unsettle the decision of the sword and annul its stern decrees.

But, my countrymen, our care need not be as to the past. Its record is made up, its decrees are recorded, its judgment is final. You and I have something to do with the future. Our faces are to be resolutely turned to the front. I see a grand future for my country. Do I say my country? Your country, our country. North and South. Oh, my countrymen of the gray and of the blue, and you, young men who wore neither gray nor blue, these are the questions about which we should be concerned; and because the consideration of these questions is pressing and imminent, we who wore the blue have invited you men who wore the gray to join us here on this historic field. We welcome you because we need you. We welcome you because you need us. We welcome you because we together must enter in and possess this future and transmit this heritage to the on coming generations. Are we ready? Are you ready? If so, let the dead past bury its dead.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A "FELLOW" LIKE MORTON.

THE KIND OF MAN SENATOR INGALLS WANTED AND WHICH REPUBLICAN PAPERS INSIST HE GOT.

THE KIND OF FELLOW SENATOR INGALLS WANTED AND GOT.

"VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, June 16.

"The *least conspicuous* and therefore the least complicated man will be the best; somebody like Hayes in 1876. Among all the men named there is not one 'leader,' no one whose personal or *historical* relation to the people would make a difference of 1,000 votes in the canvass. Sherman, Allison, *Harrison*, each have *records* that would be *awkward* on the tariff, the currency, *the Chinese question*, etc. * * * My impression is that Alger or Gresham come nearer filling the bill than any of the others, with *some fellow* like Phelps of New Jersey, *who could reach the conservative forces of the East and get contributions from the manufacturers and Wall street.* * * * * * * * * * * *

JOHN J. INGALLS.

No man was ever nominated on a Presidential ticket who was so conspicuously a nonentity as Levi P. Morton, of New York, the Republican candidate for Vice-President. He was only in Congress for a single term, and then only by virtue of his money; but many a man has made a record in this time which served to show his constituents that there was something in him to excite admiration and to demonstrate a capacity for doing something if he should get a chance to do it.

But in the case of Levi P. Morton there is less than nothing. He was never conspicuous either at home or abroad for anything but his money—and even this is most conspicuous by being invested in London in partnership with a knight of the realm, or in bonds of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, from the directory of which Mr. Morton has just retired for the purposes of this campaign only. His money is there, and nobody has given so much as a hint that he has any idea of giving up his investments in Canadian railroads, however much they may injure the commerce of the country of which he hopes to become the Vice President.

During his service in Congress Mr. Morton did at least one thing for which he deserves some credit, in spite of the fact that he and his friends are belittleing it and almost denying it now. On April 5, 1890, Mr. Townshend, of Illinois, moved to discharge the Ways and Means Committee from further consideration of House Bill No. 5265, and that the same be passed. The bill was as follows:

Be it Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That sections 2503, 2504 and 2505, of Title 33, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, be revised and amended so that the duty on salt, printing-type, printing-paper and the chemicals and materials used in the manufacture of printing-paper, be repealed, and that said articles be placed on the free list.

The result was ayes 112, nays 80; not voting 100. Among those recorded as voting aye is Levi P. Morton, of New York.

Now that his party has not only concluded that it does not want the duty on the necessaries of life removed so long as any man is subjected to a tax on the whiskey he drinks or the cigars he smokes, Mr. Morton finds this little record—this wee little bit of a record—somewhat awkward.

HOW MR. MORTON HAS COME FORWARD.

Mr. Morton has been a candidate for offices at various times; in fact the memory of man runneth not to the time when Mr. Morton has not been wanting something. He has always a simple way of trying to get things. He merely goes out into the market and tries to buy them as he does his vegetables or his domestic animals. He has, in his time, wanted to be in Congress, and he got there by the most plentiful use of his money made in England and the Canadian Pacific Railroad.

Then after he had been in Congress a year or two he thought he wanted a bigger place. So during the canvass of 1880, he went down among the conservative forces of the East and got contributions from the manufacturers and Wall street. It was the money raised by Mr. Morton's herculean efforts that enabled Dorsey to sow two dollar bills so liberally in Indiana, in the guise of what President Arthur called "soap." Mr. Morton did not do this from pure love of his country. He wanted to be Secretary of the Treasury. But when the election was over Mr. Blaine and other Republican leaders who had the ear of the late President Garfield did not think that Mr. Morton should fix his price so high, and they refused to pay it.

It has always been understood that Mr. Morton thought the position of Secretary of the Navy, which was offered him, was not quite up to his demand, perhaps because he did not see any chance for forming big enough syndicates in it to satisfy his modest financial ideas. So Mr. Morton took the mission to France, where he had a chance to spend some of his English and Canadian money.

WHAT HIS FRIENDS SAID OF HIM.

After the defeat of Blaine Mr. Morton knew he had to come home, and immediately his imagination was fired with the hope of being elected a United States Senator. So his friends and his pocket-book went to Albany and his candidacy was duly announced. It will be better to let the leading Republican papers of the State of New York tell the rest of the story. They related it with a frankness and an eloquence which are most refreshing to read, even now.

The *Evening Journal*, of Albany, has long been the leading paper of the Republican party outside of those in the city of New York. It had heard of Mr. Morton before he went up there in the winter of 1885 to become a candidate for Senator. Having so heard, it drew and printed these little silhouettes of him in its issue of January 8, 1885.

I.

WHAT THE B. B. BEHIND HIM WERE.

The B. B.'s behind the Morton boom are brag and "boodle." Brag is the weapon of cowards. It is the balloon of vanity. It never won a fight or made a reputation. "Boodle" is one of the most expressive and suggestive words in the nomenclature of politics. "Boodle" may be used to bribe or to betray. It has no other uses. It is always an instrumentality of the meanest men in politics and is always used for the most ignoble purposes. The Republican party has no use for brag. As for boodle, the stain that it leaves on any man who touches it marks him for life and makes this single word his epitaph when he lies in the potter's field, reserved exclusively for "boodle" politicians. * * * The members who prefer Mr. Evarts to Mr. Morton are not susceptible to disreputable influences. Bluster will not intimidate them, bragging will not mislead them, "boodle" will not entice them.

II.

CALLING FOR A SQUARE FIGHT AGAINST BRAG AND BLUSTER.

A self-organized political machine by methods not above reproach is seeking to make a man of mark out of a man of money. All this is in the face of an almost unanimous protest from the people. Let it be a square, manly fight with no division of the sentiment now prevailing among the people and Mr. Morton's candidacy will end as it began, in brag and bluster, and without its surplus of that peculiar commodity contemptuously described as boodle.

III.

HONEST MEN AGAINST A MILLIONAIRE'S MONEY.

We do not believe that all the brag and boodle that can be injected into the Morton campaign will change a single vote in the list we have given. It is a pleasure to believe that honest men can stand out against all the pressure of a millionaire's money, if that pressure shall be applied. Why is the Morton campaign, a secret fight, afraid of the light of day? R. S. V. P.

IV.

A DEMAND THAT HIS FREE TRADE RECORD SHOULD END HERE.

All Republicans are agreed that after fighting so nobly the battle of protection in November, the State of New York should send no free trader to the Senate of the United States. Mr. Morton cabled not long ago that he was fully committed to protection. We rejoice that the then leading candidate for the Senatorship appeared to be fully in line with Republican sentiment. But we turn to the record and find Mr. Morton on the wrong side when he was in the Forty-sixth Congress.

On the 5th of April, 1880, Mr. Richard W. Townshend, of Illinois, moved to suspend the rules and pass House bill No. 5235, which provided for *repealing the duty* on salt, certain chemicals and printing paper. The motion to suspend the rules was adopted by a vote of 113 to 80. *Levi P. Morton followed the lead of that able Democrat and ardent free trader, Wm. R. Morrison, and voted aye.*

Mr. Morton's record as a free trader offsets his cablegram as a protectionist. The Republican party wants no man in the Senate at this critical period who has the taint of free trade about him.

This revelation should be the end of the Morton canvass.

V.

SENDING RICH MEN TO THE SENATE A SERIOUS EVIL.

On the 15th of January, six days later, the *Journal* set its artist to work again. It was just the day before the caucus nominations were made, and this was the cheerful, smiling picture its artist drew:

The presence of rich men in the Senate, chosen on account of their wealth, is becoming an evil that will in time lead to some strong revolution in public opinion. The example of New York State should and does, we believe, exert a great influence on other States.

VI.

SOUNDING A PÆAN OF TRIUMPH.

On the following day Mr. Morton had been defeated, and the *Journal* trod on his prostrate body with this brief but exultant paragraph:

"The Morton campaign ends gloriously. It is an utter rout."

OTHER TINTS ADDED TO THE PICTURE.

WHAT LEADING REPUBLICAN PAPERS FOUND TO SAY ABOUT MORTON AND HIS METHODS.

I.

To show that this was not a mere whim without support in the party it may be well to turn to the utterances of other Republican papers in the State and find out what they thought. The Albany *Express* has long been recognized as one of the most conservative and at the same time reliable newspapers of its party in the State of New York. But on January 7, 1885, it made the following declaration:

Mr. Morton conceived that his money-bags would make him a good candidate, and has declined to withdraw from the race. Under such circumstances the men who will vote for him will be marked. Something more than personal favoritism will enter into this contest. It is for these reasons that the *Express* has withdrawn from advocating Mr. Morton's candidacy. It would rather win with a candidate like Chauncey M. Depew, or Frank Hiscock, or Judge Russell than with a man who goes back upon his old friends and depends on his money-bags to elect him.

II.

THE KIND OF ARGUMENTS USED BY MORTON'S MANAGERS.

The Buffalo *Express*, published in a section of the State remote from Albany, could not stand the candidacy of Mr. Morton, in spite of its strong Republicanism. In its issue of January 10, 1885, it said of him and his henchmen:

> Every effort will be made by the skilled talent which is managing the Morton campaign to break the Evarts line. These skilled manipulators of legislative votes are understood to be plentifully supplied with "financial arguments," and they may be expected to bring sore temptation to bear. Time has been that legislators have fallen before temptation of this kind and the same may happen again.

III.

DEMANDED THE DEFEAT OF THE BOODLE HUNTERS.

The Rochester *Post-Express*, just before the Republican Senatorial caucus in January, 1885, thus spoke of Mr. Morton's candidacy:

> The candidacy of Mr. Morton is really a fight for spoils. A huge deal has been arranged. Concerned in it are some of the most unscrupulous politicians in the Republican party. They have their greedy eyes fixed upon certain important offices. Not only should the boodle hunters be defeated, but the man of brains should be elected.

IV.

LET THE BEST BRAINS OF THE COUNTRY GO TO THE SENATE.

Another Republican paper in the Western part of the State, the Clyde *Times*, said of Mr. Morton's candidacy in concluding a reference to the contest then pending:

> The Senate Chamber should not be the place for vulgar wealth to display itself, nor should its honors be offered as a prize for which riches only can contend. We ought to keep it what our fathers intended it to be, the highest council chamber of the nation, in which our wise men, the best brains of the country, shall gather to consider great questions not only of national but of world-wide interest.

V.

THE RISING OF THE TIDE PREDICTED.

The Lockport *Journal* during the week before the real opening of the contest in January, 1885, said:

> We believe within the coming week such [Morton] papers will note a rising public sentiment against such a money-bag candidate that will make them regret their present choice.

As this is the opinion of Mr. Morton held by political friends, and as nobody ever denied the truth of their characterizations of him, it is safe to assume that the country will never reverse their decision. If his money was not sufficient to carry him through a contest in a single State, what hope can he indulge when he attempts to spread it over the whole country?

THE CONTRAST PRESENTED BY MR. THURMAN.

As a contrast to what Mr. Morton's political friends say of him it may interest the world to read anew what Mr. Blaine said of Mr. Thurman in his "Twenty Years of Congress."

> His rank in the Senate was established from the day he took his seat, and was never lowered during the period of his services. He was an admirably disciplined debater, was fair in his method of statement, logical in his argument, honest in his conclusions. He had no trick in discussion, no catch phrases to secure attention, but was always direct and manly. His mind was not preoccupied and engrossed with political contests or with affairs of State. He had natural and cultivated tastes outside of those fields. He was a discriminating reader and enjoyed not only serious books, but inclined also to the lighter indulgence of romance and poetry. These tastes illustrate the genial side of his nature and were a fitting compliment to the stronger and sterner elements of the man. His retirement from the Senate was a serious loss to his party—a loss, indeed, to the body. He left behind him the respect of all with whom he had been associated during his twelve years of honorable service.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PARTY PLATFORMS FOR 1888.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MADE BY THE REPUBLICAN, PROHIBITION AND UNION LABOR PARTIES.

I.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM ADOPTED IN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, JUNE 21

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover, also, with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan. In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents.

We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of Home Rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted; we hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all of the people to be the foundation of our republican Government and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority.

We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States; we are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment.

The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily endorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage. We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the National revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and a burden to agriculture, and the tax upon the spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes; and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries), the like of which cannot be produced at home.

If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behests of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing law against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens, and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats about fifty millions of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morals are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them the right to form for themselves constitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood all officers thereof should be selected from the bonafide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily endorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable

the people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments shall be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible and the others as soon as they become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories, as exercised in the past, is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered, therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation, asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonitize silver and the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation. Therefore the State or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy, for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities, for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers, for the necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise and foreign commerce for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money, without interest, to pet banks.

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice, having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties offered by the Republican Administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and force its extension into better markets. It has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830 and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as

tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow him and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continued to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, or freedom or purity of the ballot, but specially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable; the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing Treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of messages for pension relief and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

II.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM ADOPTED IN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT INDIANAPOLIS, MAY 31.

Preamble: The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, do hereby declare:

1. That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes and prohibited as such.

2. That such Prohibition must be secured through amendments of our National and State Constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority; and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in State and nation.

3. That any form of license, taxation or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party which supports regulation, license, or taxation, enters into alliance with such traffic and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare; and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their persistent attitude in favor of the license iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for Prohibition, and, through open complicity with the liquor crime, defeat the enforcement of law.

4. For the immediate abolition of the internal revenue system, whereby our National Government is deriving support from our greatest national vice.

5. That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by import duties; but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus shall be accumulated in the Treasury, and that the burdens of taxation shall be removed from foods, clothing and other comforts and necessaries of life, and imposed on such articles of import as will give protection both to the manufacturing employer and producing laborer against the competition of the world.

6. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of race, color, sex or nationality; and that where, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens who are of suitable age and mentally and morally qualified for the exercise of an intelligent ballot, it should be restored by the people through the legislatures of the several States on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

7. That civil service appointment for all civil offices chiefly clerical in their duties should be based upon moral, intellectual and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

8. For the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.

9. For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products for popular consumption.

10. For the preservation and defense of the Sabbath as a civil institution, without oppressing any who religiously observe the same on any other than the first day of the week.

11. That arbitration is the Christian, wise and economic method of settling national differences, and the same method should, by judicious legislation, be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employes and their employers. That the abolition of the saloon would remove burdens—moral, physical, pecuniary and social—which now oppress labor of its earnings, and would prove to be a wise and successful way of promoting labor reform; and we invite labor and capital to unite with us for the accomplishment thereof. That monopoly in land is a wrong to the people, and the public land should be reserved to actual settlers; and that men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

12. That our immigration laws should be so enforced as to prevent the introduction into our country of all convicts, inmates of other dependent institutions and all others physically incapacitated for self-support; and that no person should have the ballot in any State who is not a citizen of the United States.

13. Recognizing and declaring that Prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed in full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, and promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

The convention, besides several complimentary resolutions endorsing different co-operative movements, adopted the following:

Resolved, That we hold that men are born free and equal, and should be made secure in all their civil, legal and political rights.

Resolved, That we condemn the Democratic and Republican parties for persistently denying the right of self-government to the 600,000 people of Dakota.

CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The convention nominated Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, for President by acclamation

For Vice-President, John A. Brooks, of Missouri, was nominated, also by acclamation.

III.

UNION LABOR PLATFORM ADOPTED IN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CINCINNATI, MAY 15.

General discontent prevails on the part of the wealth-producer. Farmers are suffering from a poverty which has forced most of them to mortgage their estates, and the prices of products are so low as to offer no relief except through bankruptcy. Laborers are sinking into greater dependence. Strikes are resorted to without

bringing relief, because of the inability of employers in many cases to pay living wages, while more and more are driven into the street. Business men find collections almost impossible, and meantime hundreds of millions of idle public money which is needed for relief is locked up in the United States Treasury or placed without interest in favored banks in grim mockery of distress. Land monopoly flourishes as never before, and more owners of the soil are daily becoming tenants. Great transportation corporations still succeed in extorting their profits on watered stock through unjust charges. The United States Senate has become an open scandal, its membership being purchased by the rich in open defiance of the popular will. Various efforts are made to squander the public money, which are designed to empty the Treasury without paying the public debt. Under these and other alarming conditions we appeal to the people of our country to come out of old party organizations, whose indifference to the public welfare is responsible for this distress, and aid the Union Labor party to repeal existing class legislation and relieve the distress of our industries by establishing the following:

While we believe that the proper solution of the financial distress will greatly relieve those now in danger of losing their homes by mortgage foreclosures, and enable all industrious persons to secure a home as the highest result of civilization, we oppose land monopoly in every form, demand the forfeiture of unearned grants, the limitation of land ownership and such other legislation as will stop speculation in lands and holding it unused from those whose necessities require it. We believe the earth was made for the people and not to make an idle aristocracy to subsist through rents upon the toils of the industrious, and that corners in land are as bad as corners in food, and that those who are not residents or citizens should not be allowed to own lands in the United States. A homestead should be exempt to a limited extent from execution or taxation.

The means of communication and transportation shall be owned by the people as is the United States postal system.

The establishment of a national monetary system in the interest of the producer, instead of the speculator and usurer, by which the circulating medium in necessary quantity and full legal tender, shall be issued directly to the people without the intervention of banks and loaned to citizens upon land security at a low rate of interest so as to relieve them from the extortion of usury and enable them to control the money supply. Postal savings banks should be established, and while we have free coinage of gold we should have free coinage of silver. We demand the immediate application of all the money in the United States Treasury to the payment of the bonded debt, and condemn the further issue of interest-bearing bonds, either by the National Government or by States, Territories or Municipalities.

Arbitration should take the place of strikes and other injurious methods of settling labor disputes. The letting of convict labor to contractors should be prohibited, the contract system be abolished on public works, the hours of labor in industrial establishments be reduced commensurate with the increased production by labor-saving machinery, employes protected from bodily injury, equal pay for equal work for both sexes, and labor, agricultural and co-operative associations be fostered and encouraged by law. The foundation of a republic is in the intelligence of its citizens, and children who are driven into workshops, mines and factories, are deprived of the education which should be secured to all by proper legislation.

We demand the passage of a service pension bill to every honorably discharged soldier and sailor of the United States.

A graduated income tax is the most equitable system of taxation, placing the burden of government on those who can best afford to pay, instead of laying it on the farmers and producers, and exempting millionaires, bondholders and corporations.

We demand a constitutional amendment making United States Senators elective by a direct vote of the people.

We demand the strict enforcement of laws prohibiting the importation of subjects of foreign countries under contracts.

We demand the passage and enforcement of such legislation as will absolutely exclude the Chinese from the United States.

The right to vote is inherent in citizenship, irrespective of sex, and is properly within the province of state legislation.

The paramount issues to be solved in the interests of humanity are the abolition of usury, monopoly and trusts, and we denounce the Democratic and Republican parties for creating and perpetuating these monstrous evils.

IV.

DEMOCRATIC STATE PLATFORMS ON THE TARIFF, 1888.

Alabama.—We are unalterably opposed to the general war tariff. We demand a reform of the tariff and a reduction of the surplus in the Treasury by a reduction of tariff taxation.

California.—We heartily indorse that progressive measure, commensurate with and made necessary by the growth and needs of our country, the message of the President urging a reform in our tariff which will lessen exactions now practiced upon our people.

Colorado.—We heartily indorse the last message of President Cleveland.

Connecticut.—We approve of the demand for a readjustment of the tariff, regardful of our industrial interests and the interests of labor against the cheaper labor of Europe, * * * and that the revenue shall be reduced to the needs of the Government.

Dakota.—We indorse the message of President Grover Cleveland to the Congress of the United States in favor of reduction of surplus revenue in the Treasury by the cutting down of the onerous and burdensome revenue taxation upon the necessaries of life.

Georgia.—The message of President Cleveland * * * was a statesmanlike and true declaration of the time-honored principles of the Democratic party, and meets our hearty and unqualified indorsement, and we accept and commend the message as embracing the principles of the Democratic party upon this great issue.

Illinois.—We admire his (the President's) candor and applaud his courage in voicing in his recent message to Congress * * * the Democratic doctrine that the constitutional tax power of the Government is exhausted when the Government has by means of it exacted from the people a sufficient amount of revenue to meet the necessary expenses of the Government economically administered.

Indiana.—We insist that the taxes on imports be reduced to the lowest point consistent with efficiency in the public service, and we demand a revision and reform of the present unjust tariff as recommended in the late message of the President.

Iowa.—We are opposed to the exercise of the taxing power for any but public purposes, and fully and unqualifiedly declare President Cleveland's message as the views of the Iowa Democracy on the tariff question.

Kentucky.—The Democrats of Kentucky do especialy declare * * * their unflagging devotion to the doctrine laid down in the President's last annual message to Congress. * * * They indorse the proposal of the Ways and Means Committee, known as the Mills bill, as a fair, conservative, and practical measure of revenue reform.

Maine.—We do not advocate free trade, but favor and desire a revision of the present unjust and burdensome tariff laws.

Maryland.—Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation and ought not to be longer tolerated.

Michigan.—We declare ourselves in fullest sympathy with the letter and spirit of the President's message upon this subject. It is a manly State paper * * * and has pure justice and holy truth for its inspiration.

Minnesota.—The time has come for a thorough revision and a radical reduction of the existing revenue taxes. We insist that this work be at once begun and speedily consummated without further evasion or delay.

Mississippi.—We approve without qualification, the Mills bill * * * and applaud the course of our representatives who have given it a hearty and unanimous support.

Missouri.—We instruct our delegates (to the National Convention) * * * to vote for a platform embodying the principles of tariff reform set forth in his (the President's) last annual message.

Nebraska.—The Democrats of Nebraska heartily indorse the views of President Cleveland on this issue, which were so admirably expressed in his message to the Fiftieth Congress, and they urge upon the National Democracy about to assemble in St. Louis a similar expression from its councils.

Nevada.—We denounce the present tariff system. * * * We declare that taxation should be limited to the requirements of government, and the burden of taxation should rest upon those who use luxuries rather than upon those who use only the necessaries of life.

New Hampshire.—They (the Democracy of New Hampshire) fully approve of the President's message to Congress on the subject of tariff reform and the reduction of war taxes to the end that the labor of the country be relieved of onerous and unnecessary burdens.

New Jersey.—It (the Democracy of New Jersey) urges upon Representatives of the Democratic party in Congress * * * a reduction of the redundant revenue of the Government and the revision of the tariff, with a due regard for the interests of the agricultural and manufacturing industries and of labor and capital to be affected thereby.

New York.—The allegiance and adherence of the State Democracy * * * are hereby again declared with an explicit approval of the doctrines affirmed in the last annual message of the President to Congress.

Ohio.—We approve the Mills Tariff bill as the practical expression of the Democratic party.

Oregon.—We most earnestly and unqualifiedly indorse the policy of tariff revision and reduction of the surplus revenue to the needs of the Government economically administered, as set forth in the President's last annual message to Congress. We believe * * * that unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation and oppression, and that the public revenue should, as far as possible, be derived from taxes levied upon the luxuries rather than the necessities of life.

Pennsylvania.—We give our most hearty and emphatic indorsement to the recommendations of President Cleveland's last annual message to Congress and * * * we recommend to Congress the prompt adoption of the Revenue Reform bill reported from the Committee of Ways and Means.

Rhode Island.—Reduction of taxation is an imperative duty, and should be made first upon those articles which can be classed as necessaries to the whole people, men, women and children.

South Carolina.—The message of the President advocating reduction in revenue is indorsed as a statesmanlike and practical way in which to relieve the overburdened people without injury to the laborer or damage to capital.

Tennessee.—The views of the President in his message to Congress in regard to the tariff are pure Jeffersonian Democracy and sound statesmanship, therefore we heartily indorse his views as expressed in said message.

Texas.—We indorse the views expressed by Grover Cleveland, our President, in his last annual message on the subject of the tariff. * * * We indorse the tariff bill reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, commonly known as the Mills Tariff bill.

Vermont.—We favor such a revision of the tariff bill as will reduce taxation to the needs of the Government economically administered, and will especially relieve the poor and benefit all by freeing from tax the necessaries of life and taxing as lightly as practicable other articles most commonly consumed or used, and raw materials.

Virginia.—The simple and plain duty which is due to the people is, in the language of President Cleveland, "to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers."

Wisconsin.—We demand * * * that taxation be reduced in strict conformity to the principles laid down by President Cleveland in his message to the Fiftieth Congress.

CHAPTER XL.

THE HISTORY OF TARIFF CHANGES.

A COMPLETE ACCOUNT OF AMERICAN TARIFF LEGISLATION, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE PASSAGE OF THE MILLS BILL BY THE HOUSE.

The first tariff act was passed on the 4th of July, 1789; the last one on the 3d of March, 1883. Including these two there have been fifty-five tariff acts passed in ninety-nine years. Most of them did not make radical changes in the tariff. The tariffs usually considered most important by historians were passed as follows, and they have all been named, also, as follows:

Hamilton tariff	1789	Compromise tariff	1833
Calhoun tariff	1816	Whig tariff	1842
Clay tariff	1824	Walker tariff	1846
Abominations tariff	1828	Morrill tariff	1861

The general effects of these various tariffs, and of the modifications made in them between times, may be traced in the following table, which shows the average rate of tax paid on all taxed imports for each year since 1791. There was always a free list—always absolute free trade in many things—but here are the average rates for the year on the things actually taxed:

Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
1791	15 34	1816	27.94	1841	34.56	1866	48 35
1792	11.54	1817	32.90	1842	25 81	1867	46.67
1793	14.68	1818	16.78	1843	29.19	1868	48.63
1794	17.10	1819	29.81	1844	36 88	1869	47.22
1795	11.21	1820	26 50	1845	34.45	1870	47.08
1796	12 02	1821	30 99	1846	33.35	1871	43.95
1797	15.60	1822	27.13	1847	28.02	1872	41.35
1798	19.99	1823	39 21	1848	26.28	1873	38.07
1799	19.70	1824	50.21	1849	26 11	1874	38.53
1800	17.42	1825	50.24	1850	27.14	1875	40.62
1801	16.61	1826	49.26	1851	26.63	1876	44.74
1802	30.67	1827	53.76	1852	27.38	1877	42.89
1803	20.52	1828	47.59	1853	25.93	1878	42.75
1804	22.76	1829	54.18	1854	25.61	1879	44.87
1805	19.19	1830	61.69	1855	26.62	1880	43.48
1806	21.22	1831	47.38	1856	26.05	1881	43.20
1807	20.09	1832	42.96	1857	22.45	1882	42.66
1808	87.22	1833	38.25	1858	22.43	1883	42.45
1809	18.80	1834	40.19	1859	19.56	1884	41.61
1810	14.07	1835	40.38	1860	19.67	1885	45.86
1811	85.62	1836	34.94	1861	18.84	1886	45.55
1812	13.07	1837	29.18	1862	36.20	1887	47.10
1813	69 03	1838	41.33	1863	32.62	Estim't'd average rate under Mills bill	42.49
1814	46.79	1839	31.77	1864	36.69		
1815	6.84	1840	34.39	1865	47 56		

The reader will be surprised to observe that the highest average rate was in 1813 and the lowest in 1815, although there intervened no important change in the law, and that the rate for 1813 was ten times as high as for 1815. Washington never lived to see the tariff average as high as 20 per cent.—less than half the rate left by the Mills bill—though the year before he died, 1798, shaved it pretty close. It was not until 1813, when the Government was 24 years old, and was in the midst of war, that the average rate reached the point proposed in the Mills bill. It has passed that point in only 27 of the 98 years covered by the table, and 16 of these have been since 1861, when the Morrill bill passed.

The average rate collected in 1857 has been exceeded but thirteen times in our history, and eight of these were before the war. The highest series of rates collected for any term of seven years was from 1824 to 1830, inclusive. It actually averaged for the seven years more than 52 per cent. Numerous other interesting comparisons will occur to the student.

THE RATES ON GOODS IN COMMON USE.

So much for the general average rate collected on all dutiable goods. Now let us tabulate as best we can briefly the history of the rates enacted on certain selected articles of common use. This is a difficult task, for the reason that there are two kinds of tariff taxes—specific and ad valorem. A specific tax or duty is so much on the pound, yard, gallon, barrel or bushel, etc. An ad valorem duty is so much on the dollar's worth. How can we compare these? How can we compare a tax of ten cents a yard, under one tariff, with a tax of twenty per cent. on the cost price, under another tariff? If we knew the foreign cost of the cloth taxed ten cents a yard we could do it, but it is only within recent years that the Government has told us that, or even instructed its custom-house officers to find it out.

To confuse matters still more, the present tariff often levies both kinds of duties on the same article. Thus on one of the six classes into which women's and children's dress goods are divided, the tax is six cents a square yard (specific) and 35 per cent. (ad valorem). But this is not the oddest nor most confusing feature about it, for if the goods weigh over four ounces per square yard the tax is levied in a still different way, and instead of six or eight cents a yard, it is 50 cents a pound, plus the 35 per cent. If past tariffs were as intricate as the present one our task would indeed be hopeless.

But in all tariffs there are clauses stating what the tax shall be on all articles of the several great classes "not otherwise provided for" (n. o p.). Into these n. o. p. clauses are dumped the articles of each great class which the tax layers couldn't think of, or were afraid they couldn't with sufficient accuracy describe in their proper places. The taxes they laid on these were of necessity simple and usually ad valorem, and furnish a key to the mind of the legislator. If he laid a tax of 20 per cent. on cottons "n. o. p." you may well guess that he thought he was putting about an average of 20 per cent. on the cottons he did provide for. The following table occasionally makes this use of the n. o. p. classes, but always with the letters attached:

RATES OF DUTY LEVIED ON ARTICLES OF NECESSITY UNDER ALL TARIFFS SINCE 1791.

Tariff Act of the Year.	Raw Cotton, per lb.	Cotton goods, per cent.	Raw Wool, per cent.	Woolen goods, per cent.	Woolen Blankets.	Wood, unmanufactured, n.o.p.	Wood, manufactured, n. o. p.	Iron manufactures, n. o. p.	Steel manufactures, n. o. p.	Flax manufactures, n. o. p.	Glass, n. o. p.	Earthenware.
1789	free	5	free	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	10	10
1790 91	3c	7½	free	5	5	5	5	7½	5	5	12½	10
1792	3c	7½	free	7½	7½	free	7½	10	10	7½	15	10
1794-5	3c	12½	free	10	10	free	12½	15	15	12½	20	15
1797-1800	3c	15	free	12½	12½	free	12½	15	15	12½	20	15
1804-7-8	3c	17½	free	15	15	free	15	17½	17½	15	22½	17½
1812-15	6c	35	free	30	30	free	30	35	35	30	45	35
1816-19	3c	n.o.p. 20	free	n.o.p. 25	25	free	30	20	20	25	20	20
1824-25	3c	25	15@30	30-33½	25	free	30	25	25	25	2c. a lb. and 20 per ct.	20
1828-30	3c	25	15@50	40@45	35	free	30	25	25	25		20
1832	3c	25	0@80	50	25	free	25	25	25	25		20
1833 { 1836	3c	24	0@78	44	24	free	24	24	24	24		20
" { 1841	3c	23	0@72	38	23	free	23	23	23	23		20
1842	3c	30	5@60	40	25	free	30	30	30	25	25	30
1846	free	25	30	30	20	30	30	30	30	20	30	30
1857	free	19	0@24	24	15	24	24	24	24	15	24	24
1861	free	30	5@20	12c. a lb. & 25 ₽ ct	mixed	20	30	30	30	30	30	20@25
1867	3c	35	*40	50c. & 35 ₽ ct		20	35	35	45	40	40	25@40
1883	free	35	*36	35c. & 35@40	*71	20	35	45	45	40	45	25@60

The figures marked with a * are the average rates collected on the next year's imports. All the others are at the rates embodied in the law.

UPS AND DOWNS OF THE WOOL TARIFF.

The history of the wool tariff needs to be elaborated a little. Down to 1824 wool was free and cotton was taxed. Then wool was divided into two classes, according to value, and if valued at less than ten cents a pound the tax was 15 per cent., otherwise 20, and afterwards 30. In 1828 the tax on high grade wool was enormously increased. For eight years it remained at 4 cents a pound and 40 per cent., and then the compromise tariff began to reduce it a little. The maximum figures given from 1828 to 1842 are the highest that could possibly be collected under the complex law, and doubtless far higher than the average actually collected, though that was probably 50 per cent. In 1832 low grade wool was again made free, and has never since been heavily taxed. Wool is now (since 1867) divided into three classes, "clothing," "combing" and "carpet," and they paid last year 55 per cent., 43 per cent. and 25 per cent. respectively.

THE PRESENT RATE WOULD ONCE HAVE BEEN THOUGHT ROBBERY.

The first tariff was the lightest. It was gradually raised until the war of 1812 broke out, and then it was doubled at a stroke. The genuine high protective system was adopted in 1816, under the influence of Calhoun, who bitterly regretted it. Webster was a free trader when the tariff was raised in 1824, but faced about and helped to raise it again in 1828 This was called the Tariff of Abominations, because the free traders tried to kill it by loading it down with abominations, but to their

great surprise it passed with all its sins upon it. It almost led to war, and did lead to the Compromise Tariff of 1833, which proposed a gradual horizontal reduction. In 1842 the Whigs raised the tariff; in 1846 the Democrats reduced it; in 1857 the new Republican party had got control of the lower house and with Democratic help reduced the tariff again, to the lowest point reached since 1816. Four years later the Republicans adopted the Morrill, or War Tariff, and gradually raised it until 1867; its extremest features being adopted after the war was over. In 1872 they passed a horizontal reduction of 10 per cent., which they repealed two years later.

In 1882 they appointed a Tariff Commission, and it recommended a reduction which would have left the average rate about 30 per cent. on dutiable goods. On the 3d of March, 1883, they passed a law which reduced some duties and raised others, among them, as will be seen by the table, those on glass and earthenware, but leaving the general average about the same. All subsequent reduction bills have failed to pass the lower house until Saturday, July 21, 1888, when the Mills bill placing wool, lumber and some other articles on the free list, and calculated to reduce the average rate on dutiable imports to 42.49 per cent., was passed by a vote of 162 to 149.

CHAPTER XLI.

ENGLISH FEAR OF THE MILLS BILL.

THE STATESMEN, ECONOMISTS AND MANUFACTURERS OF ENGLAND ANXIOUS AND WATCHFUL ABOUT IT.

Since the introduction, discussion and passage of the Mills bill through the House the English newspapers, political as well as the special representatives of the trades and different branches of manufactures, appear to be waking up to a realization of the fact that with more liberal customs laws, whereby manufacturing shall be relieved of some of the burdens put upon it in the matter of raw materials. The English supremacy in the markets of the world is likely to be disputed with more success than has ever yet been done. England has heretofore had only to compete with countries in which the trammels of taxes have been diligently maintained. She has, as the result of this, been able to maintain herself and her manufacturing supremacy in all the newer countries of South America and in her own colonies in different parts of the world.

For several years past English economists and statesmen have been saying to the manufacturers that, so long as the United States maintained a tax on raw materials, which was practically prohibition, they could maintain themselves and their business. They have given warning, as they thought, in the most timely manner, that if these restrictions were ever removed, the manufacturers of the United States, with their enterprise and the efficiency of their labor, would at once leap to the front as the most dangerous competitors to this recognized commercial position ever developed.

I.

Among the earliest to give warning of this was the veteran statesman Gladstone, the admiration of the liberty-loving people of all lands. In an address to a commercial body in Leeds, England, in 1881, he thus expressed his opinion on this question of first importance to the manufacturing elements of England:

Well, now, there is also an idea that America is pursuing a course of profound wisdom in regard to its protective system, and we are told that under the blessed shelter of a system of that kind the tender infancy of trades is cherished, which afterwards, having obtained vigor, will go forth into neutral markets and possess the world. Gentlemen, is that true? America has been too long in various degrees a protective country.

Have the manufacturers of America gone forth and possessed the world? How do they compete with you in those quarters of the world which are, speaking generally, outside the influences of protection? Gentlemen, to the whole of Asia, to the whole of Africa, and to the whole of Australasia—which in the main are outside this question, and may fairly be described in the rough as presenting to us neutral markets, where we meet America without fear or favor one way or the other—the whole of the exports of the United States of manufactured goods of those countries amount to £4,751,000, while the exports to those same quarters from the United Kingdom were £78,140,000.

Gentlemen, the fact is this: America is a young country, with enormous vigor and enormous internal resources. She has committed—I say it, I hope, not with disrespect; I say it with strong and cordial sympathy, but with much regret—she is committing errors of which we set her an example. But from the enormous resources of her home market, the development of which internally is not touched by protection, she is able to commit these errors with less fatal consequences upon her people than we experienced when we committed them; and the enormous development of American resources within casts almost entirely in the shade the puny character of the export of her manufactures to the neutral markets of the world.

I will say this, that as long as America adheres to the protective system, your commercial primacy is secure. Nothing in the world can wrest it from you while America continues to fetter her own strong hands and arms, and with these fettered arms is content to compete with you, who are free, in neutral markets. And as long as America follows the doctrine of protection, or as long as America follows the doctrines now known as those of fair trade, you are perfectly safe, and you need not allow, any of you, even your lightest slumbers to be disturbed by the fear that America will take from you your commercial primacy.

II.

*As the views of the leading statesman of the British Empire have thus been given, it will be interesting to find out what the manufacturers and economists think of it.

In 1882 William Rathborne, a member of the English Parliament, in an essay on "Protection and Communism," in which he represented English feeling on our tariff, spoke as follows:

It would be a great mistake to suppose that at the present time Englishmen were very anxious for their own sakes to see America adopt free trade. There is, on the contrary, a great and growing feeling in this country that it is in the interest of England that the United States should still adhere to protection. As long as they do so it is thought England is safe from her only dangerous competitor in the markets of the world.

At the annual meeting of the Cobden Club in 1882, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who is now so well known in this country, gave his opinion on the question. Mr. Chamberlain is interested personally in the maintenance of the tariff on wood screws, in the manufacture of which he is engaged. This interest has led him to accept large subsidies from American competitors, with the understanding that he would not throw his goods into this market. At the meeting in question this English manufacturer said:

For myself, speaking only as an Englishman, I look forward with anxiety, not unmingled with alarm, to the time when our merchants and manufacturers will have to face the free and unrestricted competition of the great republic of the west, and when the enterprise of its citizens and the unparalleled resources of its soil will no longer be shackled and handicapped by the artificial restrictions which have hitherto impeded the full development of its external commerce.

Lord Brassey, one of the most extensive of English manufacturers, in his "Lectures on the Labor Question," said:

But it must also be remembered that, assuming the cost of labor in the United States to be 25 per cent. in excess of the cost in this country, the addition to the value of the product does not exceed 5 or 6 per cent., and if the duties imposed in the United States on all raw materials should be repealed, and if, as we may reasonably anticipate, the cost of living should be materially lessened, the cost of production under those more favorable circumstances would be so much reduced that the present advantages of the British manufacturer would cease, and there would no longer be a sufficient margin to cover the cost of exportation from this country to America.

In 1879 James Thornly, a representative of the *Textile Manufacturer* of Manchester, England, came to this country to study the cotton industry, as it came into competition with the products of that collection of busy cotton mills. In this industry the free raw materials, giving our manufacturers some conspicuous advan-

*For several of the quotations in this section of the present chapter the compiler takes pleasure in expressing his obligations to Mr. Fred. Perry Powers, from whose brief but suggestive article on "British Interest in American Protection," in *Belford's Magazine* for August, several of the quotations have been culled.

tages, exportation of cotton goods had rapidly increased. Mr. Thornly found that the cost of labor here per yard of product was less than in Manchester, and that the freight on the raw material was, of course, much less. But in spite of these advantages he reported to his people that the mill-owners of Manchester need not indulge in any serious fears of competition from this country. He said in concluding his observation:

> While, however, the American nation heaps duties upon the import of foreign machinery, thus increasing the price of mill construction, and in other ways by her tariff arrangements artificially raising the cost of production, American manufactures will continue too high in price to compete with England in all but exceptional cases.

Professor Cairnes, the leading as well as the ablest of later political economists of England, confirms these views in his "Political Economy," in which he asserts:

> Accordingly, in the United States, as we have seen, coal, iron, lumber, and leather are all loaded with heavy import duties. But what is the consequence? Just this, that American manufacturers are thus deprived of the advantage they would naturally possess of obtaining their raw material cheap. They are placed at a disadvantage in relation to manufacturers in Europe precisely where under free trade their position would be strongest.

Sir Charles Dilke is everywhere recognized as one of the ablest men in England, and one of the most strongly devoted to the cause of free trade. In an interview held with him by a correspondent of a New York paper in London, on August 24th, on the effect which the passage of the Mills Bill would have on English manufactures and commerce, Sir Charles said:

> The uninformed public here have the impression, largely created by your protectionists in America, that the opening of American markets would be of advantage to England. In such an event the manufacturers and capitalists here, who know better, would proceed to unload their interests and enterprises at a profitable advance on the uninformed public. A low tariff policy in America might in this way create a good deal of apparent activity in iron here for a year or so, but after that there would spring up a fierce competition for the markets of the world, in which I am unable to see how England can expect to hold her own. One of the chief elements of our present commercial and shipping predominance has always seemed to me to be that our great natural rival of the New World prefers to feed on her own fat, like the hibernating bear, and leaves us free outside to range the globe.

This makes plain the falsity of the charge so persistently made that the manufacturers of England are so much interested in the reduction of our tariff that they are raising money to promote it. On the other hand, all their selfish interests lie in the direction of the maintenance undisturbed of the existing conditions in this country, under which England has not had any serious competition in the markets of the world.

III.

Not only has this been the position of English statesmen, manufacturers and economists, but the question has been fully discussed from this point of view during the present year, while the President's message and the Mills Bill have been leading topics.

In order to demonstrate this the following extracts are given from recent issues of newspapers in all parts of England:

AGAINST THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND.

From the Birmingham Daily Post, July 28.

> English traders will learn with a good deal of amusement that in the Presidential election campaign in America the great cry which the Republicans are using against Mr. Cleveland is that he is deliberately betraying the interests of American trade for the benefit of English manufacturers. It is scarcely necessary to say that from an English point of view the Mills Tariff Bill by no means bears that aspect. On the whole, its operation will probably be distinctively to our disadvantage. *Only in a few trivial instances the bill reduces the tariff on articles imported from England.* The main object of the measure is, by lightening and in some instances removing the duties on raw material, to lessen the cost of the production of American manufactures, and, of course, *every step in that direction will make the United States a more dangerous competitor of England in all neutral markets.*
>
> It is perfectly clear, therefore, that if the policy of Mr. Cleveland, as embodied in the Mills Tariff Bill and as set forth in the now historic declaration to Congress, has been received with marked satisfaction in England, that satisfaction has not been in any way due to a

sense that the operation of the bill was likely to confer any material advantage on the English trader. That would have been absurd. The cause of the satisfaction was the rebuff which it administered to the fatuous cry for protection in England.

The Mills Bill was not a free trade bill—to so describe it would be a palpable abuse of terms—but it meant, at any rate, an abandonment of high protection, and an admission that protective duties increased the cost of production, and so crippled the nation in its competition with other manufacturing countries in the markets of the world. When Mr. Cleveland's manifesto was make public the fair trade agitation in England, just then at a considerable height, *went out* like a snuffed candle. That was the reason, and the only reason, for the delight with which that manifesto was received in England. If purely selfish considerations had been allowed to sway English opinion, we do not doubt that the feeling amongst clear-sighted English traders would have been rather for the rejection than the acceptance of the Mills Tariff Bill.

The city of Sheffield, England, is, as is well known, the great centre for the manufacture of cutlery. Here, if any where, there might be found joy over the prospect of gaining access to the American market But this joy does not seem to exist, if the leading newspaper of that city may be said, in any way to reflect the opinions of its manufacturers and people.

DOESN'T HAVE A FREE TRADER'S METHOD.

In its issue of July 18, the Sheffield *Daily Telegraph*, a protective paper, said:

President Cleveland is claimed as a Free-Trader. With "moral impenitency of assertion" we will repeat the views of this Free-Trader, as expressed by himself in the message to Congress last year—views since endorsed and amplified: "It has been our policy," he said, "to collect the principal revenue by a tax on imports. No change in this policy is desirable." That is pretty definite for a Free-Trader. He continues:—"But the present condition of affairs constrains the people to demand a revision of the Revenue Laws, so that the receipts may be reduced to what is necessary to cover the expenses of economical administration; and this demand should be recognized and obeyed by Congress. In readjusting the burdens of taxation we should deal cautiously with industries dependent on present conditions, and regard also the interests of American labor. I recommend, keeping in view all these considerations, that the revenue laws be amended so as to cheapen the necessaries of life and give FREER ENTRANCE TO RAW MATERIALS." Did we not know well the methods of Free-Traders we should hope that they would allow these views of Mr. Cleveland's to restrain them from "branding" him as a Free-Trader of their type. But that, with our knowledge, would be, as a great Liberal said of the total repeal of the corn laws, "madness."

WHAT AN ENGLISH FAIR TRADER THINKS.

In the same issue of the *Telegraph*, a correspondent, who is evidently to be classified as an English fair trader, sent that paper a copy of President Cleveland's Tammany Hall Fourth of July letter, and under the head of "representation unmasked," he added:

In consequence of the mis-representation indulged in with respect to President Cleveland's fiscal policy, I venture to enclose the full text of the letter to which allusion has been made.

Now, I have been in America, and I assert without fear of contradiction that you are literally correct in your remark that it is possible to search the States through without coming across a modern Cobdenite. The species is undoubtedly confined exclusively to the British Islands, and is, I am convinced, becoming scarcer and scarcer even there.

There are people in the States who are known as Free Traders, but the term does not mean what it does in England. They are persons who favor import duties on manufactures being reduced, say to 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, while a few are daring enough to name 20 per cent. They also believe in the policy of free raw materials. President Cleveland is insisting on the need of this latter condition, as far as is safe for American interests. The evils to which he alludes in his letter refer to the unnecessary dearness of raw materials, as will be seen by his allusion to the limitation of the area of their markets.

Protectionists, on the other hand, are persons who insist on all-round heavy tariff, which circumstances do not require, and which is productive of many abuses without compensating advantages. Americans are either Fair Traders or protectionists; of Free Traders there are none. President Cleveland is a Fair Trader, labeled for political purposes a Free Trader. Of this he complains, and justly, for the very name stinks in the nostrils of the people, especially of English immigrants. With reference to the letter of that enlightened statesman (in England, with his views, he would be dubbed a raving Protectionist), let me point out—(1) that President Cleveland does not describe import duties as "extortion." It is the "useless and dangerous surplus in the National Treasury" which, he says, "tells no other tale but that of extortion." (2) That so far from accepting the title of Free Trader, President Cleveland repudiates it, rebukes those who have so "branded" him, and declares that he has always been "the friend of American labor."

I leave your readers to judge of the honesty which selects a few words here and there from a communication for purposes of its own, and those purposes quite at variance with the intentions and objects of the communication. Even well-wishers fear to trust this sort of honesty."

THE WIND DOES NOT BLOW IN A FREE TRADE DIRECTION.

The *Telegraph* appeared to be so positive of its position that on the 24th of July, after the vote in the House on the Mills bill, it again enforced it as follows:

The adoption of the Mills Tariff Bill by the House of Representatives has afforded an opportunity of learning what is understood by the term "Free Trade" in the United States. Republicans have persistently described the Mills bill as a "free trade" measure. The average rate of duty fixed by the bill is forty-two dollars forty-nine cents per hundred dollars. Under the bill lumber, wood, hemp, tin plates, and other material would enter American ports duty free. But the average decrease of duty on goods exported from England would be only four dollars sixty-one cents per hundred dollars. Therefore, there is not much spilt milk to cry over, from the protectionist point of view. The bill carries out the principle which we have always understood to do duty for free trade in the States, namely, that certain raw materials should enter the country duty free, but that manufactured imports should be stiffly taxed for revenue purposes. Moreover, even this modified reform is not likely to become law at present. The bill is almost certain to be rejected by the Senate. The value of the vote in the House of Representatives is to show that the wind blows in the direction of fiscal reform, certainly not of free trade.

NO OTHER COUNTRY ADOPTING ENGLAND'S POLICY.

On the following day, July 25, the editor of the *Telegraph* returned with dogged English persistence to the question, and even used the Mills Bill to enforce his own ideas in favor of a tariff, by saying:

Should the Mills Tariff Bill become law in the United States, the effect will not be favorable to the exporting manufacturers of this country. Rightly, Mr. Mills scouts the idea that it is a Free Trade Bill, as Free Trade is understood by the degenerate successors of Mr. Cobden. It grants no special privileges for foreigners. It aims at creating only greater advantages for Americans. Nor is it on the lines of Mr. Cobden's Free Trade. It does not concede the principle of free exchange between nations. It will enable American manufacturers to obtain cheaper raw materials, thus assisting them to become greater exporting competitors with ourselves, but it retains for them their home market.

Neither the people of the States nor of Europe are likely to copy our example, and the lapse of our Cobdenites into the prophetic mood respecting coming Free Trade in America is accountable only from the circumstance that, facts being against them, they are seeking to recall waverers and stimulate the drooping spirits of despondent followers by a repetition of promises which were to have taken effect nearly fifty years ago, but which are still waiting fulfillment in the dimmest of distant futures.

OF GREAT DISADVANTAGE TO ENGLISH BUSINESS.

Turning attention to Birmingham, the very centre of manufacturing industries in England, the *Gazette* of that city, representing the radical free trade policy, which in England is given the name of "Birmingham School," says in its issue of August 1:

It is a ridiculous mistake for them to suppose that English manufacturers are enthusiastic about the revision of the tariff proposed in the Mills Bill, or that they are pleased with any reduction of duty which has for its object the freer admission of those things which America requires to strengthen her manufacturing resources. Sober-minded Americans may take it from us that manufacturers in this country see in every reduction of the American tariff, centering as it always does upon crude or semi-crude material needful to American producers, a fresh blow to their chances of recovering lost business in the States, and (more important still) a grave menace to their trade in the neutral markets. Except in special lines in which American manufacturers have a special aptitude, American competition in the neutral markets of the world has not been, and is not, formidable, and it never will be formidable until one of two things occurs—until the Republic adopts free imports or Great Britain reverts to protection. If free trade were adopted in the United States there would be three fat years for English manufacturers and then the wilderness.

Rational Americans surely cannot suppose that we should be so short-sighted as to rejoice over such a prospect. We should not only lose the American market to a larger extent than we have lost it already, but we should in a few years be elbowed out of the Colonies, out of South America, South Africa, China, and in some degree probably out of India also. *We cannot afford to pit our resources against those of Connecticut and Pennsylvania on equal terms, and much as we regret the gradual exclusion of our products from the States by the action of the tariff, we know well enough that if there had been no tariff the same result would have taken place by the action of a competition in which American manufacturers were not hampered by high prices for material. The Democratic Tariff Bill is not a free trade measure; it is a Bill which adjusts a Protectionist policy on scientific principles, and if Englishmen had to choose they would much prefer the unscientific tariff which it is intended to supersede.*

VERY LITTLE INTEREST TAKEN IN THE MOVEMENT.

The Manchester *Guardian*, the ablest of all the provincial papers of England, in its issue of July 23, in the course of a long editorial on the passage of the Mills Bill in the House, said:

The Republicans are seeking to cast odium upon their opponents by dubbing them "Free-traders," a name which until recent years was almost as distasteful to the average American as is that of Protectionest to the average Englishman. But, in truth, free trade as we understand the term, never has been and is not likely soon to be a Democratic doctrine. There is an obvious purpose in this Republican taunt. The design is to catch the Irish vote by representing Mr. Cleveland as the friend and ally of free-trade England. Enormous quantities of tracts and leaflets are being distributed amongst the people, setting forth this supposed alliance of the President, and quoting abundantly the articles of English newspapers in which any kind of admiration of Mr. Cleveland or of his official conduct is expressed. We are represented as being overjoyed at the prospect of being able, with the aid of Mr. Cleveland and his party, very soon to "flood" the American markets with the products of our "pauper labor." This is an old device, and although it has lost much of its ancient force, it may to a certain extent serve the end in view. Everyone on this side the ocean is aware, however, that the prospect of tariff reform is viewed here with satisfaction on one ground only. The mass of our people believe in free trade, as Americans believe in Republicanism, and just as the latter take pleasure in anything pointing to the growth of their idea of the best form of national government, so we are undoubtedly rejoiced at the prospect of any step which may tend to enlarge international commercial intercourse.

Moreover, the Republican leaders cannot be ignorant of the fact that most Englishmen take not the slightest interest in the tariff reform movement in America, whilst many far-seeing persons amongst us regard the adoption of anything like free trade in the United States as likely to make the latter much keener competitors with us in neutral markets than they are now. Such men do not look upon President Cleveland's policy with satisfaction. Having regard to their own interests alone, they would much rather see the present system of high Protection maintained. Others again, think that the present policy of the Democrats is likely to retard rather than to hasten on the progress of tariff reform. These argue that if left alone, the existing tariff will in the course of a few years bring on a crisis, under pressure of which Protectionism will be entirely swept away at a blow. Such considerations as these go to show that, save only as a means of promoting international commerce and international friendliness, there is no strong desire in this country for the success of the Democratic policy.

WHAT THE GLADSTONE ORGAN THINKS OF IT.

Turning from this expression of opinion in the manufacturing districts of England to the London papers, the same general fear of injury finds expression. The *Daily News* is the organ of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party, and is the only one of the great morning newspapers of London which has supported the Irish demand for Home Rule. On July 24, in a local discussing the Mills Bill, the *News* said:

It has been the habit of the Republicans to deride every attempt of the Democrats at Reform of the Tariff as a Free Trade measure. It is their way of giving a dog a bad name. They have employed most specious pleading to convince the workingmen that the President of the United States, as well as the majority in Congress led by Mr. Mills, have attempted reform in the interest of British traders, and that the Bill under consideration, if passed, would swamp the industries of the States. The *New York Tribune*, the organ of the Protectionists *par excellence*, only recently said in one of its leading columns, "As a British candidate, as a representative of British manufacturing interests, Mr. Cleveland is admirable," &c., &c. The true issue was very plainly stated by Mr. Cleveland in his famous message to Congress last December. Mr. Cleveland urges a reduction of the surplus by removing the duties upon raw wool and other raw materials necessary in manufacturing, and a reduction of the duties upon manufactures and necessaries of life, based upon these altered conditions. The President has, however, emphatically protested against the attempt to brand those who seek to correct the evils of the existing system of rabid Protectionism "as Free Traders and enemies of our workingmen and industrial enterprises."

Whether English traders and manufacturers have reason to congratulate themselves, or to expect an increase of trade with the States from the ultimate enactment of the Mills Bill, is a question of grave doubt. An examination of the bill seems to show that, if anything, while reducing taxation, it is more Protectionist than the law which it is intended to supersede. The present American tariff is a war tariff, and it was based on the necessity of taxing all and every commodity that could possibly be taxed. Many of its provisions are due to the fact that inland duties had to be compensated by equivalent import duties. These inland duties have long been removed, while all equivalent import duties have remained. Thus, in point of fact, the tariff, beside being practically higher now than at its highest before, is absolutely increased in its protective features by this removal of equivalent inland duties.

SOME TRADE PAPER OPINIONS.

Carrying the examination still further into the trade papers, the following expressions may be noted:

[*London Warehouseman and Drapers' Trade Journal.*]

A tariff bill which leaves an average duty of forty-two and one-half per cent. upon all imported articles is very far from being a "free trade measure." Nor is it at all certain that if a free-trade policy were adopted by the United States it would be any special advantage to us. They would certainly become much more formidable as competitors in the world's markets.

[*Engineering Trades' Report, London.*]

In the United States free-trade principles which, till recently, have only met with a lukewarm support from a minority of the people, are likely soon to receive more attention, the issue being forced in the coming Presidential election. The inconveniences and losses which must always attend a radical alteration of fiscal policy will, however, hinder any sudden change, and the manufacturers of the country need not anticipate for some years to come *the serious competition which will arise in foreign markets directly their American rivals are free to sell abroad.*

[*From the London Shipping World for August.*]

It answers the purpose of American journals opposed to the Administration and re-election of President Cleveland to pretend that Mr. Mills's bill is framed in the interest of British manufactures and commerce! The *New York Tribune*, describing the scene in the House of Representatives during the closing period of Mr. Mills's speech, tells us that "the gallery reserved for the members and attaches of the Diplomatic Corps contained the representatives of the British Embassy, and other foreign legations from countries which stand ready to pounce upon the richest market in the world, if the Free Traders succeed in their scheme."

It is scarcely worth noticing observations of this class, which are, indeed, appeals to the prejudices of that section of the American people who have not thought out the great economic problem of their country. The political representatives of this country at the Republican court are aware, or should be aware, that the best thinkers, and the most astute manufacturers of England, know full well that, so long as the present tariff is maintained by the United States, that enterprising country will be so hampered and handicapped in the race for ascendency in the International market that it can never compete against this country with any reasonable hope of success.

Europe receives from America, in considerable quantities, manufactured articles such as agricultural implements, boots and shoes, etc.; and it does not seem to be a very abstruse proposition—that if the duty upon the articles used in the manufacture of these exports were taken off they could be produced at less cost, could be exported in larger quantites, and would yield a better return of remuneration to those engaged in their manufacture.

So long as the price of articles exported is enhanced by a high tariff upon the materials used in their production, so long, also, will it be impossible for the United States successfully to compete with us in the markets of the world.

Knowing this, we are in no hurry to see Free Trade become the national policy of the United States; for whomsoever might be benefited by that policy, serious loss would, undoubtedly, eventually be ours.

Even in Germany, where protection has been made more rigid during the past ten years, the *Monthly for Textile Industry*, a trade paper of Leipsic, expresses the same fear as the newspapers of England are shown to feel. In a recent number it said:

It is well known that Germany participates largely in the export of woolen goods to the United States, and it is now asked how far the abolition of the American duty on wool will affect German woolen industries. The question may be answered by saying that the effect is not likely to be a favorable one, because it is thought that the American woolen industry, upon the removal of the import duty, will improve and progress in such measure as to curtail our woolen goods export trade to that country.

These are only specimens of the opinions held by the people of foreign countries on the question of tariff revision now under discussion here. But they show as plainly as anything can that the proposed removal of hard restrictions is looked upon with anything but satisfaction by the commercial rivals of this country. Sensible people can see plainly from these that the charges made by Republican newspapers are as false as they are idle. These few extracts are a complete refutation of the charge that any man in any party in this country has considered anything but the good of their own people.

CHAPTER XLII.

"FAT" IN THE TARIFF.

AN EXPERT REPUBLICAN OPINION ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TARIFF BENEFITS.

What a Senator Has to Say on the Question—An Unusually Pithy Letter Included in an Official Republican Document Soliciting Contributions.

James P. Foster of New York is President of the Republican League of the United States, organized in December last as an auxiliary to the general and local committees of the party. He had not been long in place until he concluded that he wanted some money to promote the cause, so he issued a circular which included within it a letter written to him by Senator Edmunds of Vermont, which not being intended for publication, told an amount of truth truly unusual. The following is the full text of the circular—the most successful political boomerang ever thrown in American politics:

I.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

[Dictated.]

Office of
ALBERT DAGGETT,
51 New Street,
(*Room* 12)
NEW YORK, May 25, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been requested to submit the enclosed communication to you, and I do so with the greatest pleasure. With my knowledge of *practical* politics, I unhesitatingly say that this is the most important undertaking in the campaign of 1888, and I confidently rely upon your prompt endorsement and assistance. Will you kindly subscribe and return the enclosed subscription list to me at as early a day as practicable, as the work is outgrowing the resources of the League, which now contains over 5,000 clubs, with a membership of half-a-million voters?

Very truly yours,

[Enclosure.] ALBERT DAGGETT.

[Confidential.]

[Dictated.]

HEADQUARTERS
of the
REPUBLICAN LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NEW YORK, May 25, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: The Republican League of the United States desires to bring you face to face with the startling fact that the coming Presidential election is not to be fought on the old party lines which have heretofore divided Democrats and Republicans, but upon the direct issue of free trade *vs.* protection.

The League stands for protection and is fighting in your interest. It is no Fourth of July organization for dress parade, but is an every-day working force of practical political workers, who have in four months enrolled an army of over 400,000 men to fight against British free-trade ideas, British gold, and Democratic Hessians, who are fighting under her banners. It is useless to argue the case; Democracy stands for free trade and against your interests, and you know it, no matter whether you have heretofore been a Democrat or a Republican. High-sounding platforms of words cannot gainsay this fact, nor fool you unless you wish to be fooled.

The coming campaign will be fought for protection under disadvantages never before encountered. Ninety-nine per cent. of the Federal officials are Democrats, and will contribute financially to the hoped-for success of the free-traders. Never before has the Democratic free-trade or "tariff-reform" party been in so fortunate a position.

The Republican League is not composed of theorists who are for ever promising to do something and never keeping their promises. It has already done more than any other political organization ever attempted before the Presidential candidates had been placed in the field. As our patriotic volunteers sprang to the country's defense when secession threatened its destruction, so at the call of the League vast armies have been enrolled to fight the thousand times more dangerous foe to the country's continued prosperity—free trade.

We will win this fight if you will do your share and help us to finish what we have begun; we want money, and want it at once. We are overwhelmed with calls for tariff documents and for speakers and organizers. We propose to organize and fight against free trade in every doubtful Congressional and Legislative district in the United States. To-day there is but one majority in the Senate of the United States when the lines are drawn between Democrats and Republicans, and unless much is done, the next Congress will see a free-trade House, Senate, and President, and then good-by to your prosperity.

It may not be of your personal knowledge, *but it is a fact, nevertheless, that the manufacturers of the United States who are most benefited by our tariff laws have been the least willing to contribute to the success of the party which gave them protection*, and which is about to engage in a life-and-death struggle with free trade.

A Republican United States Senator, from a State which never had a Democratic representative in either house of Congress or a Democratic State officer, in speaking of the *well-known disposition of the manufacturing interest to lock up its money, fold its hands, and look on while somebody else fights for its success*, says:

"The campaign which we are about to enter will concern, more than anybody else, the manufacturers of this country. They have heretofore been very laggard in

their contributions to the Republican cause. *In fact, if I could punish them without punishing the cause of protection itself, I would consign them to the hottest place I could think of on account of their cravenal parsimony. If this class of people do not care to contribute to the success of the Republican party, they are welcome to try their chances under a Democratic administration: I can stand it as long as they can.*" And, again: "I was solicited to contribute to a protective-tariff league, and I replied that if the *manufacturers of the United States in their associated capacity were an eleemosynary institution, that I would vote to give them a pension, but that I did not propose myself to contribute money to advance the interests of men who were getting practically the sole benefit, or at least the most directly important benefits of the tariff laws.* I am in favor of protection, not precisely the kind we are having, but I might be willing to keep even that rather than not have any, but I am sure I can get along without any of it fully as well as the manufacturers can, and if they think the Republican party is going to maintain a high protective corps for their benefit, and the men who do the work in that party are going to keep up the expenses of a campaign out of their own pockets, *leaving them to reap the fruits of the tariff policy without any deduction for political expenses*, they are very greatly mistaken. I understand that in a general way the manufacturers of New England have been more liberal in their contributions than those of Pennsylvania.

"In fact, I have it from the best possible source that the *manufacturers of Pennsylvania, who are more highly protected than anybody else, and who make large fortunes every year when times are prosperous*, practically give nothing towards the maintenance of the ascendency of the Republican party. Of course, I shall not violate what I consider to be proper principle of action; but *if I had my way about it, I would put the manufacturers of Pennsylvania under the fire and fry all the fat out of them.* If the Mills Tariff Bill comes to the Senate, there will be some votes cast there which will open the eyes of some of these people who have, while gathering their millions, treated the Republican party as their humblest servant."

These are strong words, and bitter, but they are true, and it now remains with you and your associates to determine whether they are to be reiterated after this campaign is over, and protection has, through your apathy, been struck its death blow. If you give us the means to win the victory, we will do it. Are you willing?

Yours very truly,

JAMES P. FOSTER, President.

II.

WHY HE CAN NOT HELP.

A REPUBLICAN MANUFACTURER WHO DOESN'T PROPOSE TO HAVE ANY FAT FRIED OUT OF HIM IF HE KNOWS IT.

A Republican manufacturer in North Adams, Mass., who has received a copy of the interesting circular sent out by James P. Foster, President of the Republican League of the United States, has written a letter explaining why he can not send Mr. Foster any "fat." He says that the company with which he is associated is engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods, and is therefore "one of the protected industries of New England," and adds:

"As a manufacturer I see clearly that a reasonable tariff is necessary to the life of industrial New England, but being a manufacturer (even a Republican one) does not prevent my also seeing that our present tariff needs reforming, and moreover, what is more to the point, that reform is bound to come whether we want it or not.

"If during the past four months the Republican leaders in and out of Congress had brought to the question a sincere desire to do that which should be best for the country, there could now be no burning tariff issues. And what is this going on in Congress while I write? The Republican members fighting, as if for the very life of the republic, to maintain the tax on lumber—to protect the men who are killing the immature and insufficient forests and tax the people to pay for it!

"Is there a man of sense in New England who believes that the country as a whole will endorse that sort of 'protection' when the time comes for them to pass upon it? I repeat that tariff reform is bound to come, and if we will not help to fairly settle the question it will be settled without our help. How, then, shall we successfully meet the storm and save that which is good?

"Can it be done merely with a yell against 'free trade' and bearing a protection idol in one hand and free whiskey in the other, or by simply talking of the protection of the American laborer, while we leave the flood-gates of Europe open to pour in 'American laborers' upon us, or by blindly following the leadership that is leading us straight into the ditch, through opposing anything and everything not originating with the Republican party? Hardly. If we want any part in this matter we must ourselves become sincere and reasonable tariff reformers."

III.

THE ADVICE GIVEN BY A SENATOR.

THE NOW CELEBRATED LETTER WHICH SENATOR INGALLS WROTE TO HIS KANSAS FRIEND.

VICE PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, *June* 16.

Yours of the 13th at hand. It does not make much difference who is nominated, in my judgment. The candidates will cut but a small figure in the fight. We can elect anybody, or we shall fail. The least conspicuous, and therefore the least complicated, man will be the best—somebody like Hayes in 1876.

Among all the men named there is not one "leader," no one whose personal or historical relations to the people would make a difference of 1,000 votes in the canvass. Sherman, Allison, Harrison, etc., have records that would be awkward on the tariff, the currency, the Chinese question, etc. Depew's connection with railroads and corporations would be a heavy load, especially in the agricultural States. We might as well nominate Gould or Vanderbilt at once.

My impression is that Alger or Gresham come nearer filling the bill than any of the others, with some fellow like Phelps of New Jersey, who could reach the conservative forces of the East and get contributions from the manufacturers and Wall street. But you can judge much better than I what is best after consulting with the delegates.

I have the use of the wires during the convention, by the courtesy of the company, and you can therefore telegraph me fully at all times if anything of interest transpires.

Truly yours,

JOHN J. INGALLS.

THE SAME LETTER AS READ AND PUNCTUATED ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE.

The Clerk read as follows:

CHICAGO, *June* 23, 1888.

The following letter from Senator John J. Ingalls was received by a member of the Kansas delegation in the convention:

"VICE PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER, *Washington, June* 16, 1888.

"Yours of the 13th at hand. It does not make much difference who is nominated, in my judgment. The candidates will cut but a small figure in the fight. We can elect anybody or we shall fail.

[Laughter on the Democratic side.]

"The least conspicuous, and therefore the least complicated man will be the best—

[Laughter on the Democratic side.]

somebody like Hayes—

[Renewed laughter, long continued.]

in 1876. Among all the men named there is not one leader—no one whose personal or historical relations to the people would make a difference of 1,000 votes in the canvass. Sherman, Allison, Harrison, etc., have records that would be awkward on the tariff—

[Applause on the Democratic side.]

the currency, the Chinese question—

[Renewed applause on the Democratic side.]

etc.

"Depew's connection with railroads and corporations would be a heavy load, especially in the agricultural States. We might as well nominate Gould or Vanderbilt at once. My impression is that Alger or Gresham comes nearer filling the bill than any of the others, with some fellow like Phelps, of New Jersey—

[Laughter on the Democratic side.]

who could reach the conservative forces of the East and get contributions—

[Renewed laughter.]

from the manufacturers and Wall street. But you can judge much better than I what is best after consulting with the delegates.

"I have the use of the wires during the convention by the courtesy of the company, and you can therefore telegraph me fully at all times if anything of interest transpires. Truly yours,

JOHN J. INGALLS."

[Shouts of laughter and applause on the Democratic side, long continued.]

IV.

IS NOT AFRAID OF TARIFF REVISION.

AN OLD REPUBLICAN MANUFACTURER WHO IS NOT SCARED BY THE FREE TRADE CRY SO FREELY INDULGED IN.

The Republicans of Massachusetts are not having the best success in soliciting funds from manufacturers. The Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Holyoke Republican Club recently solicited a contribution from Mr. Arthur T. Lyman, who is the Treasurer of the Hadley Thread Company, of Holyoke, as well as of the Lowell Manufacturing Company, of Lowell. In reply Mr. Lyman wrote the following letter:

BOSTON, July 13.

Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Holyoke Republican Club:

DEAR SIR:—I have yours of the 12th, asking for a contribution for the Republican Club. I am of course deeply interested in the tariff as regards the Hadley Company, and also in its bearing on many other cotton and woolen manufactures in which I am interested, but in my opinion the Republican members of Congress from New England and the Home Market Club and the Woolen Manufacturers' Association have practically done more harm to the cause of protection and to the protected (so-called) industries of Massachusetts than the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee. I have had occasion to see some of the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, and to hear of the plans and views of others, and I am convinced that but for the action of the Republican members of Congress from New England and of the greater part of the Republican manufacturers of New England, we could have had in the Mills bill satisfactory schedules for woolens and cottons.

As it is, at the request of some manufacturers (Republicans) made through the Democratic members from Massachusetts, the Democrats of the Ways and Means Committee altered and advanced rates on some important items, while we were met, I am informed, by Republican members of the House, saying: "Leave the schedule as it is; it is better for the election." The Republicans now refuse to aid in putting new materials on the free list, and certainly in New England free raw material has been considered as an element in protection almost as essential as the duty on manufactured articles. From my business experience in both importing and manufacturing, I am fully aware of the necessity of protection for the maintenance here of certain manufactures, and I very much regret that the Republican party, with which I have acted from its beginning, has, for political success, taken a position which I consider hostile in its practical effects to the protected industries of Massachusetts.

The Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee take broad, and on the whole, reasonable, views of the tariff question, and while of course they look at the interest of the United States as a whole, they do not ignore the fact that many great industries have grown up in this country under the high duties made necessary by the war of the rebellion, and that it is only fair and proper that consideration should be paid to their existence and condition. Neither do they ignore the fact that the working people in the protected industries are very largely members of the Democratic party.

Besides the consideration that my manufacturing interests have been put at needless risk by the partisan action of the Republicans, I must also take into consideration the interests of the whole country, in which we are all involved, and I cannot feel it to be right to vote for any one who can honestly stand on the Republican platform. Most of the Republicans with whom I have spoken about it have told me that they have not read it. I can readily believe that it would be disagreeable reading to Republicans, who in the past have in all honesty desired to have raw materials and food products on the free list. But the exigencies of practical politics have forced the party into a false position as regards the tariff, and into many unwise and dangerous relations in regard to the domestic and foreign affairs of the country.

There is practically no party in this country in favor of free trade in any reasonable sense of the term, and it is as unfair to call the Mills Bill a free-trade bill as it is to say that the Republicans are in favor of free drinking of whiskey, because the manufacturers of protected articles have several years insisted that all internal taxes should be taken off in order that it should be impossible to alter the duties on imports. While the Mills Bill is not a bill that wholly commends itself to me, it is correct and for the interest of Massachusetts, in many particulars, notably in the matter of free wool. Every manufacturing country in the world of any consequence except the United States, has wool on the free list. The position which the Republican party has taken, makes it well for the country, as it seems to me, that it should not have the control of the Government for the next four years.

ARTHUR T. LYMAN.

CHAPTER XLIII.

REASONS IN FAVOR OF TAX REVISION.

MEN OF EVERY PROFESSION AND EMPLOYMENT WHO DO NOT BELIEVE IN BURDENSOME TAXES.

I.

OPINIONS OF OPERATIVES.

TEXTILE-WORKERS WHO SAY THAT THE PRESENT LAWS FAIL TO GIVE THE WORKER HIS SHARE OF THE PROTECTION CLAIMED FOR HIM.

The following petition from workers in the textile industries of Philadelphia was presented to the House on June 29, by Mr. Breckenridge of Kentucky:

To the Honorable the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

When the forty thousand textile workers of Philadelphia, in April, 1886, made the appeal to you, through the Committee on Ways and Means, for relief from the outrageous inequalities, discriminations and oppressions of the present tariff laws, it was hoped by them that their demands, reasonable as they were, would be heeded, and that partisan, sectional, or class considerations would not be allowed to stand in the way of the doing of a simple act of justice and the righting of the most glaring wrongs. It was the first time that the workingmen spoke on the subject, uninfluenced by any outside pressure or coercion, but the answer has been the failure to perfect a measure of relief.

Hence, it becomes necessary to renew the appeal, and in doing so we beg leave to submit the reasons and causes that inspire us to this act.

The condition of the textile industries, especially the woolen trade, has been growing worse, the working time in the mills is being shortened, and the wages are being pared down just in proportion as the strain upon the physical exertions of the toiler increases, and we are forced to compete with labor in other parts of our own country that is paid no more than is the much-talked-of "pauper labor" of Europe, and as all this has taken place under a system that is declared to be for the "protection of American labor," are we not justified in making inquiries, with the aid of our experience, as to whether it is so or not?

If there is any virtue in the theory that in order to protect American labor against ruinous foreign competition it is necessary to place a tax upon goods that are brought in from countries where labor is cheaper, it follows that these taxes should in all cases correspond with the amount and cost of labor required upon such goods in their successive stages of manufacture, but this obviously plain and honest rule has never been observed in any tariff law which its framers claimed to be for the protection of labor. That the reverse has been the case naturally excites the suspicion that the design was to crush rather than help labor. In the woolen industry, as in many others, the tax on the raw materials neutralizes the tax on the finished fabrics, and taking quality into account, the tax always graduates down-

ward against quality instead of upwards with it, and in every case exceeds by three to four times the entire labor cost in the product. To call such laws "protective to labor" is a fraud and deception, and labor has a right to protest against the perpetrators of these wrongs being allowed to any longer influence legislation on this subject.

According to Bowes & Co., an accepted authority, 100 pounds of greasy wool will make 21.45 pounds of finished cloth, and on this basis it will require 530 pounds of greasy wool to make 100 yards of cloth with backing, weighing 18 ounces to the yard. Suppose this cloth is made of four different kinds of wool, the cost to the English manufacturer would be—

150 pounds of fourth quality, at 12 cents	$18.00
130 pounds of third quality, at 24 cents	31 20
125 pounds of second quality, at 26 cents	32 50
125 pounds of first quality, at 33 cents	41.25
Total cost of wool	122.95

With precisely the same grades of wool the cost to the American manufacturer would be—

150 pounds of fourth quality, at 23.94 cents	$35 91
130 pounds of third quality, at 37.54 cents	48.80
125 pounds of second quality, at 39.64 cents	49.55
125 pounds of first quality, at 49.61 cents	62.01
Total cost of wool	196.27
Excess of cost to the American manufacturer	73.32

The total cost for labor in making this cloth is not over 27 cents per yard, or $27 for the whole, showing that the tariff-enhanced cost of the material is nearly three times the entire expense for labor.

The importations of woolen and worsted yarns for the years 1886-'87 were 7,039,448 pounds, valued at $4,030,738, on which duties were paid amounting to $2,777,582. The amount of wool required to make this yarn is 28,157,792 pounds. The duty on the wool would be $2,815,779, and adding the charges for carrying the duty we have a total tax burden on the wool of $3,097,356, or $319,776 in excess of the duty on the yarn. The total cost for labor in making this yarn is not over $700,000, showing that the tax on the wool is nearly four and a half times the total labor cost in the yarn. This, on the theory advanced by the modern protection school, can be called by no other name than protection to foreign manufacturers and labor.

The per cent. of duty on the yarn is 69.11, and on the cloth 70.40, a difference of but 1.29 per cent.; but as there is a loss by waste and shrinkage in weaving, dyeing, and finishing of 3 to 5 per cent., we find that this difference between the yarn duty and that on the cloth is more than neutralized, and thus the "protective" duty is again in favor of the foreign cloth manufacturers, who could not have done better for themselves if they had been permitted to make our tariff laws for us.

Under the present law the percentage of duty on the finer and more costly fabrics is always lower than on the coarser and cheaper grades, thus depriving us of the chance to work upon the better class of goods, upon which our work would be lightest and our earnings largest.

The importation of woolen and worsted cloths for the year ended June 30, 1887, was, of the value not exceeding 80 cents per pound, 1,117,564 pounds, valued at $713,815, on which duties were paid amounting to $640,808. Per cent. of duty, 89.84. Value above 80 cents per pound, 7,689,699 pounds, valued at $9,309,054, on which duties were paid to the amount of $6,415,016. Per cent. of duty, 68.91.

HOW DISCRIMINATIONS INJURE THE MANUFACTURER.

This shows how we are crippled, both in our earning powers and in the exercise of our skill by the infamous discriminations of the tariff, which at the same time make the burdens upon the rich comparatively lighter than upon the poor.

It is no stretch of truth to say that these discriminations against the manufacturing industries have very materially discouraged the use of wool and promoted the substitution of adulterants, most manufacturers having for some time given more attention to the manipulation of substitutes, so as to give them the appearance and touch of wool, than to the matter of improvements in the making of pure woolens in order to compete in quality with their foreign rivals. This has given rise to the impression that we are less skilled than the European workmen, yet it is self-evident that it requires as much if not more skill to work up the adulterants so as to give them a marketable appearance as to manipulate the genuine materials.

A great deal of stuff is put upon the markets now as cassimeres, etc., that does not contain over ten per cent. of wool. Manufacturers who attempt to make nothing but pure woolens are compelled to close their mills. To make stuffs that shall compete in the markets with foreign makes in texture and variety, it is almost invariably necessary to use some wools of foreign growth for mixing with the domestic; but as the tariff enhances the cost of these wools by from 25 to 150 per cent, there is no possibility of the American manufacturer using them in competition, and hence we are forced to give over to the foreign manufacturers the monopoly of all the markets and allow them to supply our own people with goods into which not a pound of American wool enters. Thus the woolen manufactures imported in 1887 amounted to 49,000,000 pounds, which, at 4 pounds of raw wool to the pound of finished product, represented 196,000,000 pounds of wool, which, with the 115,000,000 pounds of raw wool, makes a total importation of 311,000,000 pounds, or considerably more than the entire wool-clip of the United States. If all this had come in free in the raw state, it would have absorbed for mixture a large quantity of domestic wool, instead of every pound that did come in anyhow displacing a pound of American wool, and at the same time depriving American labor of employment and our poor people of the comfort of woolen clothing.

From a statement recently made public by a leading carpet manufacturer, we gleam the fact that ingrain carpets which formerly were made largely of wool are now made of an average of one-fifth wool and four-fifths adulterants, and in the whole of the carpet industry probably not a million pounds of domestic wool is now used. There is no carpet wool raised in this country, and yet a tax of over 26 per cent., which far exceeds all the wages paid in the manufacture of carpets, is still imposed upon the wool which is necessarily brought in from the outside. If this wool were admitted free, a greater quantity would be used, and probably not less than 10,000,000 pounds of domestic wool would be absorbed for mixture.

For these reasons we fail to see how the wool-growers are benefited by the tariff on wool, as it inevitably restricts the market for their wool, both by forcing the use of substitutes and by promoting the importation of wool in the manufactured state, all of which must redound to the injury of both the wool-grower and the wool-worker.

HOW TRUSTS ARE ENCOURAGED.

If protection protects, or if the present tariff arrangement is really beneficial to the manufacturing industries, why do the manufacturers find it necessary to form "combines," "arrangements," or "understandings" in order to protect themselves against what they term a demoralized market? Why should they adopt the suicidal policy of reducing the wages of labor, which can not but curtail the absorption of their wares and thus injure their business? Why do workingmen find it necessary to organize for self-protection against the very men who are loudest in their demands for more tariff upon the plea that labor "must be protected?" Men who are really protected need not go to the trouble and expenses of protecting themselves. As "charity begins at home," would it not be more consistent for the protected and protectionist employers to show by the bettering of wages of their employes and by treating them as men—freemen if you please—that their cry for more taxes is not raised solely for their own benefit, and that they are ready to make true the oft repeated declaration that protection to the manufacturer will enable him to pay high wages?

Now, as he has just the protection he wants, and is still cutting down wages, is it not evident that he is either wrong in his protection theory or is playing "heads

I win and tails you lose" with his workingmen? Surely no sane man can see in the "trusts" and "arrangements" of the capitalists and the frantic efforts of labor to hold its own against the encroachments of combined capitalists aught else but the positive and practical proof that protection of labor by a tariff, or by any other tax upon its products, is worse than a failure, because it neutralizes the natural advantages of our country and disarranges the natural course of trade, and thus must result in the destruction of labor. When the manufacturer closes his mill, or lays off any of his hands, he will invariably give as an excuse the bad state of trade, an honest acknowledgment that it is trade that keeps the mill going, and hence is a good thing to keep labor steadily employed and give it a chance for better wages. Now, it is always the part of wisdom to protect ourselves against a bad thing, but it has fallen to the lot of the protectionists to discover the utility of protecting ourselves against a good thing, and in order to accomplish this to tax ourselves to spite and impoverish some one else.

That the protectionist manufacturers do not altogether believe in this theory is evidenced by the fact that they have here an association which has for its object, among others, the securement of a higher tariff for the protection of American labor, and by unity of action, to be better prepared to resist the demands of labor for more wages. But if they really do believe that people can become rich by taxing themselves why do they not try the experiment by taxing themselves to pay us more wages, or why do they resist all our efforts in that direction? It would surely be as cheap, or cheaper, to tax themselves to pay us a little more than it is to tax themselves to pay to the raw-material men much more than our entire wages amount to. Is not this evidence that they are in favor of those taxes of which the largest share flows back into their pockets and falls with crushing weight upon us? Hence we have just cause to demand such a change of the laws as will secure a more equitable distribution of the benefits amongst all the people.

But there is danger in this theory of protection in this, that it involves the delegation or transference of the taxing power to individuals and corporations, thus placing the greatest and widest of all governmental powers and responsibilities into the hands of irresponsible men, whose greed will thus be stimulated to such a degree that soon classes will be created which will be specially interested, and will be powerful enough to override the will of the people and make ours a government of, by, and for the classes. As we as a nation are already tending towards customs and conditions indigenous to European monarchical institutions, are we not justified in sounding the alarm now? And as these tendencies are due solely to the drift of legislation towards restrictions upon the natural powers and privileges of the people, is it not time to turn about and see if by going in the direction of more freedom we will not the more quickly realize the anticipations of the founders of the Republic of making this the most free, and therefore the most prosperous, country on earth, thus setting an example to the world that will cause all other nations to imitate us.

THE BURDENS OF TAXATION.

Can it be said that the burdens of taxation are not excessive when they are equal to two dollars for every one dollar of wealth accumulated by the whole people; when they absorb nearly, if not quite, one half of the earnings of labor, falling ten to twenty times heavier upon those who labor for a living than upon those whose income is from capital, and when they are accumulating in the national Treasury by a hundred million dollars or more, taken from the channels of trade and locked up to be a source of temptation for every political trimmer, jobber and subsidy shark in the country? When we reflect that this sum, if left among the people to fulfill its legitimate functions in trade, would naturally foster the distribution and absorption of the products of labor to more than ten times the amount of the surplus, we can readily appreciate the full measure of the damage done to labor by the accumulation and locking up of a surplus.

Ignoring the influence of material conditions upon the wages of labor, they have told us that the laying on of these taxes was necessary to keep up the high standard of American wages. If this were correct it would follow that the propor-

tion of wages to materials should have increased during the period of protection. But what are the facts?

In 1850 the proportion of value of materials to the wages of labor in the manufactures was 70 to material, 30 to labor; in 1860, 74¼ to material, 25¾ to labor; in 1870, 76¼ to material, 23¾ to labor; in 1880, 78 to material, 22 to labor; and now it is about 80 to material, 20 to labor.

Accepting the theory of the modern protection school these figures would furnish the indubitable proof that the tariff has had the effect of raising the cost of the materials and depressing the wages of labor; and when we take in connection with this the wonderful advance in the efficiency of labor during the same period, this table stands as a most terrible indictment against those whose bungling legislation has wrought the mischief.

The relative productivity and earnings of the woolen and worsted weavers in the United States and England will show, too, whether the high standard of wages has been kept up here; and to make the comparison perfectly fair, we will presume that both weave the same class of goods, 80 picks to the inch:

Speed of loom, United States, average, 85 picks per minute.
Speed of loom, England, maximum, 60 picks per minute.
Hours of labor, United States, 60 per week.
Hours of labor, England, 54 per week.
Product per weaver per week of continuous work, United States, 106 yards.
Product per weaver per week of continuous work, England, 68 yards.

The average loss of time caused by breakages, etc., being about one-fifth the net product per week, would be in the—

United States, 85 yards.
England, 54 yards.

The highest average rate of wages paid in this country for this class of work is 2 mills per pick per yard, or 16 cents per yard for 80 pick work, and if the same rate was paid in England it would follow that the American weaver can earn a possible wage of $13.60 cents per week to the English weaver's possible $8.64. Of course the actual earnings are less in both cases, but the relative difference will not vary either on a rise or fall. The earnings, however, vary so much throughout our own country as to bring the time earnings of our weavers in some cases even lower than the time earnings of some of the European weavers, as will be seen from the following table, compiled from the first annual report of the National Commissioner of Labor, and the same rule holds good for every other class of workmen in the woolen industry.

Daily wages of woolen weavers in the United States:

Delaware	$1 71	New Jersey	$1 00
Illinois	1 52	New York	1 08
Indiana	1 08	North Carolina	75
Massachusetts	1 28	Vermont	1 17
Pennsylvania	1 85	Connecticut	1 16

According to the United States consular reports the earnings of woolen weavers in England vary from $3.50 to $11 per week. If we keep in view the relative productivity of the labor of this country and England, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the $4 50 per week in North Carolina is below the lowest of England, and does it not prove that the American manufacturer gets his work done cheaper than the English manufacturer, and that therefore the wages of labor do not and can not find consideration in his cry for more protection? It also proves that we are brought into deadly competition with labor in our own country that may be as justly called "pauper labor" as that of Europe. It further proves that the tariff has not even preserved to us our just share of the natural opportunities of the country; that it has only been instrumental in building up colossal fortunes for the few, and that a continuance of it will end in our degradation to a condition of serfdom.

THE AVERAGE WAGES EARNED IN MILLS.

There are a number of mills in and around Philadelphia where $5 a week is considered very good wages now for a weaver, and there are any number of mills in England where these would be considered starvation wages, and whenever the employers here offer a reduction of wages they set up the plea that some of their neighbors are paying less, and hence a reduction is necessary in order to enable them to compete. They seem no longer to fear foreign competition, but it is home competition that is now the great "scare crow," and we have to suffer from it all. Is it not self-evident that a uniform rate of wages should have resulted from the "protective" tariff if it had the virtues claimed for it by its advocates?

WHAT THE TARIFF BENEFICIARIES HAVE DONE.

Heretofore labor has had no direct or independent voice in the arrangement of tariff laws, these matters having been entirely left to the bosses and monopolists, who were naturally prompted by selfish and conflicting motives, which is best evidenced by the fact that they have found it profitable to spend vast sums of money, and much time, in maintaining expensive lobbies at Washington and costly organizations all over the country, some of which have as one of their objects and purposes the keeping of the workingmen from getting any share of the "protection" by an advance of wages.

They have subsidized newspapers and maintained literary bureaus in order to influence public opinion and defame the few men who dare to voice our cause. These sums are largely made up of money that should consistently have gone towards the betterment of our wages, and we are thus placed in a condition which deprives us of the ways and means to be heard before Congress upon an equal footing with those who for the protection of labor spend the parings of our wages. Even now, finding that the desire to hear from the workingmen is growing, they are organizing some of their employees into clubs and associations under the direction of the bosses, the expenses being met by outsiders, in order to prepare them for an expression of sentiment and the making of demands that are to be paraded before the world as those of the free and untrammeled workingmen. The cause which requires such work to bolster it up can not be less than an unholy one. The very means condemn the end. Protection means the enslavement of labor, and nothing proves this more emphatically than the fact that there are workingmen, whether, forgetful of the natural dignity of labor, they do it voluntarily, or whether, driven by the force of circumstances brought up by protection, they are compelled to submit to the command to rivet the chains still more tightly about themselves.

But why should we find it necessary to make costly efforts in our behalf in this matter? Are we not represented by those to whom we gave our votes, and to whom we have a right to look for efforts in our behalf and for justice? If we were to spend money or keep up a lobby would it not be an acknowledgment that we recognize the power of money to be superior to the will of the people? Shall we be asked to subscribe to the infamous and un-American idea that a well-filled purse gives one man greater rights, powers and privileges than poverty connected with toil does to the other? To do this would be to confess our loss of faith in a representative free government and our belief that the old-time spirit of fair play and equality has entirely departed from the councils of the nation.

The fact is, there is no government on the face of the globe, however despotic, that is so unmindful of the interests of labor as to tax the raw materials of industry, which tax must inevitably come out of labor in that it neutralizes its opportunities by depriving it of the means to compete with the labor of other countries, notwithstanding its superior productivity, thus forcing down its wages and speeding its enslavement. But it does more. It builds up colossal fortunes for the few at the expense of our toil and its natural rewards, and is already bearing its legitimate fruit in the aping of European aristocracy on the one hand, and on the other compelling the mass to make piteous appeals for leave to toil; ay, forcing them even to beg of some men the permission to obey the command of the Creator "to eat bread

in the sweat of their brow." Shall we stand by with folded arms and abated breath whilst we see this "land of the free and home of the brave" transformed to a "land of the master and home of the slave" by a process which even the most despotic government dares not attempt?

Hence we demand the repeal of all taxes upon the raw materials of industry, so that we may be no longer handicapped by costs other than those of production, and that we may be relieved from those depressions of wages which arise from enhanced cost of the necessaries of life, which is due to taxation independent of the cost of production.

In fixing the duties upon manufactured articles care should be taken to measure the duties by the difference there may be in wages between this country and Europe, not forgetting to take into account the relative productivity of labor compared with its earnings, and in all cases the duties should be so graded as to correspond with the amount and quality of labor bestowed upon the article in the various stages of manufacture. That this has never been done in any tariff law called protective has been shown above, and it clearly demonstrates the falsity of the claim of their framers that they considered the interests of labor at all in this work.

Under the present law the duty on cloth weighing 16 ounces to the yard and valued at 80 cents per yard is 63 cents, while the duty and charges on the amount of wool required to make this cloth will be 53 cents, leaving for protection but 10 cents per yard. Under the most radical tariff-reform measure ever offered in Congress the case would be thus:

	Per yard.
Duty on the cloth, 35 per cent	$0.28
Duty and charges on the wool	Nothing.
Clear protection	.28

There is not a woolen or worsted worker in the country who is so blind as not to see that, even on the theory of protection, the tariff reformer who is willing to give him 28 cents against the foreign cloth is a better friend than the protectionist who gives him but 10 cents. Under the present law the duty on a piece of cloth worth 45 cents per yard is 140 per cent., whilst the duty on a piece worth $3.50 per yard is just 50 per cent. How unselfishly careful the protectionists are to make the workingman rich by taxing his cloth 90 per cent. more than the rich man's, and at the same time depriving him of the pleasure and profit of making the finer grades of cloth.

THE WAGE ACCOUNT IN THE WOOLEN INDUSTRY.

We learn from the census of 1880 that the total wage account of the woolen industry was 17.70 per cent. of the value of the product, and we have reason to believe that the percentage is even smaller now and gradually sinking. Now, suppose with wool free the duty was fixed at 18 per cent. of the value of the imported article, varying, of course, with those features which indicate the degree of labor expended, would it not fully and absolutely protect labor, even though the foreign workmen would work for nothing and find themselves? When, therefore, a duty of more than twice that amount is proposed it can surely not be objected to by the woolen-worker on the ground of offering too little protection, because it will give him 33 cents per yard on the same cloth on which the present law gives him but 10 cents.

An excess of duties over differences in the wages of labor can have no other effect than to nullify the efforts of labor, organized or unorganized, to better its condition by placing it absolutely at the mercy of the employer, who, by having his market secured to him by law, can, under the tariff duties, free from the fear of competition, exact from the consumers, who are in large part the workingmen themselves, much more than the wages of labor amount to, while labor, exposed on every side to open competition, is thus forced to pay tribute to the employers, and through them to the controllers of the raw materials, both by suffering a reduction of its time wages and by increased cost of the necessaries of life. This is the shifting of the taxing power which gives the employers privileges that are incompatible

with our form of Government, and must thus end in the destruction of our liberties. It encourages, and sometimes forces, the formation of "trusts," "arrangements," and "understandings," drawn together under the fostering influence of "protection" in order to be the better able to bleed the people and build up gigantic fortunes for the beneficiaries of the law.

It has been fashionable to "take all the traffic will bear," and now it is "take all the law will allow," and laws framed under the dictation of the favored monopolists themselves are always sure to give them a wide enough margin to take the "last pound of flesh." Thus, while the wage account in the product is but 17.70 per cent. the bosses are protected by a tax of 70.40 per cent., an advantage of 52.70 per cent., which is the field within which they have free play by "trusts" and "understandings" to exact special profits and make us pay back to them with double compound interest all that may be given us as an advance of wages.

We do not fear the antagonism of the agricultural interests, because there is nothing in our demands that will not at the same time promote the interests of the farmer. The natural market for American wool is America; and as the cheapening of the products will necessarily promote their consumption and curtail importations, whilst it will at the same time encourage the use of wool instead of adulterants, we can not see why a change of the law which would vouchsafe to us steadier employment could fail to be a benefit to the wool grower.

The removal of the duties would also open the foreign markets to greater American competition, which would so measurably drive up prices there as to neutralize the advantage the foreign manufacturer has from cheap wool. We have too good an opinion of the intelligence and acumen of the farmers to believe for a moment, as the protectionists profess to do, that they would antagonize their own interests by asking for the removal of duties from those things which consume their wool if such duties were necessary to maintain the woolen industry of the country.

A return to the tariff of 1867 would in no wise be a remedy for the evils we suffer from, as the same incongruities, inequalities, and discriminations against labor characterized every feature of that law, and in some respects it was even worse.

A PETITION FOR FREE WOOL.

Hence we request that wool and all other raw materials be placed on the free-list, and that in arranging the schedule of duties on the finished or partly manufactured articles labor should be duly considered. Yarns, for instance, are the raw materials of the cloth-maker, and if both yarn and cloth are placed under the same duty it will be a discrimination against the cloth, because in the manufacture of the cloth the yarn will lose by waste and shrinkage in weaving, dyeing and finishing, and hence the duty per pound on the yarn will somewhat exceed the duty per pound on the cloth, and there would, therefore, be an inducement to import the cloth in preference to the yarn, as it is now preferable to import the yarn instead of the wool, and the yarn spinner would have all the protection and the cloth weavers, dyers and finishers none at all as against the yarn importations.

While it is as yet difficult to obtain positive data as to the differences in the wages between this country and Europe whereon to base a scientific schedule, it is yet safe to follow the line here indicated, and if the duties are fixed to equal the entire labor cost in the product, no interest will have any cause to complain if we wish to come nearer to justice.

With free raw materials we will soon demonstrate our superiority in the industrial field, and do our share in making this country what nature appears to have destined it to be—the workshop of the world and the ruler of the seas.

Hence patriotism joins with national pride in appealing to the lawmakers of the nation to give to labor those measures of fair play and justice to which it is entitled as the foundation-rock of our national greatness and prosperity.

In the name and on behalf of the textile workers of Philadelphia, Pa.

F. A. HERWIG.

PHILADELPHIA, March 26, 1888.

We, the undersigned, committee of the Workingmen's Tariff Reform Association, No. 1, of Philadelphia, principally composed of textile workers, upon due and deliberate consideration of the foregoing memorial, do hereby fully and freely indorse the same, and request that its recommendation be granted as a simple act of justice, not only to us, but to the whole people, and we will ever pray.

Joseph Smith, 2414 North Third street; William L. Wild, 1334 Hope street; John Moore, 2188 Huntingdon street; E. H. Murphy, 1715 North Fourth street; Wm. Stewart, 2633 Braddock street; Wm. Hudson, 1610 North Front street; Cornelius Carr, 106 Jefferson street; Jos. Hagerty, 1504 North Fourth street; Patrick Glavey, 2912 Kipp street; Daniel Donovan, 1912 Hazzard street; Edward J. O'Brien, 2414 North Third street; Frederick H. Mackerell, 2306 Geiss street; John Snee, 2015 Palethorpe street; Joseph Stott, 2026 North Front street; Thomas Dronsfield, 1443 Hanover street; John Brogan, 2008 Howard street; James Donogue, 2641 Hope street; John McCloskey, 1841 North Seventh street; Thomas S. McCaffray, 2404 Holmans street; Benjam L. Yarnall, 912 Sterner street; James McCauley, 2419 North Fourth street; John Harle, 2671 Braddock street; James Delaney, 1513 Howard street; Harry T. Delaney, 1513 Howard street; Joseph G. Downing, 1753 Howard street; G. Greul, 616 Callowhill street; James Magonigle, 1740 Waterloo street; John H. Cannon, 1742 Waterloo street; Edward Coyle, 4241 Green street; M. J. Gorman, 1730 Howard street; John A Pasley, 1617 Hope street; Thomas Grant, 2834 Reese street; James Turner, 103 West Montgomery avenue; George McGeowen, 2002 Abigail street.

II.

A MANUFACTURER'S OPINION.

MR. BEACH, IN A CAREFUL ARGUMENT, SHOWS HOW WOOL DUTIES HAVE RETARDED MANUFACTURES.

The following article on the relation of the woolen manufacturers to the duties on raw wool was read in the House on July 3, by Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky:

You will notice this list does not bear out the assertion of the wool-growers that a high duty on wool has by any means resulted in better prices. Upon the whole, so far as it has had any effect, it appears to be quite the contrary. But there are so many other elements which regulate market prices that it is difficult to make a very strong argument for either side out of the statistics, unless we take into consideration other matters affecting the business at the several periods. The remarks of Mr. Harris, reported by Old Carder, were made under very different conditions from those now ruling. Australian imports into Europe have increased 50 per cent. since 1878, an increase of 400,000 bales, about 160,000,000 pounds, in that short time from Australasia alone; also a very large increase from Cape of Good Hope and River Plate, mostly of fine merino wools. In fact, the quantity available is six or seven times as much as it was in 1860, 803,000,000 pounds in 1886 against 112,000,000 in 1860.

This enormous production has to be consumed. Of course, the number of consumers must be very greatly enlarged. In order to reach the ability of this increased number, prices must be reduced. You can see this in every article of merchandise. Prices abroad are reduced as much as they are here, even more in many articles, without regard to our tariff. In wool-growing countries the business has been constantly getting better systematized, and they are enabled to produce cheaper and cheaper. In this country, if wool-growing is to be made a business by itself, the same general principles must be adopted, but the probability is that in the older States our farmers will look more and more to the production

of food lamb and mutton, with less and less regard for the wool. This will put the business upon the footing adapted to our circumstances. Old Carder wants to know why silks are so cheap here. It is because the free raw material has allowed our manufacturers to go into the business upon somewhere near an equal footing with foreign countries.

HOW INVENTION HAS CHEAPENED MANUFACTURE.

Steel rails are cheap because, in the first place, of the discovery of the Bessemer process and still later improvements; and then, the patents on these being now free to the world, there is more competition. Probably steel rails can be made for less than one-quarter the cost of a few years ago. It is the same with soda ash since the discovery of the ammonia process. This decreases the cost wonderfully, and of course all other makers, by whatever process they manufacture, must meet this competition. The price may or may not be lower if manufactured this side of the water. It should be, on account of the saving in freight, if for no other reason. But where there is competition to sell at the point of consumption, from whatever quarter it may come, prices are usually reduced to a point of only moderate profits. To illustrate this, take the article of tin-plates, where the competition is wholly that of the foreign manufacturers between themselves.

Still it has caused a constant reduction in price, nearly 25 per cent. since 1882; so that although the duty that year was 1.1 cents per pound, it was only 29 per cent., whereas the nominally reduced rate to 1 cent in 1887 was actually 33.80 per cent. Consumption of the United States increased from 439,746,895 pounds to 570,643,389 pounds in the five years. The duty was a tax on our industries of over $5,700,000 in each of the last two years, of which the canning business alone paid over $1,000,000 in 1887. We are making great progress in this country, as we certainly ought, for we have more advantages and stimulus than any other on the globe. We claim, too, that we are the smartest and most industrious people in the world. But we should not load our industries down with unnecessary burdens. There are other countries progressing also, and when we handicap ourselves we must expect them to take advantage of our folly.

Our efforts are mainly directed to the saving of labor and to inventions which will enable us to make it more productive, so that we can produce the largest quantity with the smallest number of operatives. In foreign countries the aim is to get their materials at the lowest possible cost, then to saving them and by improved processes getting the best quality of product, to get the most money from the materials used. They have a surplus of labor. If they should leave half the people unemployed by the use of machinery, they must still support them all; and it would cost as much to do this if half were idle as to have all at work, each earning his portion of the money that can be allotted to the labor cost of the productions. The price of labor is a matter of locality, and, like everything else, based upon the supply and demand. Legislation cannot govern this. In different localities in this country, under the same tariff laws, and in different towns in the same States there is often one half difference paid for doing the same work.

READY TO COMPETE WITH THE WORLD.

All of us who have had much experience know this, but we have heard so much about what is called protection making the price of wages that we frequently accept the statements without much examination as to what is really protection and as to what are the actual effects of measures so named. It is easy enough to figure that except for the duty of 20 cents per bushel on wheat, the East Indian working at 3 cents per day would supply our markets; and to say this duty protects the farmer, when the fact remains that we can and do overcome this difference in the nominal price of labor, and meet the wheat markets of the whole world successfully. So on coarse undyed cottons and on many other goods the tariff does not give our mills a fraction of 1 per cent. better price. We can export these in competition with other countries, and could do so to even better advantage without the tariff. It is impossible that it can help us to better wages for making articles of export.

When we come to woolen goods, the state of the case changes. We have only a half supply of wool in this country, and we must procure it from elsewhere or we have to import the goods ready made. For a large portion of the deficit we can get a supply of cheap material from the cotton fields and the crop of old clothes, rags, etc., but this would confine our manufacture to the lower grades of goods. To make the better grades that our people demand, we must have foreign wools. It would take more than a hundred million pounds above what we now import, if we would control our home market for fine woolens, in addition to every pound that we raise in this country. We have, however, cut ourselves off from getting this supply by a prohibitory tariff on nine-tenths of that which is available to our foreign competitors. What is the consequence? They supply our own markets, and of course have full control of the other markets of the world.

We protect the European manufacturer from our competition in the markets where they get their supply of raw material. This does not help our factory labor; it hurts by transferring the work to other countries. We could only meet this competition by reducing the price of labor or taking off the tax on materials, so that we should be upon somewhere near the same footing with our competitors, the same as we are in the silk business, or else a much higher duty on fine fabrics. Which is the best course? The effort to overcome this difference by a high tariff on fabrics has proved a failure so far as the medium and finer grades are affected. It would need to be at least 100 per cent. to give us a fair show with the present duties on materials. Probably the consumers of fabrics would object to this. In our opinion it would be useless to ask for increased duties. It appears very much as if the only cure for the present trouble, if the present rates remain, must come through still lower prices for fine wools, nearly down to the import cost, free of duty. If not, what?

III.

"IT HAS SET US TO THINKING."

THE CONCLUSION TO WHICH ONE OF THE BEST TECHNICAL JOURNALS IN THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN FORCED.

In *Fiber and Fabric* of April 14, page 56, Old Carder asks some questions, and thinks there should be more study of the tariff. The inclosed, on the other side of the question from the one on which most manufacturers appear disposed to do their thinking, may at least serve to throw light, and we hope bring out the truth. These figures are not theories, but actual facts, to which a theory, to be good for anything, must be fitted. The proposed tariff would reduce revenue by taking off the duty on wool. That is clear. There is no doubt it would reduce revenue now obtained by duties on woolen goods, because there would be made here a large quantity of such as are now imported.

That is theory in part; but it is based so strongly on the actual workings of the business that it cannot help being pretty nearly correct. The proposed bill now before Congress we consider more really protective to the manufacturing interests than any tariff we have ever had. Certainly New England should be the last section of the country to oppose it. Friends of the present tariff claim that compound duties on woolen goods, and the specific rates in particular, are the only safeguards upon which we can rely to prevent importations from undervaluation. This claim has been made so persistently that manufacturers have pretty generally accepted it as being correct, with little or no examination as to its merits.

This compound principle has been held to be something sacred. Its friends would not allow there were two sides to the question. Dissenters have been consigned to purgatory, or to still lower depths, to have their place with "free-traders."

Those who have complained that the finer and most expensive all-wool fabrics were not fairly treated in the deal, having from only half to no protection, when, if there was to be any discrimination, they really needed and were entitled to double, have not been listened to, or have been told that to ask for their fair share would endanger the whole system. It has been in vain that they have pointed out that after a time the trouble must reach beyond their own particular specialties, and that the next grades must take their turn in depression.

They were sneered at for supposing that there was any danger to be apprehended from a worsted cloth valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound, or even that fine worsted yarns could be imported at so low cost as to seriously interfere with the home manufacture. Their numbers were insignificant, and they were not listened to when they showed that the legitimate effect of the schedule was to discourage the manufacture and improvement of fine fabrics, and to drive all the mills into the increased use of cotton, shoddy, and other substitutes for making goods sold as woolens. Neither were they given any more attention when they pointed out the fact that so far from being a preventive of fraud on the part of importers, the specific duty, more than all else, made it an object to undervalue, as it gave them from six to eight times as much profit on the operation as it would if the duties were only ad valorem.

For example, take a piece of worsted cloth, for which the true value is 85 cents. Under the present duty if invoiced honestly the duty would be 69 cents per pound, if undervalued only 5 cents and invoiced at 80 cents the duty will be only 52 cents, a saving to the importer of 17 cents per pound, or 20 per cent. on the business, a handsome profit in itself. Under the proposed bill, which is stated by the opposition to open the door to fradulent importations, the saving to the importer for the same undervaluation would be only 2 cents per pound; not enough to pay him for running the risk.

The actual working of this tariff for the past six years is shown by the inclosed figures of imports of worsted yarns and cloths. If there has been any such undervaluation going on, as has been asserted by some of our manufacturers, who have been trying to explain what is the matter with the woolen business, a study of these figures will show the reason and the temptation. Is it not time for a reform?

IMPORTS OF WORSTED YARNS.

YEAR.	Above 80 cents per pound.		Above 60 cents, not exceeding 80 cts. per pound.		Above 40 cents, not exceeding 60 cents per pound.	
	Pounds.		*Pounds.*		*Pounds.*	
1882	346,591	$402,840	16,503	$12,226	1,289	$825
1883	326,468	366,975	87,467	64,759	1,958	999
1884	324,426	356,517	679,430	502,181	194,762	98,275
1885	218,278	252,542	430,251	309,123	164,538	83,918
1886	180,020	228,569	1,196,202	819,258	1,353,837	733,584
1887	157,886	191,912	1,275,844	875,280	753,993	410,264

Imports of worsted cloths entered for consumption for fiscal years ending June 30.

YEAR.	Above 60 cts. and not exceeding 80 cts.	Exceeding 80 cts. per lb.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*
1882	114,928	423,195
1883	374,523	438,755
1884	777,327	1,234,677
1885	1,407,051	1,374,736
1886	2,795,244	1,483,811
1887	3,785,987	1,343,256

Duties on clothing wools by the several tariff acts in force from 1880 *to* 1883, *with average price for fine merino wool on the* 1st *of July under the several rates.*

[From Wade's Fiber and Fabric, Boston.]

Date of tariff.	Rates of Duty.	Remarks.	No. of years.	Market price per pound. Average for July 1.	
				Year.	*Cents.*
1830, July 1....	4 cents per pound, and 50 per cent	July 1 prices: 1830, 60 cents: 1831, 75 cents: 1832, 50 cents	3	1830-'32	61 2-3
1833, March 2..	Not over 8 cents per pound, free: over 8 cents value, 4 cents per pound, and 40 per cent., equal to reduction of 10 per cent, with gradual reduction for several years, to 1842, July 1, 4 cents, and 20 per cent.	Prices advanced from 50 cents in 1832 to 68 cents in April, 1833. 61 cents in July, 66 cents in October; highest in January, 1834, 70 cents, and January, 1837, 74 cents.	10	1833-'42	54 7-10
1842, Aug. 30...	Value not over 7 cents per pound, 5 per cent.; over 7 cents, 8 cents per pound and 30 per cent. Increase of duty.	This was the high "protective tariff of 1842." Prices declined to an average for	4	1842-'46	39 1-2
1846, Dec. 1....	Wools of all kinds, 30 per cent. ad valorem. Reduced rate.	Called the "free-trade tariff of '46." Prices of fine wool advanced.	11	1846-'57	47 10-11
1857, July 1....	Above 20 cents per pound, 24 per cent.; under 20 cents per pound, free. Reduction in rates of duty.	Average prices slightly advanced	4	1857-'61	48
1861, April 2...	Under 18 cents per pound, 5 per cent.—increase on low grades; do. on 18 to 20 cents. Value 18 to 24 cents per pound, 3 cents per pound—reduction on 20 to 24 cents. Above 24 cents per pound, 9 cents per pound. Reduction on above 35 cents per pound; increase on 24 to 35.	An average decrease of the duty on fine wools, with a great advance in price, much of it being the premium on gold.	3	1861-'64	74 1-3
1864, July 1....	Value 12 cents and less per pound, 3 cents. Value 12 cents to 24 cents per pound, 6 cents. Value 24 to 32 cents per pound, compound duty and 10 cents per pound, 10 per cent. ad valorem. Value above 32 cents, compound duty and 12 cents per pound, 10 per cent. ad valorem. This was a great increase in rate of duty.	This was an increase on all fine wools, and although prices advanced to 103 cents in October, 1864, they declined to 55 cents in July, 1867.	3	1864-'67	66 2-3
1867, March 2...	Present classification Class 1. Merino and clothing. Increased rates on fine clothing sorts: Value not above 32 cents, 10 cents per pound, and 11 per cent.; value above 32 cents, 12 cents per pound, and 10 per cent. Washed, doubled rates. Class 2. Combing. Increased rates on fine clothing sorts: Value 32 cents or less, 10 cents pound, and 11 per cent.; above 32 cents, 12 cents pound, and 10 per cent. Carpet. Value 12 cents or less, 3 cents pound: above 12 cents, 6 cents pound. Scoured of all classes, three times above rates.	Prices declined in 1867 from 68 cents in January to 60 cents in April, 55 cents in July, and 48 cents in October. In 1868, 48 cents, 50 cents, 46 cents, and 48 cents, for the four quarters. 1869, average, 49 cents. 1870, declined to 46 cents in July: average, 47¾ cents. 1871, declined to 47 cents in January, advanced to 50 cents in April, 62 cents in July, and 68 cents in October. 1872, 70 cents in January, 80 cents in April, and 72 cents in July.	5 years.	1867-'72	51 1-2
1872, Aug. 1....	Reduction of 10 per cent. on above rates	1872, in October price declined to 66 cents, advanced to 70 cents in January. 1873, declined to 56 cents in April, 50 cents in July, advanced in October to 54 cents, to 58 cents in January, 1874. Average, 55 cents for 12 months.	3	1872-'75	51 2-3
1875, March 3...	10 per cent. restored; 1867 rates in force. These are the highest rates by any tariff since 1830.	Steady decline in price to 38 cents in July, 1876, advanced to 50 cents in July, 1877, then declined to 34 cents in January and April, 1879;‡ advanced in the "boom" years of 1879-'80, highest in April, 1880, 55 cents, declined to 40 cents in January, 1883.	8	1875-'83	41 1-4
1883, July 1....	Class 1. Not above 30 cents per pound, 10 cents pound. Class 2. Above 30 cents pound, 12 cents pound. Class 3. Not over 12 cents, 5 cents pound; over 12 cents, 2½ cents pound.	Prices continue to decline, owing to lower prices in Europe than ever known and lower duty on woolen goods, and appear still to be above the ability of manufacturers to purchase.			

‡ In 1879 prices of Australian wools in London were 25 to 30 per cent. higher than they have been for two years, 1886 to 1888, and we can see no good reason why the prices of domestic fine fleeces will not rule relatively as low in this country now, compared with Europe, as then.

IV.

HUGH McCULLOCH'S OPINION.

THE LAST REPUBLICAN SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY GIVES STRONG SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION.

[*A Letter to a Tariff Reform Meeting in Philadelphia.*]

WASHINGTON, January 25, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Accept my thanks for your kind invitation to be present at the mass meeting which is to be held in Philadelphia on the 27th instant, "to enforce and indorse the recommendations of President Arthur and President Cleveland on revenue reform." I shall not be able to avail myself of the invitation, but I have pleasure in saying that I heartily approve of the object for the promotion of which the meeting is called, and that I am very glad that the call is addressed not to Republicans or Democrats, but to citizens irrespective of their political party relations.

The tariff question is an economical question, and it would be an immense gain to the people if it were lifted out of politics and considered as such a question ought to be with regard to its bearings upon great national interests. The present tariff was created when the Government was engaged in a war of unparalleled magnitude for the maintenance of its rightful authority. It has accomplished the object for which it was created, and now needs careful revision to accommodate it to the present conditions of the country. The surplus which it produces and locks up in the treasury, to the detriment of business, is only one of the many serious objections to it.

It is greatly prejudicial to our great farming interests by gradually but effectively diminishing the foreign demand for our agricultural productions at remunerative prices. It stands in the way of the restoration of our shipping interests by duties upon many articles which are needed in ship building. It is anti-republican in its character and its influences, it fosters monopolies and it "enriches the few at the expense of the many." It violates the constitution of the United States, inasmuch as upon many articles duties are imposed for protection, not for revenue.

What is now imperatively required for the promotion of the best interests of the country, and the whole country, are such changes in the tariff as will make it a tariff for revenue, with incidental protection—a tariff by which the highest duties consistent with revenue will be imposed upon the articles that come into competition with our own manufactures; such a tariff as was advocated half a century ago by the supporters of what was known as the "American system;" such a tariff as Henry Clay, whose disciple I was, would advocate if he were living. Large revenues must always be derived from duties upon imports, and these duties, if judiciously imposed, would never fail to give to home manufacturers all the protection which they might need to enable them to compete with foreigners in our own markets, and at the same time to open the way for a free trade with other nations, especially with the South American States.

Hoping and believing that this mass meeting will be productive of good results by strengthening the public sentiment which is everywhere being awakened to the importance of revenue reform, and favorably influence the action of Congress at the present session, I am, very truly yours,

HUGH McCULLOCH.

V.

HOW THE AVERAGE IS COMPUTED.

LIGHT ON THE QUESTION—HOW WAR RATES HAVE BEEN PRESERVED—WHAT LEADING PROTECTIONISTS USED TO THINK ENOUGH.

[*From the New York Journal of Commerce.*]

It is evident that the tariff question, as now presented in Congress, is widely misunderstood by many persons throughout the country, as well as grossly misrepresented for partisan purposes. We have a large number of letters, some of them from very intelligent correspondents, asking us "what nations have prospered under a free trade policy," and whether "Great Britain and Sweden, that once favored free trade, have not gone back to the policy of protection," and other like questions, the only pertinency of which is in the assumption that some one in this country has proposed, virtually, to abandon the present system of raising revenue from customs.

No man who has a sound head will, in our day, propose anything for this country but a revenue derived chiefly from the customs service. The only real question now at issue in Congress is whether the excessive rates established under the pressure of a heavy debt created by the war and now producing an excess of revenue of over one hundred millions per annum, shall be modified so as to bring the taxation down to the current needs of the Treasury.

If the proposed modification of the tariff menaced any of the great manufacturing interests of the country we would sound the alarm as quickly as any one. But the pretense that it does this is a falsehood made out of whole cloth, and those who started the cry know that their assertion is altogether untrue. Many who are echoing that cry are not so well informed, and are really disturbed lest there is some plan afoot to interfere with these prosperous industries. We stated some days ago that the present tariff averaged for the year 1887 just 47.10 per cent. on all dutiable imports, and that the proposed Mills tariff, on the same reckoning, would bring this average down to about 40¼ per cent.

As the duties only average 18⅞ per cent. when the war broke out, and the average from 1830 to 1862, a period of 32 years, was only 31.42, or about 31½ per cent., it is easy to see that the Mills bill, with its 40¼ per cent., is still a very high rate of taxation, with no suggestion of free trade in it, an ample protection for every manufacturer in the country. The highest range of the old protective tariff, so dear to the disciples of the Carey school, was 35 per cent., and we heard Mr. Carey say in one of his most earnest pleas in behalf of protection, that 35 per cent. for an infant industry and 25 per cent. after a few years of progress was all that any manufacturer ought to desire. What shall be thought of a man who asserts that a 40¼ per cent. tariff is an attempt to establish free trade, simply because it follows an excessive war tariff averaging 47.10 per cent.?

In regard to this "average" we find that the word is very much misunderstood. A very intelligent gentleman has written us a letter upon it, from which we make the following extract: "I have frequently noticed in the press the statement that the so-called war tariff imposes an average duty of 47¼ per centum. Will you be kind enough to explain the meaning of this, how the 'average' is ascertained, and whether the conversion of specific duties into their *ad valorem* equivalents enters into the statement? Are the articles in the free list taken into the account? Finally, do you know anything that *lies* like an average?" There has been much said to which the word in italics may fitly apply, but the statement of the 'average' of the duty is free from that charge.

Our correspondent evidently supposes that some one has taken a copy of the tariff and therefrom made an average of the charges to be collected. But the percentage has been obtained by a much simpler process. Suppose a merchant sells a great variety of goods during a day, some at 10 per cent. profit and some at 100 per cent. gain, and at night he finds he has sold by strict account goods that

cost him just $1,000 and has received for them $1,500, which he has in the drawer. He does not get at his average profit by adding the 10, 20 and 100 percentages together, but by a shorter calculation. If goods costing $1,000 bring $1,500, he has made an average profit of 50 per cent., and there is no "lying" about it.

This is precisely the way the average rate of duty is ascertained. No free goods are included, but only the goods that pay a duty and pass into consumption. If upon a dutiable value, as summed up in the entries at the Custom House, amounting to $600,000,000 cash duties, reaching in all the sum of $300,000,000, had been collected, the average would be 50 per cent.; but if only $282,600,000 had been received the average is precisely 47.10 per cent. The entries of dutiable goods are all added together. The total of dutiable goods entered directly for consumption, and the total withdrawn from warehouse for the market, make together the total value on which the duties are levied. By adding these together and finding at the end of the year how much money they have all paid in the way of duty, we know to a cent what the average duty has been. There is no guessing and there is no "lying" about it, unless some one starts up and says that 40¼ per cent. collected in this way is free trade!

The net free imports into the United States for the fiscal year 1887 were $228,515,977, upon which, of course, no duty was levied. The net dutiable imports which passed into consumption, and upon which the duties were levied, were $454,824,436, upon which an average duty of 47.10 per cent. brought $214,222,309 in customs, which was received into the public treasury in actual cash. This is the way the "average" is ascertained, and as the government received the money, and must account for it, the amount cannot be overstated.

VI.

DESERTS THE CAUSE OF HIGH TAXES.

A REPUBLICAN MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHO WILL NOT SUPPORT FREE WHISKEY AND HIGH NECESSARIES OF LIVING.

FIRE ISLAND BEACH, August 13, 1888.

The HON. DONALD MCLEAN, *President Twenty-third Assembly District Enrolled Republicans:*

MY DEAR SIR—I herewith resign my membership in the Republican Association of this district. This resignation, under the rules, carries with it, without further action on my part, that of my place in the District Committee and on the delegation to the County Committee and the Chairmanship of the Committee on Resolutions and Membership of the Executive Committee of the County organization.

My reason for this resignation is that I am not willing to advocate or support the new doctrines upon which the party managers have decided to make this campaign. I am in favor, as were Garfield, Arthur and Folger, of a reasonable revision of the present tariff in the direction of decreasing the cost of the necessaries of life and of supplying American workmen with cheaper raw materials for manufacture. I believe that such a revision will increase wages and production in this country and will lighten somewhat the heavy load of poverty and hardship which so many people in our city carry hopelessly from year to year. I am also absolutely opposed to any reduction of the tax on whiskey. In a few moths after the repeal of the internal revenue tax there would be more distilleries than there are schoolhouses in Harlem, and on every business block in our district a bucket shop would, with profit, sell whiskey, bought at wholesale for 25 cents a gallon, for 3 cents a glass.

The Republican Party leaders have determined to make a campaign in which the expression of views, such as those above indicated, shall be described as "free-trade attacks upon American industry," and those who hold them shall be credited with a burning desire to aid the British workingmen, whom they have never seen, as against their own friends and countrymen. Mr. Blaine's keynote for the campaign, applied to our district, is that we are from now till November to accuse the Democratic and revenue reform business men in Harlem, who in private life are in partnership with us in all commercial, charitable, social and religious affairs, of being engaged in a conspiracy, inspired by England, to ruin their own country and degrade their fellow-citizens. I have no desire to take part in such a campaign. I fancy that England has in this district about as many adherents as China has, and that the voters who will vote this fall in Harlem and Yorkville for a revision of the tariff are as sincere friends of American industry as any of us are. And I very much prefer, if necessary, to be in a minority for the rest of my life rather than to make a successful campaign on what seems to me to be ridiculous and unfounded misrepresentation of the efforts and motives of my neighbors. I am, with sincere regard and respect, your friend,

ASHBEL P. FITCH.

VII.

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY ON THE TARIFF.

THE "BOSTON PILOT" SPEAKS OUT PLAINLY ON THE ATTEMPT TO MISREPRESENT THE REDUCTION-OF-TAXES ISSUE.

[*From the Boston Pilot, July* 14, 1888.]

The average American working man and woman are to-day receiving fair wages when compared with the earnings of their fellows in Europe. But our expenses are almost as much higher than theirs as their wages are lower than ours

If we could keep the present scale of American wages, with the present rate of European prices, the condition of American labor would be the best the world has known.

Protection, as it has operated for over twenty years, has mainly protected the profits of manufacturers. For the benefit of 2 per cent. of our people we have made 98 per cent. pay a tax of $100,000,000 a year.

"But you must protect American industries," says the Republican politician.

Nonsense. Industries will protect themselves. All we want to protect is wages. This protection involves the other; but the other does not involve this.

In the national treasury to-day there is the vast sum of $125,000,000, the proceeds of unnecessary taxation; and this huge amount is growing at the rate of $100,000,000 a year.

We have tried protection and all other Republican methods for twenty-five years. Have they succeeded in making the people satisfied and prosperous? Take the answer from the farmers, who are not helped by the high tariff to a better price for their produce, while they are compelled to pay double for their necessaries. Take it from the mechanics, the miners, the millworkers, on strike or locked-out half their time. Take it from the hundreds of thousands of women and girls in the cities, living on wages that are a constant threat of starvation, death or disgrace.

This is no political campaign speech, but the plain truth as we see it. And we would speak it as directly if its protest struck the Democratic party instead of the Republican.

President Cleveland's proposal is to reduce the tariff by which most of this enormous sum of $100,000,000 per annum is raised, admitting free all those raw materials and other things that will enable us to increase our wealth, both by use and manufacture, taxing still everything that might reduce wages by competition with European or Asiatic production.

The Democratic proposal is not free trade, as the manufacturers and corporations say; it is freer trade.

The Republican principle is a continuance of the present protection of manufacturers' profits.

The Democratic principle is a protection of the people's wages, with an immense reduction in their living expenses.

We should like to see the tax taken off tobacco; but we should prefer to see it taken off food and clothing.

The *Pilot* speaks for the good of the industrious people, farmers and city workers; and in supporting the Democratic party we earnestly believe that we are helping to bring about a happy and prosperous era, with comfort and independence and generous living for the whole American people.

VIII.

A NEW INDEPENDENT.

SETH LOW, REPUBLICAN EX-MAYOR OF BROOKLYN, CANNOT STAND THE PLATFORM.

Ex-Mayor Seth Low announced in an interview, held on June 26, the day following Harrison's nomination, that he would not vote for a party whose principles were established upon a platform like unto the Republican.

I discover myself to be unhappily in the dilemma which I feared at the time when I made my Lincoln dinner speech, in line with my party friends on State and local issues, but, I am sorry to say, completely out of line with them upon the tariff question. If that were but a side issue, it would be easy to overlook the difference, but as it is the battle-ground between the great parties, it is impossible for me to remain blind to it. Last September, in a speech I delivered in Saratoga, and in February at the Lincoln dinner, I outlined my views upon the subject of the tariff. No one who cares to refer to them can fail to perceive that my conviction of what is wise policy for the nation is not consistent with a support of the Republican platform. I believe, as Garfield did, in a protection which leads to free trade. The declaration of the Chicago platform is, however, utterly opposed to this tendency and is a determined onslaught upon free trade. As I understand it, the chief line of change in the present tariff, as promised by the Republican party, is to increase duties where any articles made at home are imported.

This seems to me to be entirely new ground for the party whose principles I have so long acted and so consistently voted, but whether this be so or not, the policy outlined in the platform is a policy in which I firmly do not believe, and in behalf of which I can make no fight. Of course I cannot, nor do I desire, to claim the privileges of party fellowship when I am unable to support the creed of the party. Therefore, I propose to send my resignation to the ward association to which I belong and so regain my individual relation to political affairs. I have given this matter the most painstaking consideration ever since the platform came to my notice, and I can say with positiveness that I have been able to find no other way in which to be true to my duty as a citizen, without falling far short of my party obligations to the Republicans on national issues, were I to continue in the fellowship.

My own belief in regard to the tariff reform is substantially set forth in my address at Saratoga before the Republican State Convention September 14, 1887. The passage referred to is as follows:

"Whatever views men may hold in regard to protection, whether they look at it as a means to an end or in itself a good thing, the present situation, whereby vast sums of money in excess of our needs go into the national Treasury, forbids theories and demands action. The Democratic party during two sessions of Congress has shown itself incompetent to act as to this surplus in any direction. The Republican party which, finding the country at the outbreak of the war with an empty Treasury, has left it thus full to overflowing, no doubt will find in our present dilemma some practical way of reducing the revenues of the nation to the measure of its necessities, and this consistently with a wise protection, where protection may be needed."

IX.

THE WOOL MANUFACTURERS MAKE AN ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF FREE RAW MATERIAL FOR THEIR OWN INTEREST.

In 1885 the National Association of Wool Manufacturers made a statement to Daniel Manning, then Secretary of the Treasury, in which the argument for untaxed raw material was thus stated:

The American manufacturer is engaged in a perpetual struggle with the manufacturers of Europe for the possession of the markets of this country. In this strife the European manufacturer possesses the advantage, which would be overwhelming if not counteracted by special legislation, of having the raw material of his manufacture free from duty—no duties on wool existing in Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and very slight duties, if any, in other manufacturing nations. Our European competitors are exempt from the direct enhancement, by a duty, of the cost of wool, thus requiring less capital to supply their mills, and no cost of interest on the duty required in carrying their stocks of wool and goods. They are free from the apprehension of changes in the value of wool, such as have taken place in this country in consequence of no less than seventeen changes in the tariff on wools within the memory of living manufacturers. They are exempt from the duties on wool substitutes, so usefully employed to mix with wool in the manufacture of the cheaper and heavier cloths—duties which with us are absolutely prohibitory. They are able, from the lower cost of their raw material, to relieve themselves from overproduction by consigning their surplus stocks at comparatively slight sacrifice to foreign markets, to which their cheapness has already introduced them. They are not compelled, as we are, to discriminate in their choice of wool to avoid the effect of the duty, and are able to select their wools in any condition, whether unwashed, washed or scoured, with reference only to their desirable qualities. Through freedom of importation they have near markets—as at London, Havre, Antwerp and Berlin—offering vast assortments and a steady supply of all kinds of wool—advantages, specially favorable to the small manufacturer. This exemption from all restrictions in the selection of raw material, together with the facilities for supply and the certainty that values will not be disturbed by legislation, is believed to be the chief cause of a characteristic of the European woolen industry—namely, that the manufacturer abroad obtains success by adhering with steady attention to the special fabrics he has undertaken to make and in which he has acquired excellence, while diversification of manufacturers, so necessary to prevent overproduction, is encouraged by the equal availability of all varieties and conditions of raw material. The effect of this policy upon the agricultural interests, and the labor of the countries which adopt it, we are not at present called upon to consider.

HOW THE DIFFICULTY MAY BE MET.

This high duty is not the only difficulty with which our manufacturers requiring foreign wools have to contend. It is held that complete protection to the most important branch of our wool-growing industry, the merino sheep husbandry requires that washed wools in class 1 should be subject to double the duty of unwashed wool and the duty on scoured wool should be three times the amount upon the unwashed wools—an arrangement which compels the importations of class 1 wools to be in the greasy state, necessitating the transportation charges on from two and a quarter to three pounds of grease and dirt in the wool required for a pound of cloth. The effect of the compulsion to buy greasy wool, and pay a heavy specific duty on its impurities is that the American manufacturers are thereby obliged to give undue preference to light condition over fineness and the other valuable qualities of wools offering in foreign markets. Our manufacturers, moreover, are obliged by this restriction to concentrate their competition in foreign markets upon the always small proportion of the lightest unwashed wools, while our foreign competitors, having to pay duty neither upon wool nor on grease and dirt, can buy the heavy wools in the market to much better advantage.

To these considerations it should be added that the high specific duty on clothing wools—a duty irrespective of the cost—practically excludes the cheap and abundant clothing wools of South America, and by freeing them from our competition for their purchase makes them much cheaper than they would otherwise be to the manufacturers of France, Belgium and Germany, who work them up into clothes and stuffs by the cheapest labor in Europe.

It may be said that a remedy for these difficulties is to be found in the exclusive use of the domestic wools, which will be abundantly supplied under due protection. To this we reply that neither our own country nor any other in the world does or can produce to advantage wools of all kinds and grades. Experience under high protection of wool in this country for over thirty years had demonstrated that our domestic wool growers find it to their advantage to produce only the staple wools required for the ordinary range of woolen fabrics; and as these fabrics will always be in demand, they build up their flocks—a work of time—for the production only of the fleeces which will be profitable for a long series of years. This system, although providing admirable raw material for common goods, is incompatible with the variety required for the diversified and highly advanced manufacture which should be our aim. The American manufacturer, to compete with the fabrics of other nations in the endless variety demanded by our times, must have the power of selecting a portion of his raw material from all the world's sources of supply. The sudden and exceptional demand for more or new raw material must be supplied by importation.

X.

ANOTHER MANUFACTURER IN AN IMPORTANT BUSINESS CENTRE WHO WANTS FREER RAW MATERIALS.

Edwin G. Sanford, of the hat-manufacturing firm of Glover, Sanford & Sons, made the principal address at a political meeting at Bridgeport, Conn., recently.

He said he wanted free wool; that with free wool they could compete with any country in the world and give the employes work 300 days in the year, because their ability to compete with other countries would open new markets where they could sell enough goods to keep their factory running full time the year round. When the duty was 20 per cent., before the war, their business was never so prosperous, and now since 1873 it has been steadily diminishing under an excessive tariff. The wool needed in felting wool hats is foreign wool. Our wool was not suitable for the purpose, and there was about as much sense in trying to raise bananas and elephants in this country as the Australian wool. Possibly both could be done, but not at a profit.

In his own business, Mr. Sanford said his firm used 500 to 600 pounds of wool a week, which would cost at Cape Town $900. The duty on this was $500. Why would it not be a boon to the manufacturer to remove the duty? The Government did not need the money. The manufacturer would then make his product cheaper, and cheaper product means more markets; more markets meant steadier work, greater annual wages, and increased comfort and prosperity to the journeyman hatter. At the same time a cheaper product from free raw materials meant a cheaper hat to every consumer of wool hats.

"Suppose it is so," said Mr. Sanford, "though I do not believe it, that the Ohio wool grower is injured, is the Connecticut mechanic to think more of the Ohio farmer than he does of himself? Do you consumers think more of Ohio's farmers than you do of your own prosperity and the prosperity of your own Connecticut manufacturers? Before the war our profit was $1 a dozen on hats; now I'd be glad to take the contract of the whole factory at one cent a hat. A year ago we began making Scotch hats at .75 profit; to-day we get 10 cents a dozen. Now, will they say the Mills bill has done that?

"Since 1876 we have not exported any hats because we can't get free wool. Give us free wool and we'll beat the world at making wool hats. And I believe in nearly all our manufacturing we can successfully compete with any country on the face of the globe, if only we can have our raw materials that enter into our manu-

factures free. It has been said that an American could earn his dollar before the Englishman had smoked his pipe and tied his shoes, and there was a great deal of truth in the statement. Our labor was more efficient, smarter, more willing and in the same time produced greater results than any underpaid pauper labor of Europe.

"The amount of wool we raised in the United States was 265,000,000 pounds. We used 600,000,000, and owing to the duty our manufacturers had to pay the increased price upon the whole amount of wool we used and our consumers the increased price for every dollar of the manufactured product they used. Why," said Mr. Sanford, "do you want a wall built around this country to prevent your trading with other countries? We make more than we use. We ought to sell our surplus abroad, but you place the tariff so high that it can't be done. Trade can only exist between two or more parties? we would make money from the foreigners, they would take what we could make better than they, and we would take what they could make cheaper than we could, so the trade would be mutually beneficial to each.

"Build a wall about a town raising tobacco and forbid trading with outside towns and the only thing left to the inhabitants, as an old fellow said, is to chaw. So long as we can't have free raw materials we too have got to chaw. Since England has had free raw material her manufacturing has increased 100 fold. The tariff has nothing to do with regulating wages, they are governed by the law of supply and demand. In my business free wool would not injure our labor, but would help it and would, as I said, put in a position where duty or no duty we could compete with the world."

XI.

A CALIFORNIA MANUFACTURER WHO IS STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF FREE WOOL IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE BOTH THE GROWING AND THE MANUFACTURE.

William Harney, secretary of the Golden Gate Woolen Manufacturing Company, of San Francisco, thus gave his endorsement to the proposition to put raw wool on the free list. His interview was first published in the *Alta California*, of San Francisco:

I am an avowed protectionist and always have been. In no sense can I be classed as a free-trader. I look upon this question of the wool tariff from the standpoint of years of experience in the manufacture of woolen fabrics, and I can find no reasonable ground on which to base the assertion that the interests of manufacturer and wool-grower clash on the tariff question so far as this matter is concerned. As I look at it their interests are identical, and it is not a matter in which politics, so called, should cut any figure. I think I can show you that my position is eminently correct. This country does not produce the fine quality of wool that we import from Australia. And to make a certain line of goods we must have some of that wool, tariff or no tariff. I can see no reason why duty should be imposed on a raw material our own country does not produce.

To show how the tariff on wool operates against the manufacturer, and domestic wool grower as well, just for a moment consider these figures. The best Australian wool costs us down there in the colonies say 14 pence per pound; that is about 28 cents of our money. Now, to this must be added, for freight, brokerage and similar expenses, from 3 to 4 cents. Say 4 cents. That brings the cost of the wool up to 32 cents a pound. The wool under the scouring will shrink anywhere from 65 to 70 per cent. Let us say 68 per cent., that would bring the cost of the wool up to $1 per pound, and to this must be added 10 cents per pound duty, making a total of $1.10. Supposing the wool cost us 30 cents, and the shrinkage was 68 per cent., then with the duty added, the total cost would foot up to $1.06 per pound. These figures are liable to fluctuation of course, according to natural laws of trade, but the fluctuations, however great, would not materially affect the average as already stated by me. You can easily understand that with such costly crude material we cannot produce a manufactured article to compete with the European or foreign production.

The best grades of our domestic wool come from Southern Oregon, Honey Lake Valley and Mendocino county, and constitute the fall clip. This wool costs us, ready for use, about fifty-eight cents per pound, as a general average against the Australian wool of ninety-six cents and one dollar per pound without the duty. By this you see the domestic wool can be sold and is sold far below the price commanded by the Australian product.

I contend that if the duty on wool were removed, it would put the American manufacturer on an equality with the foreign manufacturers, because the duty, as it now stands, hampers the American manufacturers in exactly the same ratio that the low cost of labor and motive power abroad favors the foreign manufacturer. In other words if the duty on wool were removed to-morrow it would operate to the American manufacturer as an advantage quite, if not more than, offsetting the foreign manufacturers' advantage in the cost of labor and motive power. When I make that assertion I, of course, suppose that the duty will not be removed from the manufactured article. I hold that the wool grower is not protected by the tax on the raw wool, but by the tax on the importation of the manufactured article.

KEPT FROM MAKING THE BEST CLASS OF GOODS.

I have already shown you how necessary it is for us to have the best Australian grades of wool to manufacture superior fabrics. The tariff prevents us going into an extensive manufacture of cassimeres and diagonals. Could we get the wool minus the duty, and have the tax remain on the imported manufactured articles, we could compete with and drive out the foreign product. This we could do, for we would blend the Australian wool with the home product in the proportion of about one part Australian wool to two parts home wool. This would result in an immense consumption of the domestic wool, far greater than at present, and would prove a powerful stimulus to the wool-growing industry of America. We have all the machinery in this country and the skill to make cloths as good as the best, but our energies are crippled and our enterprise dwarfed by the unnecessary cost of the raw material. Could we go ahead and work our mills to their best advantage, millions of dollars would annually find their way into the pockets of our wage-workers that now either remain idle or are disbursed in the support of foreign industries. I think the consumer would equally benefit with the producer.

The wool-grower may advance as an argument the assertion that if the tariff on wool was removed the market would be flooded with the low grade foreign wools. This assertion has no weight when you consider a moment the relative cost of the low grade foreign and low grade domestic wool. The lowest grade wools in Australia cost there say 8 pence or 16 cents per pound, add three cents for freight and brokerage and the cost is nineteen cents. Ten cents per pound for duty increases their value to twenty-nine cents. Say the shrinkage is sixty per cent., and we find the total cost is no less than 72½ cents per pound. Our own low grade wools cost us ready for use, anywhere from forty-two to forty-five cents per pound, so that you can see that if the duty was removed the cost of the foreign article would still be far in excess of the home product.

If the door was thrown wide open to-morrow by the abolition of the duty, we would not be able to get very much more of the foreign wool than we do now, the supply being less than what the world demands; but at the same time we would use an enormously increased quantity of the domestic wool. There is nothing in the proposition to remove the tariff on wool to prompt the wool grower to feel that he is at any hazard.

I think that in time we may be able to raise as good wool in this country as can be imported, but at present such is not the case. In the Colonies great care is taken to keep the ranges clean, the grass is of good quality and the sheep are sheared but once a year. Climate and other conditions have marked effect on the quality of the wool.

In one of his reports, while Secretary of the Treasury, the late Daniel Manning used the following very significant language: "Any tax on the raw wool will always make domestic wool-raising a bad business, for in our dry climate some varieties of wool required in the manufacture of fine fabrics are not possible."

XII.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL ON CLEVELAND, AS EXPRESSED WHEN PRESIDING AT A REVENUE REFORM MEETING IN BOSTON, DECEMBER 20, 1887.

One, certainly, of the reasons that have brought us hither—one, at least, of those that chiefly suggested the opportuneness of our coming together here—has been the President's message at the opening of the present Congress. Personally, I confess that I feel myself strongly attracted to Mr. Cleveland as the best representative of the higher type of Americanism that we have seen since Lincoln was snatched from us. And by Americanism I mean that which we cannot help, not that which we flaunt—that way of looking at things and of treating men which we derive from the soil that holds our fathers and waits for us. I think we have all recognized in him a manly simplicity of character and an honest endeavor to do all that he could of duty, where all that he would was made impossible by difficulties, to the hourly trials and temptations of which we have fortunately never been exposed. But we are not here to thank him as the head of a party. We are here to felicitate each other that the Presidential chair has a man in it, and this means that every word he says is weighted with what he is. We are here to felicitate each other that this man understands politics to mean business, not chicanery; plain speaking, not paltering with us in a double sense; that he has had the courage to tell the truth to the country without regard to personal or party consequences, and thus to remind us that a country not worth telling the truth to is not worth living in; nay, deserves to have lies told it and to take the inevitable consequences in calmly.

If it be lamentable that acts of official courage should have become so rare among us as to be noteworthy, it is consoling to believe that they are sometimes contagious. "So shines a good deed in a naughty world." As courage is pre-eminently the virtue of men, so it is the virtue which most powerfully challenges the respect and emulation of men. We thank the President for having taught a most pertinent object lesson, and from a platform lofty enough to be seen of all the people. We should be glad to think, though we hardly dare to hope, that some of the waiters on popular providence, whom we humorously call statesmen, would profit by it. As one of the evil phenomena which are said to mark the advance of Democracy is the decay of civic courage, we should be grateful to the President for giving us reason to think that this is rather one of its accidents than of its properties.

Whatever be the effect of Mr. Cleveland's action on his personal fortunes, let us rejoice to think that it will be a stimulating thorn in that august chair for all that may sit in it after him. Would that all our Presidents might see and lay to heart that vision which Dion saw, that silent shape of woman, sweeping and ever sweeping without pause. Our politics call loudly for a broom. There are rubbish heaps of cant in every corner of them that should be swept out for the dustman. Time to cart away and dump beyond sight or smell of mortal men. Mr. Cleveland, I think, has found the broom and begun to ply it.

But, gentlemen, the President has set us the example, not only of courage, but of good sense and moderation. He has kept strictly to his text and his purpose. He has stated the facts and marshalled the figures without drawing further inferences from them than were implicitly there. He has confined himself to the economic question, to that which directly concerns the national housekeeping. He has not allowed himself to be lured from the direct forthright by any temptation to discuss the more general and at present mainly academic questions of free trade or protection. He has shown us that there was such a thing as being protected too much and that we had protected our shipping interests so effectually that they had ceased to need protection by ceasing to exist. In thus limiting the field of his warning and his counsels, he has done wisely, and we shall do wisely in following his example. His facts and his figures will work all the more effectually. But we must be patient with them and expect them to work slowly. Enormous interests are involved, and must be treated tenderly. It was sixty years before the leaven of Adam Smith

gnated the whole sluggish lump of British opinion, and we are a batch of the dough.

can remember the time when bounties were paid for the raising of wheat in achusetts. Bounties have fallen into discredit now. They have taken an alias lay their three-card trick as subsidies or as protection to labor, but the com-sense of our people will find them out at last. If we are not to expect any immediate result from the message than that best result of all human speech, t awaken thought, we can at least already thank it for one signal and unques-ble benefit. It is dividing, and will continue more and more to divide, our s by the lines of natural cleavage, and will close the artificial and often mis-ous lines which followed the boundaries of section or the tracings of bygone lice. We have here a question which equally concerns every man, woman hild, black or white, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico Bay of Fundy. We have here a topic which renders nugatory all those prob-of ancient history which we debated and settled more than twenty years ago anly wager of battle, and that so definitely that we welcome here to-night with l pleasure some of the brave men with whom we argued then, and whom we ed all the more on keeping as countrymen that they had taught us how to them.

XIII.

ACT FROM A SPEECH BY THE LATE EMORY A. STORRS, AT AN AGRICULTURAL FAIR IN SPRINGFIELD, ILL., SEPTEMBER, 1870.

a surplus so gigantic demonstrates better than any argument could possibly hat taxation is unnecessarily high. Still there stands, in a time of profound , an enormous tariff, the effect of which is felt in every department of business, he maintenance of which enhances the cost of living to every man in the land. should that tariff be continued? The fact of the surplus demonstrates that it necessary for the support of the Government, and so those who are interested aintaining it are compelled to place their demands upon what they call the ection of American industry."

will inquire precisely what is meant by protecting American industry? ist what or against whom is American industry to be protected? Who attacks o? ses to attack American industry? How is the attack made? Is American try so feeble that it cannot, without assistance from the Government, protect ? These are all vital questions. If no one is attacking American industry, it no protection. The forms of American industry are wonderfully diversified. reat body of the farmers of the country constitute a large element of what may lled American industry, and I know of no attack upon them so serious in its cter as that made by the tariff; and if the farmers need protection against any-it is against protection.

here are thousands of printers in the country; who attacks or proposes to them? No one, except it be the tariff, which enhances the cost of material which their industry is carried on, of the clothes which they wear, of the coal they burn, of the lumber with which their homes are built, of the salt which consume, and of the books which they read. There are thousands of shipbuild-the country; who attacks them and their interests, and from what enemy do need to be protected? The deserted ship-yards of the East answer this ques--they need to be protected against protection, and that is all the protection need. The thousands and hundreds of thousands of carpenters and joiners, and shoemakers, blacksmiths, and the daily toilers with their hands, upon the or upon the sea, are threatened with an attack against which, for their own ction, the intervention of the Government is necessary.

apprehend that should the Government levy a direct tax upon all the property country, to be paid over directly to iron manufacturers, so that they might be

enabled to hold their own against the competition of the foreign manufacturers, but a few would be found who would justify such an exercise of the power of taxation. When reduced to its exact practical operations, the protection of American industry, so called, is simply the forcible taking from the consumer of a portion of his earnings and handing it over to the manufacturer. The proposition to the consumer is simply this: We, the Government, will take from you 10 or 15 or 20 per cent. of your earnings and give it to the manufacturer, and he will spend it so much more judiciously than you would; that ultimately and in the process of time it will in some curious and circuitous manner which we have not the time to explain now, redound more greatly to your advantage than it would had you spent it yourself and for yourself.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE TAXES OF THE RICH.

HOW THESE HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM TIME TO TIME SINCE 1866—NOW THE REPUBLICANS FAVOR THE FREEING OF WHISKEY.

[*From a Speech by W. C. P. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, July 8.*]

The Republican party claim the credit of large and repeated reductions of internal taxation. That the exact facts may be a matter of record, I ask leave to have printed the letter from Mr. Miller, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, to Speaker Carlisle.

During the years in which these reductions were being made no burden has been removed from our tariff taxation, and the increased rates of duties imposed because of these internal taxes have not been removed, though the internal tax has been repealed.

And as this history given in this letter is carefully studied it will be perceived that as a rule these reductions removed burdens from capital and wealth, and rendered more improbable and difficult a revision of the tariff and a reduction of tariff taxation, and more firmly riveted the present system of excessive protective duties upon the tax-payers and consumers.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
WASHINGTON, May 2, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith, in compliance with your request, a statement of the amount of internal taxes abolished under the several acts of legislation from July 13, 1866, when the first act was passed "to reduce internal taxation," to March 3, 1883, the date of the last act to reduce such taxation, as shown—

First. By ascertaining the differences, when practicable, between the receipts from the several sources affected by the legislation for the years in which the acts were passed, at the rates of tax in force immediately prior to the passage of the acts, and the receipts that the new rates imposed by these acts would have yielded for the same years had they been in force.

Second. When, from want of necessary data, the foregoing method is impracticable, by giving the differences in the receipts for the years immediately preceding and following the years in which the acts were passed effecting the reduction or repeal of said taxes, except in cases where an act had not gone into full operation the first year after its passage, when the receipts for the next succeeding year are taken instead of those for the year before it, and—

Third. In cases where the tax is wholly abolished by giving the largest amount of revenue collected from that source in any year as the measure of reduction.

Taxation under the present internal revenue system culminated in 1866, the receipts for that year amounting to $310,906,984.17. Under the laws then in force taxes were levied on raw products, upon all manufactures; upon nearly all professions, trades and occupa-

tions, upon the entire receipts of transportation, express, insurance and telegraph companies, of advertisements, bridges and toll roads, and of lotteries, theatres and other places of amusement, upon auction sales and brokers sales of merchandise, stocks, bonds, foreign exchange, promissory notes, gold and silver bullion and coin (and later upon sales of manufacturers, dealers, liquor dealers, etc.), upon the income of individuals, upon bank profits, dividends and additions to surplus funds, upon canal, railroad and turnpike companies' dividends, interest on bonds and additions to surplus funds, upon insurance companies' dividends and additions to surplus funds, and upon the salaries of United States officers and employes, upon articles of luxury kept for use, such as billiard tables, carriages, pianofortes and other parlor musical instruments, gold watches, yachts, gold and silver plate, upon nearly every kind of legal instrument, upon promissory notes, bank checks, friction matches and proprietary medicines, upon legacies and successions, upon passports, upon slaughtered cattle, sheep and swine, and upon the capital, circulation and deposits of banks, private, State and national. In a word, every available source of revenue was laid under contribution to pay the interest on the public debt and to meet the other necessary expenses of the Government. This system was probably more far-reaching and comprehensive than any system of taxation ever before devised.

The work of reducing internal taxation began August 1, 1866, and went on more or less rapidly until 1883, when, according to the following statement, taxes to the amount of $320,717,187 per annum had been abolished, and the system relieved of its most burdensome provisions.

TAXES REPEALED FROM JULY 13, 1866, TO JULY 14, 1870.

First. Manufactures and products: The largest and most important class of articles taxed during the fiscal year 1866 was that of manufactures and productions. Exclusive of the tax on distilled spirits, fermented liquors, chewing and smoking tobacco, snuff, and cigars it yielded that year $127,230,609. The articles included in it were almost innumerable. One hundred and twenty-five were enumerated in the "schedule of articles subject to tax." One other heading—"manufactures not enumerated"—included the rest. Under this class taxes were duplicated and reduplicated. Among the articles that yielded the largest amount of revenue may be mentioned the raw products—coal, cotton, crude petroleum, and sugar; and the manufactures—boots and shoes, cloths and other fabrics made of cotton, same made of wool, ready-made clothing, illuminating gas, manufactures of iron, oil distilled from crude petroleum, and coal.

Taxes in this class were reduced by acts of July 13, 1866, and March 2, 1867, and were finally abolished by acts of February 3, 1868, March 31, 1868, and July 20, 1868, with the exception of the tax on gas. This was not repealed until August 1, 1872. As a substitute for the tax on manufactures a tax of one-fifth of 1 per cent. was imposed on the sales of manufactures in excess of $5,000 per annum. Largest receipts in 1866; amount, $127,230,609.

Second. Gross receipts: Taxes varying from 1½ to 5 per cent. were imposed on the gross receipts of canal, railroad, steamboat, express and insurance companies, of advertisements, bridges, ferries, stage coaches, etc. Taxes reduced by acts of July 13, 1866, March 2, 1867, and finally repealed by act of July 14, 1870. Largest receipts in fiscal year 1866; amount, $11,262,450.

Third. Sales: Sales of brokers on merchandise, produce, stocks, bonds, foreign exchange, gold and silver bullion and coin, auction sales, sales of dealers and liquor-dealers over $50,000 per annum were taxed at rates varying from one-twentieth to one-fourth of 1 per cent. up to 1870. Repealed by act of July 14, 1870. Largest receipts in fiscal year 1870; amount, $8,857,335.

Fourth. Special taxes not relating to spirits, beer, and tobacco: An annual tax varying from $5 to $500 was imposed on nearly all professions and occupations. Few reductions were made in these taxes before their repeal. Abolished May 1, 1871, by act of July 14, 1870. Largest receipts in fiscal year 1866; amount, $14,144,418.

Fifth. Income: The tax on incomes from individuals was reduced by acts of March 2, 1867, and July 14, 1870. It expired by limitation December 31, 1871.

The tax of 5 per cent. on dividends and additions to surplus of banks, insurance, railroad, and other corporations was reduced by act of July 14, 1870, to 2½ per cent. and expired by limitation at the same time as the tax on incomes from individuals. Largest receipts in fiscal year 1866: From individuals, $60,547,582; from corporations, $12,434,277; total $72,982,159.

Sixth. Legacies and successions: No reduction in this class before its repeal by act of July 14, 1870. Largest receipts in fiscal year 1870; amount, $3,091,825.

Seventh. Articles of luxury kept for use: Reduction by act of July 13, 1866; taxes repealed by act of July 14, 1870. Largest receipts in fiscal year 1867; amount $2,116,674.

Eighth. Slaughtered animals: No reduction under this class; repealed by act of July 13, 1866. Largest receipts in fiscal year 1866; amount, $1,291,571.

Ninth. Passports: The tax on passports was repealed by act of July 14, 1870. Largest receipts in fiscal year 1868; amount, $31,149.

Tenth. Stamp taxes: The stamp tax imposed on promissory notes for a less sum than $100, and on receipts for any sum of money or for the payment of any debt, and the stamp tax imposed on canned and preserved fish were repealed October 1, 1870, by act of July 14, 1870.

Total receipts from stamp taxes for the fiscal year 1870	$16,544,043.00
And for the fiscal year 1872	16,177,321.00
Apparent reduction	366,722.00

Recapitulation of taxes repealed under the foregoing named acts.

Taxes repealed on—	Amount.
Manufactures and products	$127,230,609.00
Gross receipts	11,262,430.00
Sales	8,837,395.00
Special taxes not relating to spirits, tobacco and beer	14,144,418.00
Income	72,932,159.00
Legacies and successions	3,091,825 00
Articles of luxury kept for use	2,116,674 00
Slaughtered animals	1,291,571.00
Passports	31,149 00
Total abolished	$240,988,230 00
Add stamp taxes reduced	368,722.00
And for increase on gas from 1866 to 1872	989,076.00
And for increase on raw cotton from 1866 to 1867	5,359,424.00
Total repealed and reduced	$247,705,452.00

The receipts from the tax on gas in 1866 were $1,822,643, and in 1872, the year of largest receipts from this source, $2,831,719, showing an increase in the tax during this time of $989,076. So, also, the receipts from raw cotton in 1866 were $18,409,655, and in 1867, the year when the largest receipts were returned from this source, $23,769,079, showing an increase of $5,359,424 over the receipts of the previous year. The sums then of $989,076 and of $5,359,424 have been added to the total of taxes repealed in accordance with the principle enunciated in paragraph 3, page 3.

REMOVAL OF TAXES ON INCOMES AND OTHER LUXURIES.

The following is a brief synopsis of the leading provisions in the above-named acts that effected this reduction:

First. An act of July 13, 1866: The largest reductions under this act were made on manufactures and products, by the repeal of the provisions in section 5, act of March 3, 1865, which imposed a tax of 20 per cent. on all articles, with few exceptions, enumerated in section 94, act of June 30, 1864, in addition to the rates imposed in that section, and by repealing the tax altogether on certain articles in this class. The rate of tax on gross receipts of telegraph companies was reduced from 5 to 3 per cent., and on auction sales from one-fourth to one-tenth of 1 per cent, and on brokers' sales of merchandise from one-eighth to one-twentieth of 1 per cent. The tax of one-twentieth of 1 per cent. on brokers' sales of stocks, bonds, foreign exchange, promissory notes, or other securities, and of one-tenth of 1 per cent. on sales of gold and silver bullion and coin was reduced to one-hundredth of 1 per cent., when such sales were made by a broker, bank, or banker who had paid a special tax as such. The tax was repealed on the gross receipts of railroad and other companies for transportation of freight, on slaughtered animals, on carriages valued at $300 and less, on piano-fortes and other parlor musical instruments, and on yachts, pleasure and racing boats kept for use.

Second. Act of March 2, 1867: The list of articles added to the free list by act of July 12, 1866, was considerably increased by this act. The tax was repealed on the gross receipts of advertisements and toll roads, and was reduced on the gross receipts of bridges and ferries from 3 to 2½ per cent. A few additional taxes were imposed on sales.

The income tax of individuals was reduced by raising the exemption from $600 to $1,000, and by imposing a uniform rate of 5 per cent. on all taxable incomes over that amount, in lieu of the rates 5 per cent. on incomes over $600 and not over $5,000, and 10 per cent. on incomes over $5,000, an excess of $5,000 imposed by act of March 3, 1865.

Third. Act of February 3, 1868: By this act the tax on cotton grown in the United States after the year 1867 was repealed.

Fourth. Act of March 31, 1868: All taxes on manufactures and productions, except distilled spirits, fermented liquors, cigars, cigarettes, snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco, not before repealed, were abolished from the passage of this act, except the tax on gas, and mineral oils distilled from coal and crude petroleum. In lieu of these taxes repealed, however, a tax of one-fifth of 1 per cent. was imposed on manufacturers' sales in excess of $5,000 per annum.

Fifth. Act of July 2, 1868: The remainder of the tax on mineral oil distilled from crude petroleum, coal, etc., which was reduced one-half by the act of March 31, 1868, was repealed by this act.

Sixth. Act of July 14, 1870: By the provisions of this act tax was repealed on special taxes not relating to spirits, fermented liquors, and tobacco, on gross receipts, sales, legacies, and successions, articles of luxury kept for use, not before abolished, and on passports.

The tax on income from individuals was reduced by raising the exemption from $1,000 to $2,000, and by imposing a tax of 2½ per cent. on all taxable incomes over $2,000, in place of 5 per cent. on all taxable incomes over $1,000, under act of March 2, 1867. This act also reduced the tax from 5 to 2½ per cent. on the dividends and additions to surplus funds of

banks, canal, insurance, railroad, and turnpike companies, and on the interest on bonds of canal, railroad, and turnpike companies, and provided that the income tax should be levied and collected annually for the years 1870 and 1871, and no longer. It also reduced the stamp tax. (See paragraph 10, page 12.)

The amount of reduction in the several classes named under each of the foregoing acts cannot be exactly determined for lack of necessary data in the returns. The largest receipts for any one year have, therefore, been taken as the measure of reduction.

REMOVAL OF TAXES ON DRINKING AND SMOKING.

Act of July 20, 1868, as amended by Act of April 10, 1869: Among the more important provisions of this act were those reducing the rates of tax on distilled spirits from $2 to 50 cents per gallon, modifying the special taxes of distillers, and imposing a capacity tax on their distilleries and a tax of $4 per barrel on the annual production of spirits in excess of 100 barrels by each distiller.

Under these changes in the law the quantities of distilled spirits returned for taxation increased from 7,224,809 gallons in 1868 to 62,092,417 gallons in 1869, and 78,490,198 gallons in 1870, and the receipts from $18,655,631 in 1868 to $45,071,231 in 1869, and $55,606,094 in 1870.

The most important changes made in the rates of tax on tobacco and snuff were the reduction of the tax on snuff and the finer grades of chewing and smoking tobacco, constituting about two-thirds of the quantity of tobacco taxed, from 40 to 32 cents per pound, and the imposition of a tax of one fifth of 1 per cent on sales of cigars over $5,000 per annum, of manufactured tobacco over $1,000 per annum, of leaf tobacco over $10,000 per annum, and on the excess over $5,000 of the penal sum of bonds of manufacturers of tobacco.

Under the operation of these and other modifications in the law the quantities of manufactured tobacco and snuff returned for taxation increased from 46,764,150 pounds in 1868 to 64,305,026 pounds in 1869, and 90,288,082 pounds in 1870, and the receipts from all sources relating to tobacco from $18,730,095 in 1868 to $23,430,708 in 1869, and $31,350,708 in 1870.

This act provided that the tax on distilled spirits, snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco should be paid by stamps. The tax on distilled spirits was accordingly first paid by stamps November 1, 1868, and on manufactured tobacco and snuff November 23, 1868.

Act of June 6, 1872: Under spirits this act repealed the special tax of distillers, the capacity or per diem tax on their distilleries, and the tax of $4 per barrel on every barrel produced by any distiller over 100 barrels a year, but increased the rate of tax per gallon from 50 to 70 cents. These changes were not probably made to affect the revenue from spirits, but to make the tax less burdensome to distillers.

The changes made by this act in the rates of tax on tobacco were the substitution of a uniform rate of 20 cents per pound on all chewing and smoking tobacco for the two rates, 16 and 32 cents, imposed by act of July 20, 1868, the repeal of the tax on sales of cigars over $5,000 per annum, of manufactured tobacco over $1,000 per annum, of leaf tobacco over $10,000 per annum, and on excess of $5,000 of the penal sum of bonds of manufacturers of tobacco, and the imposition of a special tax on retail dealers in leaf tobacco, and on peddlers of tobacco.

Estimated reduction under tobacco: The quantity of chewing and smoking tobacco returned for taxation during the fiscal year 1872 was 93,655,905 pounds. The actual receipts from this tobacco at 16 and 32 cents per pound imposed by act of July 20, 1868, were:

At 32 cents	$18,177,476 77
At 16 cents	5,896,206 33
Total	$24,073,683 10
Estimated receipts on 93,655,905 pounds at 20 cents	18,731,181 60
Showing a reduction of	$5,342,502 10
Add for receipts from sales of cigars, manufactured tobacco, etc., in 1872	363,137 00
Total	$5,705,639 10
Deduct receipts of retail dealers in leaf tobacco and peddlers of tobacco in 1873	58,698 00
Actual reduction in receipts from tobacco	$5,646,941 10

This act also repealed all stamp taxes imposed under Schedule B (documentary stamps), act of June 30, 1864, except the 2 cent stamp on bank checks, drafts or orders. Date of repeal, October 1, 1872. The receipts for the first entire fiscal year after the date of repeal were those for 1874.

Receipts from stamp taxes in 1872	$16,177 321
Receipts from stamp taxes in 1874	6,136 845
Showing a reduction of	$10,040,476

This act raised the exemption on all sums deposited in savings banks; etc., in the name of one person from $500 to $2,000, and exempted certain borrowed capital. The annual reduction in the receipts from bank capital and deposits in consequence of these changes in the law was, as appears from a comparison of the receipts from them in 1872 and 1873, $873,111.

Amount of tax returned on bank capital and deposits:

In fiscal year 1872	$4,619,364
In fiscal year 1873	3,746,253
Reduction	$873,111

The tax on illuminating gas was repealed by this act.

Amount of reduction:

On the stamp tax	$10,040,476
On bank capital and deposits	873,111
On tobacco	5,645,941
Total, exclusive of gas	$16,560,528

FURTHER EFFORTS TO FREE WHISKEY FROM TAX.

Act of March 1, 1879: This act imposed a uniform rate of 16 cents per pound on all snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco in lieu of 32 cents per pound imposed on snuff by act of July 20, 1868, and 24 cents per pound on chewing and smoking tobacco imposed by act of March 3, 1875. This act took effect May 1, 1879, hence the greater part of the receipts for the last two months of the fiscal year 1879 was collected at the new rates of tax.

The total quantity of manufactured tobacco and snuff returned for taxation during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879, was 120,398,458 pounds, as follows:

	Pounds.	Pounds.
Snuff at 32 cents	2,215,111	
Snuff at 16 cents	1,208,124	
		3,423,235
Manufactured tobacco at 16 cents	42,127,203	
Manufactured tobacco at 20 cents	57	
Manufactured tobacco at 24 cents	74,847,963	
		116,975,223
Total		120,398,458

Estimates of tax on snuff and manufactured tobacco:

At new rates, 120,398,458 pounds at 16 cents		$19,263,753
At old rates, snuff 3,423,235 pounds at 32 cents	$1,095,435	
At old rates, manufactured tobacco 116,975,223 pounds at 24 cents	28,074,054	
		29,069,489
Reduction		9,905,736

Act of May 28, 1880: This act abolished warehouse, rectifiers,' wholesale liquor dealers', special bonded warehouse and imported spirit stamps, and the provision for the payment of 5 per cent. interest under joint resolution of March 28, 1878, on the tax upon spirits that had remained in warehouse more than one year, and provided certain allowances for leakage in packages of spirits when they were withdrawn from warehouse.

The receipts from the sale of the above-named stamps in 1880 were:

Interest amounted to	$730,689
Leakage, taking the average	158,994
Allowed for 1881, 1882 and 1883	1,300,144
Total	$1,789,827

Act of March 3, 1883: This act reduced the tax on tobacco and repealed the stamp-tax on checks, friction-matches, parent medicines, etc., and the tax on the capital and deposits of all banks and bankers, private, State, and national.

Under tobacco, the tax on cigars was reduced from $6 to $3 per thousand, on cigarettes from $1.75 to 50 cents per thousand, and on snuff, chewing, and smoking tobacco from 16 to 8 cents per pound, and the special taxes of manufacturers of and dealers in tobacco were reduced on an average nearly 50 per cent.

ESTIMATE OF THE REDUCTION ON TOBACCO.

As this act, so far as it relates to tobacco, took effect May 1, 1883, most of the collections on tobacco during the last two months of the fiscal year 1883 were made under this act.

The quantities of cigars, cigarettes, snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco returned for taxation during the fiscal year 1883 were as follows:

Cigars and cheroots	number	2,227,888,992
Cigarettes	number	640,021,653
Snuff and manufactured tobacco	pounds	170,361,558

The number of special tax-payers were as follows: Manufacturers of cigars, 16,724; manufacturers of tobacco, 1,060; dealers in leaf tobacco, 3,382; dealers in leaf-tobacco, not over 25,000 pounds, 1,208; retail dealers in leaf-tobacco, 3; dealers in manufactured tobacco, 449,612; peddlers of tobacco, first class, 7; second class, 528; third class, 647; fourth class, 221.

ESTIMATE OF RECEIPTS UNDER RATES OF TAX IN FORCE IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO MAY 1, 1883.

Cigars, 3,227,888,992, at $6 per 1000	$19,367,333 95
Cigarettes, weighing not over 3 pounds per 1,000, 639,902,503, at $1.75 per 1,000	1,119,829 38
Cigarettes weighing over 3 pounds per 1,000, 119,150, at $6 per 1,000	714 90
Tobacco and snuff, 170,361,558, at 16 cents	27,257,849 28
Total manufactured tobacco, cigars, etc	$47,745,727 51

SPECIAL TAXES.

Manufacturers of cigars, 16,724, at $10	$1 7,240 00
Dealers in leaf tobacco, 3,382, at $25	84,550 00
Dealers in leaf tobacco, not over 24,000 pounds, 1,208, at $5	6,040 00
Retail dealers in leaf tobacco, 3, at $500	1,500 00
Dealers in manufactured tobacco, 449,612, at $5	2,248,060 00
Manufacturers of tobacco, 16,060, a $10	10,600 00

PEDDLERS OF TOBACCO.

First class, 7, at $50	350 00
Second class, 528, at $25	13,200 00
Third class, 647, at $15	9,705 00
Fourth class, 221, at $10	2,210 00
Total special taxes	$2,543,455 00
Total from all sources at old rates	$50,289,182 51

Estimate of receipts under rates of tax imposed by act of March 3, 1883.

Cigars and cheroots, 3,227,888,992, at $3	$9,683,656 98
Cigarettes, weighing not over 3 pounds per 1,000, 639,902,503, at 50 cents per 1,000	319,951 25
Cigarettes, weighing over 3 pounds per 1,000, 119,150, at $3	357 45
Tobacco and snuff, 170,361,558, at 8 cents	13,628,924 64
Total manufactured tobacco, cigars, etc	$23,632,900 32

SPECIAL TAXES.

Manufacturers of cigars, 16,724, at $6	$100,344 00
Dealers in leaf tobacco, 3,382, at $12	40,584 00
Dealers in leaf tobacco, not over 25,000 pounds, 1,208, at $5	9,040 00
Retail dealers in leaf tobacco, 3, at $250	750 00
Dealers in manufactured tobacco, 449,612, at $2.40	1,079,068 80
Manufacturers of tobacco, 1,060, at $6	6,360 00

PEDDLERS OF TOBACCO.

First class, 7, at $30	$210 00
Second class, 528, at $15	7,920 00
Third class, 647, at $7.20	4,658 40
Fourth class, 221, at $3.60	795 60
Total special taxes	$1,246,730 80
Total from all sources at new rates	$24,879,631 12
Total from all sources at old rates	50,289,182 51
Reduction	$25,409,551 39

TAXES ABOLISHED.

Receipts in fiscal year 1882 from stamp taxes	$8,139,218 00
Capital and deposits of State banks and private bankers	5,249,173 00
Capital and deposits of national banks	5,959,702 00
Total taxes reduced and repealed	$44,757,644 39

Taxes on the capital and deposits of national banks were by law returned to the Treasurer of the United States instead of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, so that they were never included in the receipts of this office. They were, however, strictly an internal tax and should be included in the list of internal taxes repealed.

RECAPITULATION.

Date of approval of repealing and reducing acts.	Amount of taxes reduced and repealed.
July 13, 1866; March 2, 1867; February 3, 1868; March 31, 1868; July 20, 1868, and July 14, 1870	$217,703,452
June 6, 1872	16,560,528
March 1, 1879	9,905,736
May 28, 1880	1,789,527
March 3, 1883	44,757,644
Total	$320,717,187

Respectfully yours,

JOSEPH S. MILLER, Commissioner.

CHAPTER XLV.

WHAT THE MILLS BILL IS.

A COMPLETE SHOWING BY SCHEDULE OF THE REDUCTION PROPOSED IN THE BURDENS OF TAXATION.

The Free List Enlarged for the Benefit of Workingmen and Manufacturers, with few Slight Reductions on Goods which are Made in this Country.

The free list of the present tariff includes 325 paragraphs of the law of 1883. In the Mills Bill 139 additional paragraphs are devoted to the free list, including only a very few more than this number of articles. The carrying, therefore, of these articles to the free list is simply an enlargement of the same, and not a making of it anew.

It has been the policy of the country in constructing tariff laws, even those carrying the highest rate of duty, to include in the free list a large number of articles, the importation of which is small, and the necessaries of life produced in other countries and not in this. This same principle has been carried into the present bill, with the addition that certain raw materials of industry have been added to the free list. The section given below represents all the additions made under the present bill:

The following tables show in the first column the amount of tariff-tax paid on each $100 worth of imported goods in 1887. The second column shows the amount to be paid under the Mills bill. Where no rate is given there were no importations last year on which to calculate.

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
Wood and manufactures of:		
Timber—		
Used for spars and in building wharves	$ 20 00	Free.
Hewn and sawed	20 00	"
Square and sided, not specially enumerated or provided for	10 26	"
Wood, unmanufactured	20 00	"
Lumber—		
Boards, planks, deals, and other sawed timber, of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore and basswood—		
Not planed or finished	11 73	"

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
All other articles of sawed lumber, not elsewhere specified—		
Not planed or finished	$ 16 18	Free.
Hubs for wheels; posts; last, wagon, oar, gun, and heading-blocks, and all like blocks or sticks, rough-hewn or sawed only	20 00	"
Staves of all kinds	10 00	"
Pickets and palings	20 00	"
Laths	11 87	"
Shingles	16 89	"
Clapboards—		
Pine	7 98	"
Spruce	10 98	"
Salt in bags, etc	39 30	"
Salt in bulk	79 68	"
Flax straw	10 73	"
Flax, not hackled	9 05	"
Flax tow	5 21	"
Hemp tow	6 37	"
Hemp	16 59	"
Manila and substitutes	21 06	"
Jute butts	19 13	"
Jute	20 00	"
Sunn	15 45	"
Sisal grass	14 80	"
Other vegetable substances	13 66	"
Burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches	30 00	"
Jute machinery, not enumerated in present tariff	45 00	"
Tin plates, terne plates, and taggers tin, of iron or steel	33 80	"
Beeswax	20 00	"
Glycerine, crude, brown or yellow	24 78	"
Phosphorus	19 52	"
Cresilic wash or Sheep-dip	20 00	"
Soap, hard and soft	20 00	"
Hemlock, extract, tanning, etc	20 00	"
Indigo, extract	10 00	"
Indigo, carmine	10 00	"
Oil, croton	62 50	"
Hemp-seed and rape-seed oil	27 07	"
Petroleum (included in oils)	10 00	"
Alumina, alum, etc	40 96	"
Mineral waters, imitation	30 00	"
Baryta, etc., manufactured	10 00	"
Borax, crude	26 05	"
Borax, refined	42 49	"
Boracic acid, commercial	80 51	"
Boracic acid, pure	59 48	"
Copper, sulphate of, blue vitriol	77 11	"
Iron, sulphate of, copperas	56 67	"
Potash—		
Crude	20 00	"
Carbonate of, or fused	20 00	"
Caustic	20 00	"
Chlorate	24 93	"
Nitrate (crude)	35 30	"
Sulphate	20 00	"
Soda—		
Sulphate, salt or nitre cake	20 00	"
Sulphate, Glauber's salts	20 00	"
Nitrite of, not enumerated	.....	"
Sulphur, refined, in rolls	35 06	"
Wood-tar	10 00	"
Coal-tar—		
Crude	10 00	"
Products, benzine, etc	20 00	
Not colors or dyes	20 00	"

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
Coal-tar—continued—		
Pitch of	$ 20 00	Free.
Logwood and other dye-woods, extracts and decoctions of	10 00	"
Alizarine, natural or artificial—now free.		
Turpentine, spirits of	11 77	"
Earths—		
Ocher, etc., dry	50 11	"
Umber, etc., dry	63 20	"
Sienna, dry	23 05	"
Oils—		
Olive oil	25 00	"
Cotton seed oil	62 50	"
Salad	25 00	"
Neats-foot oil	25 00	"
Seal oil	25 00	"
Whale oils	25 00	"
Barks, beans, etc	10 00	"
Crude minerals, etc	10 00	"
Clays or earths, unwrought	18 09	"
Opium, crude	43 76	"
Cotton ties or hoops for baling or other purposes, etc	35 00	"
Needles, sewing, darning, knitting, etc	25 00	"
Ores, copper	49 63	"
Ores, copper, regulus	70 57	"
Copper, old	51 57	"
Antimony as regulus, etc	10 00	"
Quicksilver	10 00	"
Chromate of iron	15 00	"
Metals, unwrought	20 00	"
Mineral substances, crude	20 00	"
Brick, other than fire-brick	20 00	"
German looking-glass plates of blown glass	.....	.....
Vegetables, fresh or brine	10 00	"
Chicory	65 17	"
Acorns and other substitutes for coffee	33 57	"
Cocoa, manufactured	7 13	"
Currants, Zante or other	27 48	"
Dates	26 84	"
Figs	35 83	"
Meats, game, and poultry	10 00	"
Milk, fresh	10 00	"
Egg yelks	20 00	"
Beans and pease	10 00	"
Split pease	20 00	"
Bibles, and books and pamphlets, not English, not enumerated	25 00	"
Bristles	15 08	"
Bulbs and roots, not otherwise provided for	20 00	"
Feathers, crude, ostrich	25 00	"
All other	25 0[illegible]	"
Finishing powder	20 00	"
Grease, not elsewhere specified	10 00	"
Grindstones	14 73	"
Curled hair	25 00	"
Human hair, raw	20 00	"
Hempseed	15 07	"
Rape and other oil seeds	7 50	"
Garden seeds	20 00	"
Osier, or willow for baskets	25 00	"
Broom-corn—not enumerated	10 00	"
Brush wood	10 00	"
Rags	10 00	"
Rattans and reeds	10 00	"
Stones, free, granite, etc., rough	21 22	"
Gut strings, except musical	25 00	"
Tallow	26 29	"
Waste, not otherwise provided for	10 00	"

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
Wools, hair of the alpaca, goat and other like animals, and manufactures of:		
Unmanufactured—		
Class 1, clothing wools: That is to say, merino, mestiza, metz or metis wools, other wools of merino blood, immediate or remote, Down clothing wools, and wools of like character with any of the preceding, including such as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Buenos Ayres, New Zealand, Australia, Cape of Good Hope, Russia, Great Britain, Canada and elsewhere, and also including all wools not hereinafter described or designated in classes 2 and 3—		
Value 30 cents or less per pound	$54 78	Free.
Value over 30 cents per pound	35 92	"
Washed wool—		
Value (before washing) 30 cents or less per pound	58 51	"
Value (before washing) over 30 cents per pound	69 71	"
Scoured wool—		
Value (before scouring) 30 cents or less per pound	74 11	"
Value (before scouring) over 30 cents per pound	60 92	"
Class 2, combing wools: That is to say, Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, Down combing wools, Canada long wools, or other like combing wools of English blood, and usually known by the terms herein used, and also hair of the alpaca, goat and other like animals—		
Value 30 cents or less per pound	43 23	Free.
Value over 30 cents per pound	28 78	"
Scoured wool—		
Value (before scouring) 30 cents or less per pound	66 18	"
Class 3, carpet wools, and other similar wools: Such as Donskoi, native South American, Cordova, Valparaiso, native Smyrna, and including all such wools of like character as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Syria, and elsewhere—		
Value 12 cents or less per pound	24 98	Free.
Value over 12 cents per pound	27 69	"
Scoured wool—		
Value (before scouring) 12 cents or less per pound	41 77	"
Value (before scouring) over 12 cents per pound	22 79	"
Wools on the skin, not enumerated	....	"
Rags, shoddy, mungo, waste	26 41	"
Total wools, etc.	$ 36 08	"

DUTIABLE LIST. SCHEDULE A.—CHEMICALS.

Glycerine, refined	$47 18	$28 30
Acid, acetic, acetous, or pyroligneous acid, exceeding 1.047 sp. gr.	88 46	44 23
Castor beans or seeds	55 70	27 85
Castor oil	194 77	97 38
Flaxseed or linseed oil	54 79	33 00
Licorice, paste or rolls	56 18	37 00
Licorice juice, not enumerated	....	35 00
Barytes, manufactured	50 17	25 09
Chromate of potash	42 95	35 80
Bichromate of potash		
Acetate of lead, white	131 11	65 05
White lead, when dry	....	26 80
White lead, mixed in oil	40 19	
Orange, mineral	70 00	35 00
Red lead	76 96	38 48
Litharge	83 54	41 77
Nitrate of lead	63 34	42 23
Magnesia, medicinal carbonate	57 93	34 75
Magnesia, calcined	40 36	28 25

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
Magnesia, sulphate of	$ 39 74	$ 19 87
Prussiate of potash, red	35 26	24 68
Prussiate of potash, yellow	35 35	24 75
Nitrate of potash, refined	33 70	22 47
Sal soda	39 01	20 00
Bicarbonate of saleratus, pearlash	61 16	30 58
Hydrate or caustic soda	52 13	26 00
Soda, silicate	39 57	19 79
Sulphur, sublimed	55 82	33 56
Ultramarine	51 76	31 10
Paris green—not enumerated	25 00	12 50
All other colors and paints		
Smalts or frostings		
Prussian blue		
Spanish, Indian red		
Venetian red		
Vandyke, cassel brown	25 00	20 00
Vermilion		
Water colors, in cakes		
Satin, white, blanc fixe		
Oils and colors, in tubes		
Lampblack		
Zinc, oxide of, dry	32 37	25 90
Zinc, oxide of, ground in oil	35 34	30 29
Cerates, etc	25 00	20 00
Kaolin, crude	45 00	15 00
Kaolin, manufactured	45 00	30 00
All ground spices	50 12	30 00
Proprietary preparations	50 00	30 00
Perfumery, cosmetics and toilet preparations	....	30 00
Morphia or morphine	58 52	29 41
Acid, tannin or tannic	196 97	98 00

SCHEDULE B.—EARTHENWARE AND GLASSWARE.

China, etc., ornamented	$ 60 00	$ 50 00
China, etc., plain	55 00	40 00
Brown earthenware, etc	25 00	20 00
All other earthenware	55 00	35 00
Encaustic tiles	35 00	30 00
Glazed tiles, ornamented, not enumerated (dutiable as earthenware)	55 00	45 00
Slates, etc	30 00	20 00
Cylinder and crown, polished, above 24 by 30 to 24 by 60	61 59	61 59
All above that, none imported	.....	.....
Cylinder and crown, unpolished, 10 by 15	60 71	60 71
Cylinder and crown, 10 by 15 to 16 by 24	93 11	93 11
Cylinder and crown, 16 by 24 to 24 by 30	106 21	90 00
Cylinder and crown, above 24 by 30	108 50	96 00
Cast, polished, silvered plate—		
Above 24 by 30, not above 24 by 60	78 40	56 07
All above that	54 70	41 35
Porcelain, Bohemian, chemical glassware, etc	45 00	40 00
All other manufactures	45 00	40 00
Total earthenware and glassware	$ 59 55	$ 52 17

SCHEDULE C.—METALS.

Iron, in pigs and kentledge—		
All other (except spiegeleisen)	$ 56 60	$ 50 50
Bars or rails for railways—		
Other railway bars, weighing more than 25 pounds to the yard—		
Iron	93 00	65 26
Steel, or in part of steel	84 33	54 57

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
Bar iron—		
Bars, blooms, billets, or sizes or shapes of any kind, in the manufacture of which charcoal is used as fuel	$ 51 06	$ 46 42
Rolled or hammered, comprising—		
Flats not less than 1 inch wide nor less than ⅜ of 1 inch thick	58 34	51 05
Flats less than 1 inch wide or less than ⅜ of 1 inch thick; round iron less than ¾ of 1 inch and not less 7-16 of 1 inch in diameter; and square iron less than ¾ of 1 inch square	69 86	62 10
Bars or rails for railways—		
Flat rails, punched—		
Iron	58 01	48 61
Tee-rails, weighing not over 25 pounds to the yard—		
Steel	74 48	51 72
Bars or shapes of rolled iron, not specially enumerated or provided for, and round iron in coils or rods, less than 7-16 of 1 inch in diameter	55 36	45 00
Sheets, plates and taggers' iron—		
Sheet-iron, common or black—		
Thinner than 1⅛ inch and not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge	46 38	42 17
Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25, wire gauge	36 40	33 37
Thinner than No. 25 and not thinner than No. 29, wire gauge	42 15	35 12
Sheets and plates, pickled or cleaned by acid, or by any other material or process, and cold-rolled—		
Sheets—		
Thinner than 1⅛ inch and not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge	36 58	33 85
Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25, wire gauge	.....	.....
Thinner than No. 25 and not thinner than No. 29, wire gauge	78 55	67 32
Sheets or plates of iron or steel (except what are commercially known as tin-plates, terne-plates and taggers' tin), galvanized or coated with zinc or spelter, or other metals, or any alloy of these metals—		
Thinner than 1¼ inch and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge	82 39	55 67
Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	64 09	52 61
Thinner than No. 25 and not thinner than No. 29 wire gauge	10 78	9 57
Sheets of iron or steel, cold-rolled, cold-hammered, or polished in any way, in addition to the ordinary process of hot rolling or hammering—		
Sheet iron, common or black—		
Thinner than 1⅛ inch and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge	.....	.....
Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge	.....	.....
Thinner than No. 25 and not thinner than No. 29 wire gauge	19 43	16 67
Hoop, band, scroll, or other iron, 8 inches or less in width—		
Not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge	39 00	39 00
Thinner than No. 10 and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge	47 21	42 49
Thinner than No. 20 wire gauge	.....	.....
Cast-iron pipe of every description	28 88	17 33
Nails, spikes, tacks, brads, or sprigs—		
Cut nails and and spikes of iron or steel	43 07	34 46
Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs—		
Not exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand	.....	.....
Exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand	80 21	35 00
Railway-fish plates or splice-bars of iron or steel	92 75	59 35
Nuts and washers of wrought-iron or steel	28 40	21 30
Horse, mule, or ox shoes	54 95	41 21
Spikes of wrought-iron or steel	53 55	40 16
Anvils	33 91	23 69
Anchors, and parts thereof, etc	68 26	51 20
Rivets, bolts, with or without threads or nuts, or bolt-blanks, and finished hinges or hinge-blanks, of iron or steel	59 78	35 88
Blacksmiths' hammers, sledges, etc	15 81	9 49
Axles, parts thereof, axle-bars, axle-blanks, or forgings for axles, without reference to the stage or state of manufacture, of iron or steel, and forgings of iron and steel, or forged iron of whatever shape, or in what stage of manufacture, not specially enumerated or provided for	62 29	37 38
Horseshoe nails, hob nails, wire nails, etc	76 26	47 67

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
Tubes or flues, or stays, of wrought-iron or steel—		
Boiler-tubes, or flues, or stays	$ 70 97	$ 35 48
Other tubes	20 12	13 40
Chain or chains of all kinds, made of iron or steel—		
Not less than ¾ of 1 inch in diameter	47 15	34 00
Less than ¾ of 1 inch and not less than ⅜ of 1 inch in diameter	47 33	35 43
Less than ⅜ of 1 inch in diameter	44 37	35 50
Saws, hand, back, etc	40 00	30 00
Files, file-blanks, rasps, and floats of all cuts and kinds—		
4 inches in length and under	51 85	35 00
Over 4 inches in length and under 9 inches	64 97	35 00
9 inches in length and under 14 inches	53 30	35 00
14 inches in length and over	63 29	35 00
Beams, girders, joists, angles, channels, car-truck channels, TT columns and posts, or parts or sections of columns and posts, deck and bulb beams, and building forms, together with all structural shapes of iron or steel	102 75	49 32
Wheels of steel, and steel-tired wheels for railway purposes, whether wholly or partly finished, and iron or steel locomotive, car, and other railway tires, or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured	78 26	62 61
Bars, billets, blooms, blanks, ingots, etc., of steel, ingots, clogged ingots, blooms, or blanks, for railway wheels and tires, without regard to the degree of manufacture	101 22	75 92
Wire of iron, galvanized, 5 to 10	66 67	60 00
Smaller than No. 26	89 94	60 00
Wire of steel, galvanized, 10 by 16	111 18	60 00
Wire of iron rope, galvanized, 16 by 26	62 38	60 00
Wire cloth and wire nettings, made in meshes of any form, of iron or steel wire—		
Smaller than No. 16 and not smaller than No. 26 wire gauge	100 75	60 00
Smaller than No. 26 wire gauge	69 95	60 00
Galvanized—		
Smaller than No. 16 and not smaller than No. 26 wire gauge	114 21	60 00
Not separately enumerated.		
Copper in plates, bars, etc	41 50	20 00
Copper brazier plates	35 00	30 00
Lead, and manufactures of—		
Molten and old refuse lead, run into blocks and bars, and old scrap lead, fit only to be remanufactured	48 32	30 20
Lead ore and lead dross	59 27	30 00
Pigs and bars	68 97	43 11
Sheets, pipes and shot	60 82	45 60
Sheathing metal	35 00	30 00
Nickel, in ore, matte, or other crude form, etc., not enumerated	.....	.....
Zinc, spelter or tutenegue:		
In blocks or pigs	46 35	38 63
Old worn out, fit only to be remanufactured	57 65	48 04
In sheets	70 99	56 74
Hollow-ware, coated, glazed or tinned	47 36	40 47
Needles—		
For knitting or sewing machines	35 00	20 00
Pens, metallic	43 10	35 00
Type metal	20 00	15 00
New type for printing	25 00	15 00
Manufactures of copper	45 00	35 00
Manufactures of iron and steel, not elsewhere specified—		
Machinery, not elsewhere specified	45 00	40 00
Wire rods of steel, not elsewhere specified	45 00	40 00
All other manufactures of iron	45 00	40 00
All other manufactures of steel	45 00	40 00
Manufactures of lead	45 00	40 00
Manufactures of nickel	45 00	40 00
Manufactures of pewter	45 00	40 00
Manufactures of tin	45 00	40 00

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
Manufactures of zinc	$ 45 00	$ 40 00
Manufactures of gold and silver	45 00	40 00
Manufactures of platinum	45 00	40 00
Manufactures of brass	45 00	40 00
Manufactures of bronze	45 00	40 00
Manufactures of metal, not elsewhere specified	45 00	40 00
Total metals, etc	$ 40 77	$ 38 47
SCHEDULE D.—WOODENWARE.		
House or cabinet furniture, finished	$ 35 00	$ 30 00
Cedar, granadilla, etc., manufactures of	35 00	30 00
Lumber—		
Boards, planks, deals, and other sawed lumber, of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore and basswood—		
Planed or finished on one side	21 77	7 26
Planed or finished on two sides	15 14	7 57
Planed on two sides, and tongued and grooved	8 00	4 40
All other articles of sawed lumber, not elsewhere specified—		
Planed or finished on one side	26 10	5 22
Planed or finished on two sides	22 53	7 51
Planed on one side and tongued and grooved	26 65	8 88
Planed on two sides and tongued and grooved	28 95	12 33
All other manufactures of wood	35 00	30 00
Total wood and woodenware	$ 18 00	$ 17 40
Not above— SCHEDULE E.—SUGAR.		
75 degrees	$ 60 29	$ 49 50
76 degrees	55 60	45 64
77 degrees	68 28	55 91
78 degrees	60 59	49 51
79 degrees	61 70	50 31
80 degrees	80 42	65 44
81 degrees	68 97	56 02
82 degrees	72 37	58 68
83 degrees	70 41	56 98
84 degrees	88 72	71 69
85 degrees	79 91	64 46
86 degrees	70 59	56 85
87 degrees	73 26	58 92
88 degrees	76 26	61 31
89 degrees	73 24	58 74
90 degrees	84 03	67 31
91 degrees	79 49	63 59
92 degrees	77 46	61 90
93 degrees	72 76	58 09
94 degrees	78 32	62 44
95 degrees	84 26	67 10
96 degrees	78 73	62 63
97 degrees	79 65	63 31
98 degrees	83 45	66 26
99 degrees	86 17	68 35
Above No. 13 and not above No. 16 degrees	86 97	70 75
Above No. 16 and not above No. 20	89 43	71 54
Above No. 20	83 91	66 14
Total sugar	$ 82 04	+65 64
Molasses not above 56 degrees	28 04	20 00
Molasses above 56 degrees	47 26	35 45
Confectionery, above 30 cents	50	40
Confectionery, all other	71	40
Total sugar, molasses, etc	$ 78 15	$ 62 00

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
SCHEDULE G.—PROVISIONS.		
Starch—		
Corn or potato	$ 94 54	$ 47 27
Rice, and other	97 90	39 16
Rice—		
Cleaned	113 03	100 47
Uncleaned	71 52	59 60
Rice, flour or rice meal	20 00	15 00
Paddy	134 50	107 60
Raisins	35 40	26 55
Nuts—		
Pea-nuts, not shelled	78 05	58 54
Pea-nuts, shelled	106 44	70 96
Mustard, ground or preserved	38 75	23 25
Total provisions	$ 24 33	$ 23 39
SCHEDULE I.—COTTON AND COTTON GOODS.		
Cotton, manufactures of—		
Thread—		
Thread, yarn, warps, or warp yarns, whether single or advanced beyond the condition of single by twisting two or more single yarns together, whether on beams or in bundles, skeins, or cops, or in any other form—		
Valued at not exceeding 25 cents per pound	$44 10	$35 00
Valued at over 25 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	42 30	35 00
Valued at over 40 and not exceeding 50 cents per pound	45 38	40 00
Valued at over 50 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	45 21	40 00
Valued at over 60 and not exceeding 70 cents per pound	50 89	40 00
Valued at over 70 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	49 55	40 00
Valued at over 80 and not exceeding $1 per pound	53 49	40 00
Valued at over $1 per pound	50 00	40 00
Cloth—		
Not exceeding 100 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—		
Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at 8 cents or less per square yard....square yards..	48 94	40 00
Bleached, valued at 10 cents or less per square yard	75 28	40 00
Dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at 13 cents or less per square yard	73 31	40 00
Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 200 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—		
Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at 8 cents or less per square yard	56 19	40 00
Bleached, valued at 10 cents or less per square yard	55 76	40 00
Dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at 13 cents or less per square yard	49 23	40 00
Exceeding 200 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—		
Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed—		
Valued at 10 cents or less per square yard	57 54	40 00
Bleached—		
Valued at 12 cents or less per square yard	51 88	40 00
Dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed—		
Valued at 15 cents or less per square yard	48 40	40 00
Thread on spools—		
Of 100 yards each spool....dozens	53 82	40 00
Total cottons	$ 39 99	$ 39 07

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
SCHEDULE J.—HEMP, JUTE, AND FLAX GOODS.		
Flax—Hackled, known as dressed line—	$ 7 06	$2 00
Brown and bleached linens	85 00	25 00
Yarn	35 00	15 00
Hemp yarn	35 00	15 00
Jute yarn	35 00	15 00
Flax, thread, or twine	40 00	25 00
Flax manufactures	40 00	25 00
Oil-cloth foundations	40 00	25 00
Oil-cloth for floors	40 00	25 00
Gunny cloth	.....	25 00
Bags and bagging	40 00	15 00
Bagging, under 7 cents	54 13	14 00
Tarred cables, etc	30 13	25 00
Untarred manilla	32 89	25 00
Untarred cordage, all other	30 08	25 00
Sail duck or canvas for sails	30 00	25 00
Russia and other sheetings	35 00	25 00
Grass cloth, etc	35 00	25 00
Burlaps, exceeding 60 inches	40 00	25 00
Manufactures of flax, hemp, etc	35 00	25 00
Manufactures of grass	30 00	25 00
Total flax, hemp and jute	$28 10	$22 00
SCHEDULE K.—WOOLEN GOODS.		
Manufactures—		
Cloths, woolen—		
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	$89 84	$40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	68 91	40 00
Shawls, woolen—		
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	88 44	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	65 41	40 00
Composed wholly or in part of worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animal	61 53	40 00
All manufactures of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, made wholly or in part of—		
Wool—		
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	88 81	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	64 46	40 00
Flannels—		
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	73 42	40 00
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	66 20	40 00
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	67 69	40 00
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	67 65	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	73 02	40 00
Blankets—		
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	79 66	40 00
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	63 85	40 00
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	69 56	40 00
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	69 36	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	70 30	40 00
Hats of wool—		
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	.....	40 00
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	73 04	40 00
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	66 22	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	52 07	40 00
Knit goods, and all goods made on knitting frames—		
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	88 33	40 00
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	65 20	40 00
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	69 14	40 00
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	69 62	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	62 58	40 00

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1887.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
Balmorals—		
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	$67 73	$40 00
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	65 59	40 00
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	68 15	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	66 35	40 00
Yarns, woolen and worsted—		
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	69 40	40 00
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	67 90	40 00
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	68 08	40 00
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	69 08	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	68 79	40 00
All manufactures of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, made wholly or in part of—		
Worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals (except such as are composed in part of wool)—		
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	76 49	40 00
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	69 38	40 00
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	68 28	40 00
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	68 15	40 00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	71 99	40 00
Bunting	80 75	40 00
Dress goods, women's and children's coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description—		
Composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat or other animals—		
Valued at not exceeding 20 cents per square yard	67 89	40 00
Valued at above 20 cents per square yard	59 06	40 00
Composed wholly of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat or other animals, or of a mixture of them, and all such goods of like description, with selvedges made wholly or in part of other materials, or with threads of other materials introduced for the purpose of changing the classification—		
Weighing 4 ounces or less per square yard	82 96	40 00
All weighing over 4 ounces per square yard	69 68	40 00
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, and balmoral skirts and skirting, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes.	54 18	45 00
Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes	67 74	45 00
Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head nets, buttons or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments, wrought by hand or braided by machinery, made of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals is a component material	66 21	50 00
Carpets and carpeting of all kinds—		
Aubusson, Axminster, and Chenille carpets, and carpets woven whole for rooms	47 14	40 00
Brussels carpets	59 03	40 00
Druggets and bockings, printed, colored, or otherwise	73 92	40 00
Mats, screens, hassocks, and rugs, not exclusively of vegetable material	40 00	40 00
Of wool, flax, or cotton, or parts of either, or other material not specially enumerated or provided for	40 00	40 00
Patent velvet and tapestry velvet carpets, printed on the warp or otherwise	55 10	40 00
Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet carpets, square yards,	54 27	40 00
Tapestry Brussels, printed on the warp or otherwisn, do	61 13	40 00
Treble ingrain, three-ply, and worsted chain Venetian carpets, do	45 79	40 00
Yarn, Venetian, and two-ply ingrain carpets, do	44 70	40 00
Hemp and jute carpets, do	24 76	24 76
Belts or felts, endless, for paper or printing machines, do	52 87	30 00
Total wool and woolens	$58 81	$38 69

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax per $100 worth in 1857.	Tariff-tax by the Mills bill.
SCHEDULE M.—BOOKS, PAPERS, ETC.		
Paper and manufactures of:		
Paper—		
Printing paper, unsized, used for books and newspapers exclusively	$ 15 00	$ 12 00
Sized or glued, suitable only for printing paper	20 00	15 00
Boxes	35 00	25 00
Envelopes	25 00	20 00
Paper hangings, etc	25 00	25 00
Total paper and manufactures of	$ 22 13	$ 22 06
SCHEDULE N.—SUNDRIES.		
Beads and ornaments (except amber)	$ 50 00	$ 40 00
Blacking	25 00	20 00
Bonnets, hats, etc., no change in rates	30 00	30 00
Brooms	25 00	20 00
Brushes	30 00	20 00
Canes, finished	35 00	20 00
Card clothing, square feet,	44 12	35 00
Card clothing, steel tempered, do	48 16	42 00
Carriages and parts	35 00	30 00
Dolls and toys	35 00	30 00
Fans of all kinds	35 00	30 00
Ostrich feathers	50 00	35 00
All other dressed feathers	50 00	35 00
Feathers and artificial flowers	50 00	35 00
Friction matches	35 00	25 00
Gloves, kid or leather	50 00	40 00
Gun wads	35 00	25 00
Gutta-percha manufactures	35 00	30 00
Human hair, clean or drawn	30 00	20 00
Human hair, manufactured	35 00	25 00
Bracelets, etc., hair	35 00	25 00
Hats, materials for (no change in rates)	20 00	20 00
Hat bodies, of cotton	35 00	30 00
Hatters' plush	25 00	15 00
Inks and ink powders	30 00	20 00
Japanned ware	40 00	30 00
Marble, in block rough or squared—		
Veined, etc	51 97	40 16
Manufactures of	50 00	30 00
Papier-mache articles	30 00	25 00
Percussion caps	40 00	30 00
Philosophical apparatus	35 00	25 00
Umbrella ribs, etc	40 00	30 00
All other umbrellas, etc. (Except silk and alpaca)	40 00	30 00
Watches, etc. No change in rate	25 00	25 00
Webbing of cotton, etc	35 00	30 00
Total sundries	26 86	25 03

II.

ARTICLES IN WHICH NO CHANGE IS MADE.

A LARGE NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN WHICH NO CHANGE OF RATE IS MADE BETWEEN THE PRESENT AND THE PROPOSED TARIFF.

The preceding list is the result of a careful computation, not only of existing rates from importations made during the last fiscal year for which full reports have been compiled, but an equally careful one as to the probable effect upon importations under the rates proposed.

The following list is given in order that there may be no excuse for misapprehension on the part of anybody as to those articles, the duty on which remains unchanged under the present law. This list has been prepared with equal care and shows that the rates on a large number of articles are not changed under the proposed bill.

☞n. o. p. *i. e.* not otherwise provided for.

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
SCHEDULE A.	
Glue	$20 00
Gelatine, and all similar preparations	30 00
Fish glue or isinglass	25 00
Soap—	
Castile	20 00
Fancy, perfumed and all descriptions of toilet	35 20
Sponges	20 00
Sumac—	
Ground	12 46
Extract	20 00
Acid—	
Acetic, acetous or pyroligneous not exceeding the specific gravity of one and forty-seven one-thousandths	17 73
Citric	23 43
Tartaric	28 39
Camphor, refined	34 11
Cream of tartar	22 85
Dextrine, burnt starch, gum substitute or British gum	31 59
Glucose or grape sugar	20 00
Oil of Bay leaves, essential, or Bay Rum essence or oil	58 97
Soda and Potassa, tartrate of rochelle salt	14 28
Strychnia, or strychnine, and all salts thereof	30 54
Tartars, partly refined, including less crystals	19 77
Ammonia—	
Anhydrous, liquified by pressure	20 00
Aqua, or water of	20 00
Muriate of, or sal-ammoniac	10 00
Carbonate of	20 00
Sulphate of	20 00
Asbestos, manufactured	25 00
Cement, Roman, Portland and all others	20 00
Whiting and Paris White—	
Dry	134 00
Ground in oil or putty	12 04
Prepared chalk, precipitated chalk, French chalk, red chalk, and all other chalk preparations which are not specifically enumerated or provided for in this act	20 00
Chromic acid	15 00
Cobalt, oxide of	20 00
Potash, hydriodate, iodide, and iodate of	16 18
Soda-ash	28 03

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
All coal-tar colors or dyes by whatever name known and not specifically enumerated or provided for in this act	$ 35 00
The pigment known as bone black, and ivory drop black, and bone char	25 00
Ocher and ochery earths, umber and umber earths, and sienna and sienna earths when ground in oil	10 65
All preparations known as essential oils, expressed oils, distilled oils, rendered oils, (except, Olive oil, salad oil, whale oil, seal oil and neats foot oil) alkalies, alkaloids and all combinations of any of the foregoing and all chemical compounds and salts, by whatever name known, n. o. p.	35 00
All earths or clays, wrought or manufactured, n. o. p.	24 29
Alcoholic preparations—	
Alcoholic perfumery, including cologne water	63 25
Distilled spirits, containing fifty per cent. of anhydrous alcohol	164 61
Alcohol, containing ninety-four per cent. of anhydrous alcohol	171 85
Alcoholic compounds, n. o. p.	61 89
Chloroform	41 67
Collodion, and all compounds of pyroxyline, by whatever name known	5 17
Rolled or in sheets, but not made up into articles	11 43
When in finished or partly finished articles	31 54
Ether, sulphuric	47 50
Hoffman's Anodyne	
Iodoform	57 32
Ether, nitrous, spirits of	60 00
Santonine	174 36
Amylic acohol, or fusel oil	10 00
Oil of cognac, or oenanthic ether	533 33
Fruit ethers, oils or essences	229 40
Oil or essence of rum	400 00
Ethers of all kinds, n. o. p.	61 62
Coloring for brandy	50 00
Preparations—	
All medicinal preparations, known as essences, ethers, extracts, mixtures, spirits, tinctures and medicated wines, of which alcohol is a component part, n. o. p.	207 12
Varnishes of all kinds	40 00
Spirit varnishes	95 30
Opium, prepared for smoking and all other preparations of opium not specially enumerated or provided for in this act	110 92
Opium, Aqueous extract of, for medicinal uses and tincture of, as laudanum and all liquid preparations of opium not specially enumerated or provided for in this act	40 00

SCHEDULE B—EARTHENWARE AND GLASSWARE.

Stoneware, above the capacity of ten gallons	$ 20 00
Fire brick, and roofing and paving tile, n. o. p.	20 00
Roofing slates	25 00
Green and colored glass bottles, vials, demijohns and carboys (covered or uncovered, pickle or preserve jars, and other plain moulded or pressed green and colored bottle glass, not cut, engraved or painted, n. o. p.	56 54
If filled, and not otherwise in this act provided for	56 54
Flint and lime glass bottles and vials and other plain moulded or pressed flint or lime glassware, n. o. p.	40 00
If filled, and not otherwise in this act provided for, said articles shall pay exclusive of contents, in addition to the duty on the articles	40 00
Articles of glass, cut, engraved, painted, colored, printed, stained, silvered or gilded, not including plate-glass (except German looking-glass plates made of blown glass and silvered)	45 00
All glass bottles and decanters, and other like vessels of glass shall, if filled, pay the same rates of duty in addition to any duty chargeable on the contents, as if not filled, except as in this act otherwise specially provided for.	

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
Cylinder and crown glass, polished, not exceeding 10x15 inches square	$ 7 28
Above that and not exceeding 16x24 inches square	16 79
Above that and not exceeding 24x30 inches square	18 91
Above that and not exceeding 24x60 inches square	61 59
Unpolished cylinder, crown and common window glass not exceeding 10x15 inches square	60 71
Fluted rolled or rough plate glass, not exceeding 10x15 inches square	14 16
Above that and not exceeding 16x24 inches square	23 88
Above that and not exceeding 24x30 inches square	27 63
All above that	49 45
Cast polished plate glass, unsilvered, not exceeding 10x15 inches square	17 39
Above that and not exceeding 16x24 inches square	20 15
Above that and not exceeding 24x30 inches square	30 56
Above that and not exceeding 24x60 inches square	78 40
All above that	153 94
Cast polished plate glass, silvered or looking glass plates not exceeding 10x15 inches square	10 85
Above that and not exceeding 16x24 inches square	18 44
Above that and not exceeding 24x30 inches square	27 57
But no looking glass plates or plate glass silvered, when framed, shall pay a less rate of duty than that imposed upon similar glass of like description not framed, but shall be liable to pay in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.	

SCHEDULE C—METALS.

Iron ore, including manganiferous iron ore, also the dross or residuum from burnt pyrites	41 16
Sulphur ore, as pyrites or sulphuret of iron in its natural state containing not more than three and one-half per cent. of copper	25 04
Provided, That ore containing more than two per cent. of copper shall pay in addition thereto two and one-half cents per pound for the copper contained therein.	
Spiegel-eisen, wrought and cast scrap iron, and scrap steel	30 34
But nothing shall be deemed scrap iron or scrap steel except waste or refuse iron or steel that has been in actual use and is fit only to be manufactured.	
Bar iron, rolled or hammered, comprising round iron not less than three-fourths of one inch in diameter, and square iron not less than three-fourths of one inch square	48 16
Provided, That all iron in slabs, blooms, loops or other forms less finished than iron in bars and more advanced than pig iron, except castings, shall be rated as iron in bars, and pay a duty accordingly; and none of the above iron shall pay a less rate of duty than thirty-five per cent. ad valorem.	
Boiler or other iron sheared or unsheared, skelp iron, sheared or rolled in grooves	31 01
Sheet iron thinner than No. 29 wire gauge	30 00
Sheet iron or steel, galvanized or coated with zinc or spelter, thinner than No. 25, wire gauge	78 55 41 60
Polished, planished or glanced sheet iron, or sheet steel by whatever name designated	36 09
Provided, That plate or sheet or taggers iron by whatever name designated, other than the polished, planished or glanced herein provided for, which has been pickeled or cleaned by acid or by any other material or process and which is cold rolled, shall pay one-quarter cent per pound more duty than the corresponding gauges of common or black sheet or taggers iron.	
Corrugated or crimped sheet iron or steel	25 00
Hoop, or band or scroll, or other iron, eight inches or less in width and not thinner than number ten, wire gauge	39 00
Provided, That all articles not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, whether wholly or partly manufactured made from sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron herein provided for, or of which such sheet plate band or scroll iron shall be the material of chief value shall pay one-fourth of one cent per pound more duty than that imposed on the iron from which they are made or which shall be such material of chief value.	

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
Cast iron vessels, plates, stove-plates, and irons, sadirons, tailors' irons, hatter's-irons, and castings of iron n. o. p.	$30 78
Malleable iron castings not specially enumerated or provided for in this act	25 04
Forgings of iron and steel or forged iron, of whatever shape or in whatever stage of manufacture not specially enumerated or provided for in this act	62 29
Wrought iron or steel tubes or pipes, other than boiler	20 12
Cross-cut saws	12 86
Mill-pit and drag saws not over nine inches wide	22 50
Over nine inches wide (none imported in '86 or '87).	
Circulars saws	30 00
Steel ingots, cogged ingots, blooms, slabs, by whatever process made, dye blocks or blanks, billets and bars and tapered or beveled bars, bands, hoops, strips and sheets of all gauges and widths, plates of all thicknesses and widths, steamer cranks and other shafts, wrist or crank pins, connecting rods and piston rods, pressed, sheared or stamped shapes, or blanks of sheet or plate steel or combination of steel and iron punched or not punched, hammer moulds or swaged steel, gun moulds, not in bars, alloys used as substitutes for steel tools; all descriptions and shapes of drys and loam or iron moulded steel castings; all of the above classes of steel not specially provided for in this act, valued at four cents a pound or less	45 00
Above four cents a pound and not above seven cents a pound	34 87
Valued above seven cents a pound and not above ten cents per pound	29 96
Above ten cents per pound ....3¼ per lb.	18 30
Provided, That on all iron or steel bars, rods, strips or steel sheets of whatever shape, and on all iron or steel bars, of irregular shape or section, cold rolled, cold hammered, or polished in any way in addition to the ordinary process of hot rolling or hammering, there shall be paid one-fourth of a cent per pound in addition to the rates provided in this act; and on steel circular saw plates there shall be paid one cent per pound in addition to the rate provided in this act.	
Iron or steel rivet, screw, nail and fence wire, rods, round in coils and loops not lighter than number five wire gauge, valued at three and one-half cents or less per pound	31 47
Screws, commonly called wood screws, two inches or over in length	26 17
One inch and less than two inches in length	61 17
Over one-half inch and less than one inch in length	54 05
One-half inch and less in length	44 59
Iron or steel wire, smaller than number five and not smaller than number ten wire gauge	26 34
Smaller than number ten and not smaller than number sixteen wire gauge	45 04
Smaller than number sixteen and not smaller than number twenty-six wire gauge	38 26
Smaller than number twenty-six wire gauge	6 80
Provided, That iron or steel wire, covered with cotton, silk or other material, and wire commonly known as crinoline, corset and hat wire, shall pay four cents per pound in addition to the foregoing rates; and provided further, that no article made from iron or steel wire, or of which steel or iron is a component part of chief value, shall pay a less rate of duty than the iron or steel wire from which it is made, wholly or in part; and provided further, that iron or steel wire cloths and iron or steel wire nettings, made in meshes of any form, shall pay a duty equal in amount to that imposed on iron or steel wire of the same gauge, and two cents a pound in addition thereto. There shall be paid on galvanized iron or steel wire (except fence wire) one-half of one cent per pound in addition to the rate imposed on the wire of which it is made. On iron wire rope and iron wire strand one cent per pound in addition to the rates imposed on the wire of which it is made. On steel wire rope and wire strand two cents per pound in addition to the rates imposed on the wire of which it is made.	
The MILLS BILL adds the following provision:—	
Iron and steel wire and iron and steel wire galvanized and all manufacture of iron and steel wire and of iron and steel wire galvanized, shall pay the duties now provided by law. PROVIDED, that no such duty shall be in excess of sixty per cent. ad valorem. Steel not specially enumerated or provided for in this act	45 00

ARTICLES.	Tariff tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
Argentine Albata, or German silver unmanufactured	$25 00
All composition metal of which copper is a component material of chief value n. o. p.	13 83
All manufactures of copper or of which copper shall be acomponent of chief value not specially enumerated or provided for in this act	35 00
Brass, in bars or pig, old brass and clippings from brass or Dutch metal	13 90 / 8 76
Nickel, nickel oxide alloy of any kind in which nickel is the element of chief value	30 73
Bronze powder	15 00
Cutlery, n. o. p.	35 00
Dutch or bronze metal in leaf	10 00
Steel plates, engraved, stereotype plates	25 00
Gold leaf	28 17
Muskets, rifles and other firearms, n. o. p.	25 00
All sporting breach loading shot guns and pistols of all kinds	35 00
Forged shot gun barrels, rough bored	10 00
Pen knives, pocket knives of all kinds and razors	50 00
Swords, sword blades and sidearms	35 00
Pen holders tips and pen holders or parts thereof	30 00
Pins solid head or other	30 00
Brittannia ware and plated and gilt articles and wares of all kinds	35 00
Silver leaf	19 57

SCHEDULE D—WOOD AND WOODENWARES.

When lumber of any sort is planed or finished in addition to the rates herein provided there shall be levied and paid for each side so planed or finished fifty cents per one thousand feet, board measure	7 00
And if planed on one side and tongued and grooved, one dollar per one thousand feet board measure	7 00
And if planed on two sides, and tongued and grooved, one dollar and fifty cents per one thousand feet board measure	7 00
The MILLS BILL adds the following provisions:—	
That if any export duty is laid upon the above mentioned articles or either of them by any country whence imported, all said articles imported from said country shall be subject to duty as now provided by law.	
House and cabinet furniture in piece or rough and not finished	30 00
Casks and barrels, empty, sugar-boxes, shooks and packing boxes and packing box shooks of wood, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act	30 00

SCHEDULE E.—SUGAR.

The MILLS BILL adds the following provisions:—	
Provided, that if an export duty shall hereafter be laid upon sugar or molasses by any country from whence the same may be imported, such sugar or molasses so imported shall be subject to duty as provided by law at the date of the passage of this act.	
Sugar candy, not colored	59 29

SCHEDULE F.—TOBACCO.

Cigars, cigarettes and cheroots of all kinds, paper cigars and cigarettes, including wrappers	107 94 / 134 87
Leaf tobacco, of which eighty five per cent. is of the requisite size and of the necessary fineness of texture to be suitable for wrappers and of which more than one hundred leaves are required to weigh a pound, if not stemmed...	81 57
If stemmed. None imported in '87.	
All tobacco in leaf, unmanufactured and not stemmed	71 17
Tobacco stems	113 23
Tobacco, manufactured, of all descriptions, and stemmed tobacco not specially enumerated or provided for in this act	30 00

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
Snuff or snuff-flour, manufactured of tobacco ground, dry or damp and pickled, scented and otherwise, of all descriptions	$150 04
Tobacco, unmanufactured, n. o. p.	30 00

SCHEDULE G.—PROVISIONS.

Animals, live	20 00
Meat, extract of	20 00
Cheese	30 14
Butter and substitutes therefor	24 78
Lard	18 91
Wheat	17 16
Rye and barley	16 80
Barley, pearled, patent or hulled	4 23
Barley, malt, per bushel of thirty-four pounds	27 38
Indian corn or maize	17 98
Oats	29 51
Cornmeal	15 98
Oatmeal	12 17
Rye flour	
Wheat flour	20 00
Hay	19 89
Honey	51 38
Hops	42 64
Milk, preserved or condensed	20 00
Fish—	
Mackerel	23 03
Herrings, pickled or salted	14 33
Salmon, pickled	13 68
Other fish pickled in barrels	30 07
Foreign-caught fish, imported otherwise than in barrels or half barrels, whether fresh, smoked, dried, salted or pickled, n. o. p.	17 94
Anchovies and sardines, packed in oil or otherwise in tin boxes measuring not more than five inches long, four inches wide and three and one-half inches deep	26 95
In half boxes measuring not more than five inches long, four inches wide and one and five-eighths deep	21 76
In quarter boxes measuring not more than four inches and three-quarters long, three and one-half inches wide, and one and a quarter deep, two and one-half cents each	29 14
When imported in any other form	40 00
Fish preserved in oil, except anchovies and sardines	30 00
Salmon and all other fish prepared or preserved, and prepared meats of all kinds, n. o. p.	25 00
Pickles and sauces of all kinds n. o. p.	35 00
Potatoes—15 cents per bushel, amounting upon the importation of 1887 to	39 58
Vegetables prepared or preserved of all kinds n. o. p.	30 00
Vinegar	36 56
Chocolate	7 67
Fruits—	
Oranges in boxes of capacity not exceeding two and one-half cubic feet	22 72
In one-half boxes, capacity not exceeding one and one-fourth cubic feet	20 43
In barrels, capacity not exceeding that of the one hundred and ninety-six pounds flour barrel	24 28
Lemons—in boxes of capacity not exceeding two and one-half cubic feet	16 15
In one half boxes, capacity not exceeding one and one-fourth cubic feet	16 80
In bulk	38 00
Lemons and oranges, in packages, n. o. p.	20 00
Limes and grapes	20 00
Fruits preserved in their own juices and fruit juice	20 00
Comfits, sweetmeats, or fruits preserved in sugar, spirits, syrup or molasses not otherwise specified or provided for in this act and jellies of all kinds	35 00

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
Nuts—	
Almonds, shelled	$ 50 58
Filberts and walnuts of all kinds	54 79
Nuts of all kinds, shelled or unshelled, n. o. p.	44 38
SCHEDULE H—LIQUORS.	
Champagnes and all other sparkling wines, in bottles containing each not more than one quart and more than one pint	54 76
Containing not more than one pint and more than one-half pint	50 00
Containing one-half pint each or less	51 48
In bottles containing more than one quart each in addition to seven dollars per dozen bottles. 2 25 per gallon excess	71 57
Still wines in casks	29 36
Still wines in bottles one dollar and sixty cents per case of one dozen bottles, containing each not more than one quart and more than one pint, or twenty-four bottles containing each not more than one pint; and any excess beyond these quantities found in such bottles, shall be subject to a duty of five cents per pint or fractional part thereof, but no separate duty shall be collected on the bottles.	
Vermuth, the same duty as on still wines	77 63 57 38
Wines, brandy and other spirituous liquors, imported in bottle, shall be packed in packages containing not less than one dozen bottles in each package, and all such bottles, except as specially enumerated or provided for in this act, shall pay an additional duty of three cents for each bottle.	
Brandy, and other spirits manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, two dollars per proof gallon	80 67
On all compounds or preparations of which distilled spirits are component part of chief value, n. o. p. there shall be levied a duty of not less than that imposed upon distilled spirits.	
Cordials, liquors, arrack, absinthe, kirschwasser, ratafia, and other similar spirituous beverages or bitters containing spirits, n. o. p. two dollars per proof gallon	85 86
Bay-rum or bay-water, whether distilled or compounded, one dollar per gallon of first proof, and in proportion or any greater strength than first proof	156 39
Ale, porter and beer, in bottles or jugs of glass, stone or earthenware, thirty-five cents per gallon	41 53
Otherwise than in bottles or jugs of glass, stone or earthenware	63 32
Ginger ale, or ginger beer	20 00
But no separate or additional duty shall be collected on bottles or jugs containing the same.	
SCHEDULE I—COTTON AND COTTON GOODS.	
On stockings, hose, half-hose, shirts and drawers, and all goods made on knitting machines or frames, composed wholly of cotton, and not herein otherwise provided for	40 00
On stockings, half-hose, shirts and drawers, fashioned narrowed, or shaped wholly or in part by knitting machines or frames, or knit by hand, and composed wholly of cotton	35 00
Cotton cords, braids, gimps, galoons, webbing, goring, suspenders, braces, and all manufactures of cotton, n. o. p., and corsets of whatever material composed	35 00
Cotton laces, embroideries, insertings, trimmings, lace window curtains, cotton and damask, hemmed handkerchiefs, and cotton velvet	40 00
Cuffs, collars, shirts and other manufactures of wearing apparel, made in whole or in part of linen, n. o. p., and hydraulic hose	35 00
Flax or linen laces and insertings, embroideries or manufactures of linen, if embroidered or tamboured in the loom or otherwise, by machinery or with the needle or other process, n. o. p.	30 00
Seines and seine gilling twine	25 00

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
SCHEDULE K.—WOOL AND WOOLENS.	
Hemp and jute carpeting, six cents per square yard.	
Carpets and carpetings, of wool, flax or cotton, or parts of either or other material, not otherwise herein specified	$40 00
All other mats not exclusively of vegetable material, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks	40 00
SCHEDULE L.—SILK AND SILK GOODS.	
Silk, partially manufactured from cocoons, or from waste silk, and not further advanced or manufactured than carded or combed silk, fifty cents per pound	19 08
Thrown silk in gum, not more advanced than singles, tram organzine, sewing silk, twist, floss in the gum, and spun silk, silk threads or yarns of every description, purified or dyed	30 00
On lastings, mohair cloth, silk twist or other manufactures of cloth, woven or made in patterns of such size, shape or form, or cut in such manner as to be fit for buttons exclusively	10 00
All goods, wares and merchandise, n. o, p., made of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value	50 00
SCHEDULE M.—BOOKS, PAPERS, ETC.	
Books, pamphlets, printed in English, bound or unbound, and all printed matter n. o. p., engravings, bound or unbound, etchings, illustrated books, maps and charts	25 00
The MILLS BILL alters as follows:—	
Bibles, books and pamphlets, printed in other languages than English, and books and pamphlets and all publications of foreign governments, and publications of foreign societies, historical or scientific, printed for gratuitous distribution	Free list.
Blank books, bound or unbound, and blank books for press copying	20 00
Paper, manufactures of, or of which paper is a component material, n. o. p.	15 00
Sheathing paper	10 00
Paper hangings and paper for screens or fire-boards, paper antiquarian, demy, drawing, elephant, foolscap, imperial, letter, note, and all other paper n. o. p.	25 00
Pulp, dried for papermakers' use	10 00
SCHEDULE N.—SUNDRIES.	
Alabaster and spar stationery and ornaments	10 00
Baskets and all other articles composed of grass, osier, palm leaf, whalebone, or willow, or straw, n. o. p.	30 00
Bladders, manufactures of	25 00
Bone, horn, ivory, or vegetable ivory, all manufactures of, n. o. p.	30 00
Bonnets, hats and hoods for men, women and children, composed of chip, grass, palm leaf, willow or straw, or any other vegetable, substance hair, whalebone or other material, n. o. p.	30 00
Bouillons, or cannetille, metal threads, file or gespinst	25 00
Burr-stones, manufactured or bound up into mill-stones	20 00
Buttons and button molds, n. o. p., not including brass, gilt or silk buttons	25 00
Candles and tapers of all kinds	20 00
Card cases, pocket books, shell boxes, and all similar artciles, of whatever material composed, and by whatever name known, n. o. p.	35 00
Chronometers, box or ships, and parts thereof	10 00
Clocks and parts of clocks	30 00
Coach and harness furniture of all kinds, saddlery, coach and harness, hardware, silver-plated, brass, brass-plated, or covered, common tinned, burnished or jappaned, n. o. p.	35 00
Coal slack or culm, such as will pass through a half-inch screen	39 86
Coal, bituminous and shale	24 31
Coke	20 00
Combs of all kinds	30 00
Compositions of glass or paste, when not set	10 00

ARTICLES.	Tariff-tax on each $100 worth under the present law and the Mills bill.
Coral, cut, manufactured, or set	$ 25 00
Corks, and cork bark, manufactured	25 00
Crayons of all kinds	20 00
Dice, draughts, chessmen, chess balls, billiard and bagatelle balls, of ivory or bone	50 00
Emery grains and emery manufactured, ground, pulverized, or refined	24 58
Epaulets, galloons, laces, knots, stars, tassels and wings of gold, silver or other metal	30 00
Fire-crackers of all kinds	100 00
Floor matting and floor mats, exclusively of vegetable substances	20 00
Fulminates, fulminating powders, and all like articles, n. o. p.	30 00
Fur, articles made of, n. o. p.	30 00
Gunpowder, and all explosive substances used for mining, blasting, artillery or sporting purposes, when valued at twenty cents or less per pound	34 13
Valued at twenty cents per pound	8 46
Hair cloth, known as "crinoline cloth," and all other manufactures of hair, n. o. p.	30 00
Hair cloth, known as "hair seating."	24 01
Hair pencils	30 00
Hats, materials for, braids, plaits, flats, willow sheets and squares, used for making or ornamenting hats, bonnets and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm-leaf, willow, hair, whalebone, or any vegetable substance or material, n. o. p.	20 00
Hatters' furs, not on the skin, and dressed furs on the skin	20 00
India-rubber fabrics, composed wholly or in part of India-rubber, n. o. p.	30 00
Articles composed of India-rubber, n. o. p.	25 00
India-rubber boots and shoes	25 00
Jet, manufactures and imitation of	25 00
Jewelry of all kinds	25 00
Leather, bend or belting leather, and Spanish or other sole leather, and leather, n. o. p.	15 00
Calfskins, tanned, or tanned and dressed, and dressed upper leather of all other kinds, and skins dressed and finished of all kinds, n. o. p., and skins of morocco, finished	20 00
Skins for morocco, tanned, but unfinished	10 00
All manufactures and articles of leather, or of which leather shall be a component part, n. o. p.	30 00
Lime	10 00
Linseed or flaxseed	19 87
But no drawback shall be allowed on oil cake made from imported seed.	
Musical instruments of all kinds	25 00
Painting in oil or water colors, and statuary, n. o. p.	30 00
Pencils of wood filled with lead or other material, and pencils of lead	56 18
Pencil leads not in wood	10 00
Pipes, pipe-bowls, and all smokers' articles, whatsoever, n. o. p.	70 00
All common pipes of clay	35 00
Plaster of Paris, when ground or calcined	20 00
Playing cards	100 00
Polishing powders of every description by whatever name known, including Frankfort black, and Berlin, Chinese, fig and wash blue	20 00
Precious stones of all kinds	10 00
Scagliola, and composition, tops for tables or for other articles of furniture.	35 00
Sealing wax	20 00
Shells, whole or parts of, manufactured, of every description, n. o. p.	25 00
Stones, free-stones, granite, sandstone, and all building or monumental stone, hewn, dressed, or polished, except marble, n. o. p.	20 00
Teeth, manufactured	20 00
Umbrellas, parasols, and sunshades, frames, and sticks for, finished or unfinished, n. o. p.	30 00
Watches, watch-cases, watch movements, parts of watches, watch glasses and watch keys, and watch materials, n. o. p.	25 00

RECAPITULATION OF ESTIMATED REDUCTION.

Schedules.	Total importations of fiscal year 1887 of dutiable articles.		Amount of duties remitted by this bill.	Estimated amount of duties under this bill.	Average ad valorem rate of duty under—	
	Values.	Duties Received.			Present.	Proposed.
Chemicals	$18,864,257.96	$6,199,811.99	$785,153.68	$1,090,103.79	32.87	28.17
Earthenware and glassware	13,056,150.43	7,776,202.42	970,243.29	4,593,210.69	59.55	52.17
Metals	55,111,922.37	22,469,401.89	1,267,288.07	6,478,680.88	40.77	38.47
Wood and woodenware	7,697,357.06	1,385,356.19	45,587.18	260,217.95	18.00	17.40
Sugar	74,242,279.20	58,016,686.34	11,759,799.76	46,253,492.51	78.15	62.31
Provisions	39,165,566.07	9,529,091.81	369,600.10	1,494,666.22	24.33	23.39
Cotton and cotton goods	30,208,851.83	12,081,297.43	277,610.29	955,989.28	29.99	39.07
Hemp, jute and flax goods	33,807,287.55	9,497,981.74	2,079,456.11	4,198,321.39	28.10	21.94
Wool and Woolens	60,586,613.61	35,629,534.13	12,186,902.75	17,069,540.15	58.81	38.69
Books, papers, etc	5,214,635.21	1,154,369.41	3,556.90	10,425.35	22.13	22.06
Sundries	59,580,006.88	16,001,597.36	1,087,593.25	4,131,134.87	26.86	25.03
Total dutiable	$397,534,923.17	$179,741,330.71	30,832,791.38	86,534,783.08	45.21	37.46
Total free-list	.....	.....	19,758,845.51	.....	.....	.....
Total	$397,534,923.17	$179,741,330.71	50,591,636.89	86,534,783.08		

Average rate of present duty 47.10
Average rate proposed by this bill 42.68
Reduction recommended by the Republican Tariff Commission in 1881 ..... 25 per ct

CHAPTER XLVI.

"A CONDITION—NOT A THEORY."

THE BURDENS OF TAXATION ON INDUSTRY REMAINING AS THE RESULT OF THE WAR TARIFF.

A Complete Exposition of the Methods by which the Progressive Industries of the Many have been Shackled by Heavy Taxes for the Benefit of the Few—Greater Commercial Privileges Demanded—Solid Arguments in favor of Releasing some of the Taxes on Labor.

In the collection and arrangement of matter for the discussion of the tariff question, the compiler has found himself laboring under many difficulties, not from a lack of material, but because of an embarrassment of riches. An attempt has been made, however, to cull from the speeches made in the long and able debate covering more than two months, such discussions of the question as will cover the whole line of argument advanced in favor of the reduction of burdensome war taxes.

The members of the House who contributed to this discussion were drawn from every section of the country—North and South, East and West—and their ideas will be found fairly echoed in the two chapters devoted to this question. Not only did these men represent every section of the country, but they represented every line of business, every profession, and every trade. Among them were representatives of the manufacturers of textiles, leather, sugar, metals, the mining of iron ore, and of coal, whether anthracite or bituminous, manufacturers of salt, proprietors of large tracts of timber, and of the mills which make this into lumber. Besides this, there will be found the opinions of men who are the direct representatives of the working people of the country. So that, taken as a whole, it is fair to say that every element which goes to make up the varied interests of the country is represented in the pages of this book, as they were in the long discussion in the House.

It will be observed, also, that the extracts from the speeches are not confined entirely to those made by members of one party. Three gentlemen connected with the Republican party have strongly and ably presented the question to the country

and to their constituents, and an attempt has been made to present, as briefly as possible, their views upon the most important parts of the bill, and their reasons for giving it their support in opposition to the views of their own party associates.

The wide range of the discussion will be observed, as well as the accurate knowledge shown by nearly all of those who participated in it. It has, indeed, been something of a surprise to the country to find that a question which had not been fully discussed for almost a generation, should have been so ably presented when again brought to the attention of the Congress of the United States with a view to legislation upon it.

The first chapter of this part of the book has been devoted to the report of the Committee on Ways and Means, and to extracts from the speeches of the Democratic members of the Committee, and to the able summing up of the discussion as made by Mr. Carlisle, Speaker of the House, in closing the general debate.

It has been impossible to go *in extenso* into the discussion of the schedules, in spite of the fact that many of the best speeches on the reduction of war taxes were made under the five minute rule. Enough of them have, however, been given to supply those arguments made by practical men upon the probable effect of the proposed reductions.

Upon the whole, it is not saying too much to assert that those who will give close attention to the speeches printed here, will find themselves thoroughly equipped with the facts and arguments necessary for presenting the question intelligently during the coming campaign.

I.

WHAT IS PROPOSED AND WHY.

AN HONEST AND FAIR EFFORT TO REMOVE SOME OF THE SHACKLES OF INDUSTRY AND TO PROMOTE NEW DEVELOPMENT.

Report of the Ways and Means Committee, April 2, 1888.

The committee have determined to recommend a reduction of the revenues from both customs and internal taxes. They have given the whole subject a careful and painstaking examination, and in the revision of the schedules have endeavored to act with a spirit of fairness to all interests. They have carefully kept in view at all times the interests of the manufacturer, the laborer, the producer and the consumer.

From the beginning of our Government tariff legislation has been based on the principles of mutual concession. The present bill does not depart from this precedent.

In the progressive growth of our manufactures, we have reached the point where our capacity to produce is far in excess of the requirements of our home consumption. As a consequence, many of our mills are closed, and many of those still in operation are running on short time. This condition is hurtful to the manufacturer, to the laborer, and producer of the materials consumed in manufacture. The manufacturer loses the profit on his capital, the laborer loses his wages, and the producer of the materials consumed in manufacture loses the market for his products. Manufacturers, in many instances, to guard against losses by low prices, caused by an oversupply in the home market, are organizing trusts, combinations, and pools, to limit production and keep up prices. This vicious condition of business could not exist with low duties, but is the legitimate outgrowth of prohibitory duties on imports. Prohibitory tariffs surround the country with lines of investment and prevent all relief from without, while trusts, combinations and pools plunder the people within.

NEW MARKETS WILL ENABLE US TO ASSERT OUR INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY.

In a country like ours, prolific in its resources, where the rewards of labor ought to be large, the capitalist may by such methods keep his investments secure and still make profits, but what is to become of the laborers who are thrown out of employment by stopping the wheels of machinery and limiting the amount of product? And what is to become of the producer of the materials to be consumed by the manufacturer? When the fires are shut off, the laborer and the materials are shut off at the same time, and the market for both is gone; whether they labor in the factory or the field, whether they produce cotton, wool, hemp, flax, coal or ore; whether the product of their daily labor is cloth, iron, steel, boots or shoes, they must have constant employment to obtain for themselves and families the necessaries and comforts of life.

When out of employment, with earnings cut short, with low prices for their products caused by the closing of the market, they still must pay for whatever their daily wants require the prices which the trusts have fixed. What is the remedy for this wrong? It is more extended markets for the sale of our products, and a constant and active competition in business. With active competition, combinations and pools are impossible. With the markets of the world open to us, our manufacturers may run their mills on full time, give constant employment to their laborers, with a steadily-increasing rate of wages. With the markets of the world open to the sale of their products they will create an active and constant demand for all the raw materials required in manufactures, which will stimulate, promote and reward the wool-grower and the producer of cotton, hemp, flax, hides, ores and other materials of manufacture. We are the largest producers of cotton in the world, we are second in the production of wool, we put on the market annually quantities of hemp and flax, and our country is full of ores and coal. What we need is manufactures enough to consume all the annual product of these materials, and create an active demand for them, so that all our workmen may be constantly employed and receive high prices for their labor.

To accomplish this our manufacturers must have markets for the sale of their wares, and these markets are to be found in foreign countries as well as at home. To take the foreign market from the foreign manufacturer, we must produce our goods at a lower cost than he can. The principal elements of cost are labor and material. In many of our manufactures the labor cost is lower than in any country in the world, and if the cost of materials were as low here as in foreign countries, we could produce our goods more cheaply than they, and largely increase our exports to foreign markets.

FREE RAW MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS PURPOSE.

The annual product of our manufactories is now estimated at $7,000,000,000, of which amount we export only about $136,000,000, or less than 2 per cent. If we could obtain free of duty such raw materials as we do not produce and can only be procured in foreign countries, and mix with our home product in the various branches of manufacture, we could soon increase our exports several hundred millions. With untaxed raw materials we could keep our mills running on full time, our operatives in constant employment, and have an active demand for our raw materials in our own factories. If there should be no duty on any materials entering into manufactures many articles now made abroad would be made at home, which, while it would give more employment to our own labor, would give a better market to many articles which we produce and which enter into manufactures, such as cotton, wool, hemp, flax and others.

With this end in view we have gone as far as we could and done what we could in the present condition of things to place our manufactures upon a firm and unshaken foundation, where they would have advantages over all the manufacturers of the world. Our manufacturers having the advantage of all others in the intelligence, skill and productive capacity of their labor, need only to be placed on the same footing with their rivals in having their materials at the same cost in the open markets of the world. In starting on this policy, we have transferred many articles from the dutiable to the free list. The revenues now received on

these articles amount to $22,189,595.48. Three-fourths of this amount is collected on articles that enter into manufactures, of which wool and tin-plates are the most important. The revenues derived from wool during the last fiscal year amounted to $5,899,816.63, and the revenues from tin-plates to $5,706,483.89.

The repeal of all duties on wool enables us to reduce the duties on the manufactures of wool $12,382,211.65. The largest reduction we have made is in the woolen schedule, and this reduction was only made possible by placing wool on the free list. There is no greater reason for a duty on wool than there is for a duty on any other raw material. A duty on wool makes it necessary to impose a higher duty on the goods made from wool, and the consumer has to pay a double tax. If we leave wool untaxed the consumer has to pay a tax only on the manufactured goods.

DUTIES IMPOSED ON MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS

It is contended by some that if we put wool on the free list we should also put woolen goods on the free list. If this is sound policy we should also put cotton goods on the free list, for raw cotton is free, and we should put silk goods on the free list, for raw silk is free. Then where would the government get its revenues? Duties are imposed to raise revenue, and they should be so imposed as to obtain the revenue with as little burden as possible to the tax-payer and as little disturbance as possible to the business of the country. This is accomplished by imposing the duty on the finished goods alone, and in no tariff, from the first to the last, have woolens, cottons, silks, or linens been placed on the free list.

We say to the manufacturer we have put wool on the free list to enable him to obtain foreign wools cheaper, make his goods cheaper, and send them into foreign markets and successfully compete with the foreign manufacturer. We say to the laborer in the factory we have put wool on the free list so that it may be imported and he may be employed to make the goods that are now made by foreign labor and imported into the United States. We say to the consumer we have put wool on the free list that he may have woolen goods cheaper. We say to the domestic wool-grower we have put wool on the free list to enable the manufacturer to import foreign wool to mix with his, and thus enlarge his market and quicken the demand for the consumption of home wool, while it lightens the burden of the tax-payer.

The duty on wool now prevents nearly all the better classes of wool from coming into the country; the domestic product can supply only about one-half of the amount required for home consumption. The statistician of the Agricultural Department puts the domestic product for the year 1887 at 265,000,000 pounds. Others place it higher, but none at more than half the annual consumption of our people. It requires about 600,000,000 pounds of wool and other fibers manufactured with it, which are now paying duty, to supply the annual demands of home consumption.

SPECIAL INTERESTS WHICH ASK FOR "MORE."

Why, then, should we keep out by high duties the foreign wools so necessary to the clothing of the people? The Wool-Growers' Association ask us to put on a duty high enough to prevent the importation of all wools. The Wool Manufacturers' Association ask us to put on a duty high enough to keep out all manufactures of wool. If Congress grants this joint request, what are the people to do for woolen clothing? Are the people to be compelled by Congress to wear cotton goods in the winter or go without, to give bounties to wool growers and wool manufacturers?

During the last fiscal year there were 114,404,173 pounds of wool imported, and of that amount 81,504,447 were cheap carpet wool, the greater part of which paid 2½ cents per pound duty. The high duty of 10 cents per pound on the finer wools that go into clothing was so great a barrier against the importation of the better wools that only 33,099,696 pounds were imported. But our people required clothing, and if Congress put a duty so high on wool as to keep it out, still, high as was the duty on woolen goods, $44,235,243 worth were imported and consumed in this country, upon which duties were paid amounting to $29,729,717.

If the charges constantly being made are true, that great quantities of these goods are coming in undervalued, underweighed, and undermeasured, then the aggregate amount is much larger. Frauds of this character, smuggling, and bribery, follow prohibitory duties just as the shadow follows the substance. These goods for the most part could be manufactured in the United States, and if the wools in them could be admitted free of duty, it would give employment to many thousands of our own operatives, start into life, and keep in active operation many of our factories now idle, and largely reduce the cost of these goods to the consumers.

We must find a way to foreign markets for our woolen goods. In the foreign market we must compete with the foreign producer, and in order to do so successfully we must produce our goods at a lower cost and be able to undersell the foreign product and take the market. We are now exporting less than $500,000 worth of woolen goods; while England, with free wool, exports more than $100,000,000. With free wool we may not only supply the home market with the greater part of the woolen goods now imported, but we can begin to export woolen goods and soon build up a prosperous foreign trade.

JUST HOW MUCH MORE THEY WANT.

We submit herewith a table showing equivalent ad valorem duties now paid on manufactures of wool—those proposed by the committee and those proposed by the joint agreement of Wool-Growers' and Wool-Manufacturers' Association, adopted in Washington, D. C., January 14, 1888.

ARTICLES.	Present equivalent ad valorem.	Proposed equivalent ad valorem.	Proposed by convention of wool dealers, growers and manufacturers.
Wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals—			
Manufactures—			
Balmorals—			
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cts. per lb....pounds,	67.72	40	111.73
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cts. per lb.....do....	65.59	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cts. per lb.....do....	68.15	40	96.50
Valued at 80 cents per pound.....do....	66.35	40	
Belts or felts, endless, for paper or printing machines....do....	52.87	30	78.59
Blankets—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cts. per pound.....pounds.	79.66	40	128.76
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cts. per lb.....do....	63.85	40	
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cts. per lb.....do....	69.56	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cts. per lb.....do....	69.36	40	99.36
Valued at above 80 cents per pound.....do....	70.30	40	
Bunting.....square yards.	80.75	40	95.75
Carpets and carpeting of all kinds—			
Aubusson, Axminster, and Chenille carpets, and carpets woven whole for rooms.....square yards.	47.14	30	72.85
Brussels carpets..... do.....	59.03	30	88.67
Druggets and hockings, printed, colored or otherwise, do.....	73.92	30	123.20
Mats, screens, hassocks, and rugs, not exclusively of vegetable material.....	40.00	30	50.00
Of wool, flax, or cotton, or parts of either, or other material not specially enumerated or provided for.....square yards.	40.00	30	55.03
Patent velvet and tapestry velvet carpets, printed on the warp or otherwise.....square yards.	55.10	30	85.13

ARTICLES.	Present equivalent ad valorem.	Proposed equivalent ad valorem.	Proposed by convention of wool dealers, growers and manufacturers.
Wools, hair of the alpaca, etc.—continued—			
Saxony, Wilton and Tournay velvet carpets.....do.....	54.27	30	82.36
Tapestry Brussels, printed on the warp or otherwise..do.....	61.13	30	88.76
Treble ingrain, three-ply, and worsted chain Venetian carpets.....do.....	45.79	30	69.73
Yarn, Venetian, and two-ply ingrain carpets. .....do.....	44.70	30	68.37
Hemp and jute carpets.....do.....	24.76	30	79.03
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel (except knit goods), not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat or other (like) animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer—			
Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes.....pounds.	67.74	45	} 83.11
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, and balmoral skirts and skirting and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes.....pounds.	54.18	45	
Cloths, woolen—			
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound.....pounds.	89.84	40	128.33
Valued at above 80 cents per pound.....do.....	68.91	40	91.30
Dress goods, women's and children's coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description—			
Composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals—			
Valued at not exceeding 20 cts. per square yard..square yards.	67.89	40	102.61
Valued at above 20 cents per square yard.....do.....	59.06	40	71.78
Composed wholly of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of a mixture of them, and all such goods of like description, with salvages made wholly or in part of other materials, or with threads of other materials introduced for the purpose of changing the classification—			
Weighing 4 ounces or less per square yard.....square yards	82.96	40	107.28
All weighing over 4 ounces per square yard.....pounds	69.68	40	92.40
Flannels—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound.....pounds.	73.42	40	
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cts. per lb.....do....	66.90	40	} 121.39
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cts. per lb....do....	67.69	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cts. per lb....do....	67.65	40	} 108.66
Valued at above 80 cents per pound.....do....	73.02	40	
Hats of wool—			
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cts. per lb.....pounds,	.....	40	
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cts. per lb.....do....	73.04	40	} 134.54
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cts. per lb.....do....	66.22	40	
Valued at above 80 cents per pound.....do....	52.07	40	} 69.77
Knit goods and all goods made on knitting frames—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound.....pounds.	88.33	40	
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cts. per lb.....do....	65.20	40	} 125.71
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cts. per lb.....do....	69.14	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cts. per lb.....do....	69.62	40	} 83.29
Valued at above 80 cents per pound.....do....	62.58	40	
Shawls, woolen—			
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound.....pounds.	88.44	40	126.32
Valued at above 80 cents per pound.....do....	65.41	40	84.19

ARTICLES.	Present equivalent ad valorem.	Proposed equivalent ad valorem.	Proposed by convention of wool dealers, growers and manufacturers.
Wools, hair of the alpaca, etc.—continued—			
Composed wholly or in part of worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat or other animals.....pounds.	61.53	40	.....
Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head nets, buttons or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments, wrought by hand or braided by machinery, made of wool worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals is a component material.....pounds.	66.21	50	77.00
Yarns, woolen and worsted—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound.....pounds.	69.40	40	
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cts per lb.....do....	67.90	40	116.60
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cts. per lb.....do....	68.08	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cts. per lb.....do....	69.08	40	
Valued at above 80 cents per lb.....do....	68.79	40	117.11
All manufactures of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, made wholly or in part of—			
Wool—			
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per lb.....pounds.	88.81	.40	126.87
Valued at above 80 cents per pound.....do....	64.46	.40	84.98
Worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals (except such as are composed in part of wool)—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound.....pounds.	76.49	.40	
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cts. per lb.....do....	69.38	.40	123.10
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cts. per lb.....do....	68.28	.40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cts. per lb.....do....	68.15	.40	
Valued at above 80 cents per pound.....do....	71.99	.40	112.65

THE CHEAPER THE GOODS THE HIGHER THE TAXES.

The contest in the woolen schedule is not between the present rate and the rate proposed by the committee, but between the rates proposed by the committee and the schedule agreed upon by the Wool-Growers' Association and Wool-Manufacturers' Association. The committee propose free wool and a reduction from present rates to 40 per cent. ad valorem on all manufactures except carpets, which were made dutiable at 30 per cent.; ready-made clothing at 45 per cent., and webbings, gorings, etc., at 50 per cent. The joint agreement of the two associations proposes to increase the present rates to 128 per cent. on some of the cheaper cloths; to 102 per cent. on the cheaper rates of women's and children's dress goods when composed in part of wool, and to 107 per cent. when composed wholly of wool; on cheaper grades of flannels to 121 per cent.; on cheaper grades of wool hats to 134 per cent; on cheaper grades of knit goods to 125 per cent.; on cheaper grades of woolen shawls to 126 per cent; on woolen blankets to 128 per cent.

These rates, high as they are, are not the highest that are imposed on all woolen goods by the joint agreement. They are only the highest rate on the lowest valued goods, as shown in the agreement. All goods at a lower value are taxed at a still higher rate.

This most extraordinary schedule has been made and agreed upon by the two parties named, and it has been introduced into the House and referred to this committee.

HOW SPECIFIC DUTIES DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE CHEAPER GOODS.

In the woolen schedule we have substituted ad valorem for specific duties. The specific duty is the favorite of those who are to be benefited by high rates, who are protected against competition, and protected in combinations against the consumer of their products. There is a persistent pressure by manufacturers for the specific duty because it conceals from the people the amount of taxes they are compelled to pay to the manufacturer. The specific duty always discriminates in favor of the costly article and against the cheaper one, and therefore it imposes a heavier burden as it goes down from the highest-priced articles to the lowest. This discrimination is peculiarly oppressive in woolen and cotton goods, which are necessaries of life to all classes of people. In order that this fact may be clearly seen and comprehended, we append a table taken from the first annual report of the Commissioner of Labor.

This table states the description of the goods, their width in inches, and the weight per yard of each kind; the price of the goods at the factory; the rate and the amount of duty per pound and ad valorem, and the total amount of duty levied under the compound rate; and also the per cent. which the total duty is of the price per yard at the factory in England.

PRICE PER YARD OF LEEDS (ENGLAND) WOOLEN AND MIXED GOODS, DUTIES, ETC.

NAME	DESCRIPTION.			DUTY.						
				Rate.		Amount.				
	Width (inches).	Weight (ounces).	Price at factory.	Per pound.	Ad valorem (per ct.)	Per pound.	Ad valorem.	Total.	Per cent. of price at factory.	Cost in New York, not including packing, carriage to port, ocean freight and insurance.
West of England broadcloth	60	17	$3.60	$0.35	40	$0.372	$1.440	$1.812	50.3	$5.412
Fine worsted trouserings	28	11	1.62	.35	40	.241	.648	.889	54.9	2.509
Imitation sealskin (mohair and cotton)	50	31	4.50	.35	40	.678	1.800	2.478	55.0	6.978
West of England beaver	58	25	3.38	.35	40	.547	1.344	1.891	56.3	5.251
West of England all-wool Moscow	58	29	3.60	.35	40	.634	1.440	2.074	57.6	5.674
Fine worsted coating	56	21	2.88	.35	40	.525	1.152	1.677	58.2	4.557
Fine worsted trouserings	24	12	1.42	.35	40	.263	.568	.831	58.5	2.251
Indigo blue Cheviot coating	58	28	2.40	.35	40	.612	.960	1.572	65.5	3.972
Low worsted coating (worsted face, woolen back, cotton warp)	50	24	.82	.18	35	.270	.287	.557	68.0	1.377
Low worsted trousering (woolen back)	28	11	.48	.24	35	.165	.168	333	69.4	.813
Ottoman (worsted face, woolen back, cotton warp)	50	27	.92	.18	35	.301	.287	.591	72.0	1.411
Matelasse (worsted face, woolen back, cotton warp)	50	28	.84	.18	35	.315	.294	.609	72.5	1.419
Mantle cloth (worsted face, woolen back, cotton warp)	50	21	.68	.18	35	.270	.238	.508	74.7	1.188
Wool, fancy suiting	51	25	.94	.35	35	.547	.329	.876	93.2	1.816
Cotton-warp cloth	50	15	.54	.35	35	.328	.189	.517	95.7	1.057
Fancy coating	54	23	.78	.35	35	.503	.273	.776	99.5	1.556
Fancy Cheviot	54	25	.82	.35	35	.547	.287	.834	101.7	1.654
Wool, fancy suiting	54	22	.70	.35	35	.481	.245	.726	103.7	1.426
Diagonal Cheviot	54	25	.76	.35	35	.547	.266	.813	107.0	1.573
Common blue Cheviot coating	52	25	.72	.35	35	.547	.252	.799	111.0	1.519
Cotton-warp Moscow	52	35	.96	.35	35	.766	.336	1.102	114.8	2.002
Cotton-warp cloth	52	25	.64	.35	35	.547	.224	.771	120.5	1.411
Cotton-warp twilled Melton	50	16½	.42	.35	35	.361	.147	.508	121.0	.928
Cotton-warp Moscow	52	30	.74	.35	35	.656	.259	.915	123.6	1.655
Cotton-warp cloth	50	13	.32	.35	35	.284	.112	.396	123.7	.716
Fancy overcoating (cotton-warp)	50	34	.82	.35	35	.744	.287	1.031	125.7	1.851
Cotton-warp reversible	50	31	.74	.35	35	.678	.259	.937	126.6	1.677
Fancy overcoating (cotton-warp)	50	32	.74	.35	35	.700	.266	.966	127.0	1.726
Cotton-warp coating	50	17	.40	.35	35	.372	.140	.512	128.0	.912
Imitation sealskin (calf hair mixed with wool, cotton-warp)	50	28	.56	.35	35	.612	.196	.808	144.3	1.368
Cotton-warp coating	50	23	.46	.35	35	.503	.161	.664	144.3	1.124
Cotton-warp Melton	50	13	.24	.35	35	.284	.084	.368	153.3	.608
Cotton-warp serge Melton	50	15½	.26	.35	35	.339	.091	.430	165.4	.690
Reversible diagonal (cotton-warp)	50	29	.48	.35	35	.634	.168	.802	167.1	1.282
Reversible nap (cotton-warp)	50	29	.44	.35	35	.634	.154	.788	179.1	1.228
Cotton-warp reversible	50	30	.45	.35	35	.656	.157	.813	180.7	1.263

This table is well worthy of careful study. In examining the figures given in the column headed "Price at factory," and the column headed "Per cent. of price at factory," which the total duty amounts to, the startling inequalities in the rate of duty to be paid in this country becomes apparent. The highest-priced goods named in the table is West of England broadcloth, worth $3.60 per yard in Leeds, the specific duty being 35 cents per pound and the ad valorem duty 40 per cent., making a total duty of 50.3 per cent. on the value at the factory. This is on a high grade of goods. In looking at the bottom of the table the last entry is for cotton-warp reversible cloth, made in imitation of a better kind. It is worth but 45 cents per yard at the factory. The specific duty is the same as on the West of England broadcloth, 35 cents per pound, the ad valorem duty is 35 per cent., but the specific duty and the ad valorem duty together make the rate on the price at the factory 180.7 per cent. That is to say, the cheaper the goods at the factory the greater is the proportional increment of duty. The column headed "Per cent. of price at factory," which shows the percentage that the duty is of the factory price, brings this out clearly.

HOW THE TAX ON COTTON GOODS RANGES.

The above table shows the true nature of specific duties, and the consumer can see why it is that manufacturers clamor for them. They know the different values of these goods, and what apt words will embrace the high and low priced together, and make the poorer people pay the same tax for a yard of cloth worth 45 cents that the wealthy do for a yard that costs $3 66; but that fact the specific tariff conceals. The ad valorem rate taxes everything according to its value. A duty of 40 per cent. ad valore n would have imposed a tax of $1.44 on the yard of broadcloth and 18 cents on the cotton warp cloth that cost 45 cents, and the duty would have been fair to both. As it is, the tax is 180 per cent. on the cheap cloth and 50 per cent. on the high-priced broadcloth.

In the cotton-goods schedule we see the same "vicious, inequitable, and illogical" results of the specific duty. It will be seen in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the revision of the tariff, February 16, 1886, by the tables sent to him by persons dealing in cotton-goods imported into the United States from foreign countries, that cheap goods costing 3.55 cents per yard pay 176 per cent. duty; while those costing 8.12 cents per yard pay 77 per cent. duty, and goods that cost 4 cents per yard pay a duty of 94 per cent., while those that cost 2 cents per yard pay a duty of 208 per cent. These inequalities run throughout the whole specific system. It is that feature that specially commends it to the manufacturer of the competing article. As these excessive rates are thought to be more hurtful in cotton and woolen goods than in the articles embraced in the other schedules, the committee have substituted the ad valorem for the specific duties as to all articles in the woolen schedule, and in all except yarns in the cotton schedules.

WHAT FLAX, HEMP AND JUTE DUTIES COST.

In 1789 a duty was imposed on imported hemp, and in 1828 on imported flax, and while at intervals these fibers were imported free without harm to the American producer, yet since 1843 American flax and hemp have been "protected," and this necessitated the imposition of duties upon all manufactures from these and like fibers.

In spite of these duties American hemp has decreased in the amount of production from 74,493 tons in 1860 to 5,025 tons in 1880, as shown by the census reports of those two years, and flax from 7,709,676 pounds in 1850 to 1,565,546 pounds in 1880. But the demand and necessity for the products manufactured from these and similar fibers has greatly increased, and the importations of the raw material and of the finished product have necessarily equally increased. Formerly every pound of American cotton was covered with bagging and tied with rope made from American hemp; now over 50,000,000 yards of cotton bagging manufactured from imported jute butts are used to cover the 7,000,000 bales of American cotton which are tied with iron cotton ties, while the present mode of harvesting the immense grain crop of the country requires about 33,000 tons of twine, nearly all of which is made from imported material. So that, in the effort to "protect" probably 8,000 tons of American hemp and 1,500,000 pounds of American flax, a tax larger than the entire value of both

these products is imposed on cotton and wheat, whose price to the producer is fixed in the foreign market, where they come in competition with cotton raised in India and wheat raised in foreign countries.

Your committee have put all these fibers upon the free list, thereby relieving the goods manufactured in America of the tax, amounting last year to $1,930,340 on raw material. It has also put on the free list burlaps not exceeding 60 inches in width, none of which is made in America, and of which last year there was imported $3,260,117.40 worth, upon which were levied and paid $978,035.22. It has reduced the duties on all the manufactures from these fibers so that, except on a very few articles, no duty is higher than 25 per cent., and some as low as 15 per cent. The aggregate estimated reduction on this schedule is $4,766,846.88.

SUGAR, EARTHENWARE AND GLASSWARE.

Your committee feel assured that no industry will be injured by this reduction of taxation, while it will enable the American manufacturer to compete on equal terms with his rivals, will reduce the cost of production of cotton and wheat, and will cheapen to the consumer the goods which he must purchase.

The duty on sugar is nearly a revenue tax, about 85 per cent. of it being purely a tax paid into the public treasury; and all the sugars used in America are refined in this country. Your committee desired, in reducing the revenue received from this source, not to endanger the profitable production and refining of sugar here, and yet to prevent oppression by trusts and combinations. After much consideration, we now recommend that the revenue received from sugar be reduced by reducing the rates 20 per cent.

This reduction of rates on all sugars above No 13 will render possible the importation of foreign refined sugars, so as to prevent exorbitant prices and protect consumers against combinations.

In the earthen and glassware schedules we have made fair reductions, the larger part of these articles, such as common earthenware and window-glass, being necessary articles of consumption by the great body of the people, and especially the laboring classes. Ornamented china and decorated earthenware we have reduced from 60 to 45 per cent., common earthenware from 60 to 35 per cent., and window-glass from 93 and 106 to 62 and 68 per cent.

THE IMMENSE PROFIT IN STEEL RAILS.

In the metal schedule the most important reduction is in steel railway bars, which are now dutiable at $17 per ton, and by the proposed bill at $11 per ton. This is a reduction of about 35 per cent. ad valorem. This reduction will be of great value in promoting and cheapening the construction of railroads and lowering the rates of transportation of freight. Two years ago steel rails sold in this country at $37 a ton. The manufacturers during last year ran the price up to $40. The present price is $31 50. Last year 12,724 miles of railroad were constructed in the United States, which required 1,300,000 tons of rails. It is therefore patent that, by reason of the present exorbitant duty of $17 a ton, the manufacturers were able to raise the price more than $8.50 a ton.

They were therefore able to realize, over and above a legitimate profit, more than $11,000,000. This sum was an increase in the cost of construction, upon which the farmers must pay interest and dividends by way of increased freights upon their wheat, cotton, corn, and other products. The price of rails on board of ship in Liverpool last year was $21; adding freight, the cost of same, without duty, in this country, was $23 50. The duty fixed by the committee, $11, would increase the price to $34 50, or $3 above the price for which American rails are now selling. It is therefore apparent that the rate of duty allowed by the committee is more than enough to compensate our manufacturers for the difference in cost between the American and foreign product.

HOW THE TIN PLATE DUTY AFFECTS THE CANNING BUSINESS.

While we have been constrained to leave high duties on almost all the articles we have touched—duties higher than any necessity either of revenue or of difference of cost of American over foreign products required—we have felt that we ought to give some relief to other branches of industry not benefited by high duties imposed for private purposes. A large number of our people are interested in manufacturing tin, and others in putting up meats, fish, fruit, vegetables, oils, and other articles in manufactures of tin. Many of these products are exported and many consumed at home. During the last fiscal year there were imported into the United States 570,643,389 pounds of tin plate, valued at $16,883,813.95, on which duties were paid amounting to $5,706,433.89.

We are informed that the value of the salmon caught in the Columbia river, Oregon, and canned and exported during the last fiscal year, amounted to nearly $2,000,000, while the lard that was canned and exported exceeded $14,000,000, and the fruits and meats exceeded $4,000,000. We believe that the removal of the duty on tin plate would reduce the cost of these and other canned goods now being exported, and give to our people engaged in that trade such an advantage in the foreign market as would effectually overcome all competition, and enable them to hold the market and build up a large foreign trade.

The exporter, under existing law, has a drawback of 90 per cent. of the duty paid on tin plate, but the repeal of the duty would give him the remaining 10 per cent., and enable him to sell so much lower and give him additional advantage over his foreign competitor. Besides this, the consumers of canned goods at home would obtain them at a reduced price.

The manufacture of tin cans is growing into an extensive industry in the United States More than 150,000,000 cans are made per year in the city of Baltimore alone, while New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other northern cities produce large quantities of articles manufactured from tin plate.

FREE COTTON TIES, FREE SALT AND FREE LUMBER.

We have placed cotton ties also on the free list. The duties received from them during the last fiscal year were $121,098.99. Cotton is our largest exporting product. The price is so low, and has been for a number of years, that it hardly pays the cost of producing it, and the committee felt that it was a proper subject for consideration while they were repealing taxes and reducing the surplus revenue of the Government.

To our farmers in the Middle and Northern States, engaged in raising hogs and selling their products, we have made salt free of duty and released revenues amounting to $676,865.50.

To the people who are settling up the vast prairies of the West, inclosing their lands and building farm-houses, we have made lumber free, and removed duties amounting to $1,039,207.35.

II.

EFFICIENCY OF AMERICAN LABOR.

ITS PRODUCTIVENESS, ECONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MAINTAINED—THE WHOLE CASE OF TAX REDUCTION PRESENTED.

Speech of R. Q. Mills, of Texas, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, April 17, 1888.

During our late civil war the expenditures required by an enormous military establishment made it necessary that the burdens of taxation should be laid heavily in all directions authorized by the Constitution. The internal revenue and direct taxes were called into requisition to supplement the revenues arising from customs, to aid the Treasury to respond to the heavy demands which were being daily made upon it. The duties on imports were raised from an average on dutiable goods of 18.84 per cent. in 1861, to an average of 40.29 per cent. on dutiable goods during the five years from 1862 to 1866, inclusive. This was recognized at the time as an exceptionally heavy burden. It was stated by the distinguished gentleman who then presented to the House the bill so largely increasing the duties, and which to-day bears his honored name, that it was demanded by the exigencies of war, and must cease on the return of peace. In his own words he said: "This is intended as a war measure, a temporary measure, and we must as such give it our support."

More than twenty years have elapsed since the war ended. A generation has passed away and a new generation has appeared on the stage since peace has returned to bless our common country; but these war taxes still remain; and they are heavier to day than they were on an average during the five years of the existence of hostilities. The average rate of duty during the last five years, from 1883 to 1887, inclusive, on dutiable goods amounts to 44.51 per cent., and during the last year the average is 47.10 per cent. Instead of the rate of taxation being reduced to meet the wants of an efficient administration of government in time of peace, it continues to grow and fill the coffers of the Government with money not required for public purposes, and which rightfully should remain in the pockets of the people.

REPEALING THE TAXES OF THE RICH.

After Congress had so largely increased the duties on imports, and thus bestowed most liberal and generous bounties on our manufacturers, a light internal tax was imposed on the products of domestic manufacture to help the Government meet the heavy demands of war. The internal tax imposed on home manufactures was but a tithe of the heavy burden imposed on the people by the increased duties on foreign goods. It brought to the Treasury in 1866 $127,000,000—a sum which was less than 5 per cent. upon the value of the manufactured product of that year. It was thought not to be unreasonable to require this small contribution from those whose bounty Congress had increased from 18 to 40 per cent. in the price of their products.

But that tax is gone. It could not be retained. It was a tax on wealth. It came out of the pockets of the manufacturer. As soon as the war was ended complaint was made that this tax was a war tax, that it was no longer necessary, and it was repealed. Congress imposed a tax on incomes, too, to help the Government to meet the expenditures of war. It brought to the Treasury, in 1866, $73,000,000. The official reports showed that four hundred and sixty thousand one hundred and seventy persons out of the whole population had incomes above the exemption, and they had $707,000,000 of net annual income, while the balance of the people had nothing beyond what was required for annual support. Yet scarcely had the war ended until this tax was declared to be exceedingly odious, inquisitorial, and oppressive; and Congress was asked to repeal it, and it is gone.

Congress thought it was unjust to require 460,170 persons who had an annual income of $707,000,000 to pay anything to support the Government, and they hurriedly swept that "odious" measure from the statute-book. Besides these there were taxes on the receipts of railroad companies, taxes on insurance companies, taxes on express companies, taxes on bank capital, bank deposits, and bank checks, but they are gone. Congress lent a willing ear to the demands of wealthy corporations and individuals and took all the burden from them, but the war taxes on clothing, like the poor, we have always with us. These taxes were given up at a time when our interest-bearing debt of more than $3,000,000,000 was staring us in the face and demanding from the Government more than $140,000,000 annually to meet its interest.

With these facts before their eyes they made haste to roll all the burdens of taxation off the shoulders of the wealthy and lay them upon the shoulders of those who could only pay as they procured the means by their daily toil. Could not that $127,000,000 contributed by the manufacturers from the rich bounties which the Government had given have been retained until the war debt was paid? Could not the $72,000,000 from incomes been held for a few years longer? Could not the tax on the receipts of the wealthy corporations have been continued for one decade?

Was the tax of three per cent. on the domestic blanket paid by the manufacturer more oppressive then than the tax of seventy-nine per cent. on both foreign and domestic blankets paid by the people?

Was the tax of 3 per cent. on a wool hat paid by the manufacturer more oppressive than the tax of 73 per cent. on both paid by the consumer? Was the tax of 3 per cent. on Womens and children's clothing paid by the manufacturer more oppressive than the tax of 82 per cent. on both foreign and domestic goods of the same kind paid by the consumer? Was a tax of three per cent on railroad companies, banking companies, insurance companies, express and telegraph companies, more oppressive than an 88 per cent. tax on woolen shawls? Was a three per cent. tax on incomes more oppressive than an 80 per cent. tax on a woolen shirt?

The gentlemen who represent the minority of the Committee on Ways and Means boast that they have reduced taxation $360,000,000. They point with pride to the splendid column which they have erected, but that column has no stone in it to tell of their devotion to the masses who live by daily toil. It is built of blocks of marble, every one of which speaks of favoritism to the wealthy, of special privileges to rich and powerful classes. In 1883 they finished this magnificent shaft which they have been for years erecting, and crowned it with the last stone by repealing the internal tax on playing-cards and putting a 20 per cent. tax on the Bible.

We on this side of the House have been trying to reduce taxation on the necessaries of life to the people, and so far without success Whenever we have brought bills into the House to reduce taxes on the necessaries of life they have mustered nearly their entire strength to defeat us.

THE CONSTANT DRAIN UPON THE TAX PAYER.

What has been the result of this policy? Enormous taxation upon the necessaries of life has been a constant drain upon the people—taxation not only to support all the expenditures of Government, but taxation so contrived as to fill the pockets of a priveleged class, and taking from the people $5 for private purposes for every dollar that it carries to the public Treasury.

This is one of the vicious results of the war tariff. The taxes, both for public and private purposes, are paid by labor. They are assessed on labor. Now, let us see how it benefits labor, as it is claimed to do. Suppose a laborer who is earning a dollar a day by his work finds a suit of woolen clothes that he can buy for $10 without the tariff tax, then the suit of clothes can be procured for ten days' work; but the manufacturer comes to Congress and says, "I must be protected against the man buying this cheap suit of clothes," and Congress protects him by putting a duty of 100 per cent., or $10 more. Now it will require the laborer to work 20 days to get his suit of clothes. Now tell me if ten days of his labor have not been annihilated? Has he not been required to work twice as long under the tariff as he would have done without, to obtain his suit of clothes?

But how has that duty affected the manufacturer? If it required him to work ten days to produce the suit of clothes worth $10, he now produces them by five days' work, for he receives $30 for 10 days' work, and, of course, $10 for five days' work. The manufacturer has had his work reduced half, the laborer has had his increased double. But it is said that the tariff helps the laborer by doubling his pay, because it builds up manufactures everywhere. But if that is true the tariff at the same time that it doubles the value of the manufacturer's product ought to double the value of the laborer's pay; but the tariff takes his money and puts it in the pockets of the manufacturer and pays him in promises which it never redeems.

There are woolen goods, as we have shown in the report of the committee, bearing duties from 100 to 180 per cent, but I have taken 100 per cent. for the greater ease of illustrating the effect. The benefits of the tariff all go one way. They go from the consumer to the manufacturer, but not from the manufacturer to the consumer. Suppose that the tax on the 60,000,000 of consumers amounts to $10 per head, then it is a tax of six hundred millions; if it is only $5 per head, it is three hundred millions taken out of the pockets of the consumer and put into the pockets of the manufacturers. The tax on the four hundred millions of goods imported goes into the public treasury; the tax levied on domestic manufactures, by raising their price, goes into the pockets of the manufacturers.

DESTROYING THE VALUE OF OUR EXPORTS.

The greatest evil that is inflicted by it is in the destruction of the value of our exports. Remember that the great body of our exports are agricultural products. It has been so through our whole history. From 75 to over 80 per cent. of the exports of this country year by year are agricultural products Cotton is first, then bread stuffs, pork, beef, butter, cheese, lard. These are the things that keep up our foreign trade, and when you put on or keep on such duties as we have now—war duties which were regarded as so enormous even in the very midst of hostilities that they were declared to be temporary—when you put on or retain those duties, they limit and prohibit importation and that limits or prohibits exportation.

We are the great agricultural country of the world, and we have been feeding the people of Europe, and the people of Europe have got to give us in exchange the products of their labor in their shops; and when we put on excessive duties for the purpose of prohibiting the importations of their goods, as a necessary result we put an excessive duty upon the exportation of our own agricultural products. And what does that do? It throws our surplus products upon our own markets at home, which become glutted and oversupplied, and prices go down. So it is with the people of Europe who are manufacturing and producing things that we cannot produce, but which we want. Their products are thrown upon their home markets, which are glutted and oversupplied, and their prices likewise go down. And whenever, from any cause, prices start up in Europe, our tariff being levied mainly by specific duties upon quantity, not upon value, the tariff goes down, and then we see large importation and, as a result, large exportation.

Then we see a rise in agricultural products; then we see the circulation of money all through the whole of our industrial system; we see our people going to work, our manufactories starting up, and prosperity in every part of the land. Witness the history of 1880. After the long depression lasting from 1873 to 1880 prices suddenly rose in Europe. The prices of all the products which they export to us began to rise in the latter part of the year. What was the result? As prices rose there the tariff went down, the obstructions became lower, and the imports came in.

Our imports increased about $200,000,000 in one year. What was the result of that? Our exports increased largely. The prices of wheat, of cotton, of corn, of all the products that we export went up; not only the prices of that which was exported, but also the prices of that which was consumed at home. We exported in 1880 $685,000,000 worth of agricultural products, and in 1881 $730,000,000. During last year we exported only $523,000,000 worth of agricultural products. About 15 per cent. of our agricultural products have to seek a foreign market, and in 1881 the proportion rose to 20 per cent.

WILL NOT AFFECT OUR MANUFACTURES.

But it is insisted that if we lower the duties and let foreign goods be imported it will stop our manufactories—that it will turn our people out of employment or reduce their wages. It will do nothing of the sort. What will we import and what did we import when prices rose and the duties fell in 1880? We imported more of the same articles which we were importing before the prices rose. We will import more of the things we cannot produce or which can be produced cheaper in other countries than at home. If we look to our table of imports in 1880, we will see that over sixty millions of the increase was of articles in the free list and about one hundred and twenty-five millions in the dutiable list. The increase of imports free of duty will not hurt the manufacturer or the laborer.

We always import more coffee, more tea, more of everything that is required to meet the wants of the people when prices are high, because when prices are high the country is more prosperous and the people are better able to buy and pay for what they want, and the tariff is then lower and dutiable articles are more largely imported to compete for sale with the home products. In looking through our consumption statement we see that a certain line of articles are imported from year to year; then observing the periods when prices are high and the tariff low you will see that the same articles are imported in larger quantities.

Our manufacturers do not then stop. They go on with increased activity. They did not stop in 1880 when the large importation set in. It gave them renewed life; their wheels flew faster, their machinery worked more constantly, and their operatives were all employed. Why is this? We can produce at least 90 per cent. of all the manufactures consumed in this country more cheaply at home than they can be produced anywhere in the world and delivered here. This 90 per cent. which we can produce at a lower cost than any other people can will not be hurt by importation.

WE CAN HOLD OUR OWN MARKET

I have a letter here from the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, which shows that in 1850 with a low tariff the consumption of domestic manufactures in the United States was 88.39 per cent. of the whole, and of imports 11.61 per cent. In 1860, with a still lower tariff, our home manufactures constituted 87.57 per cent. and the consumption of imports was 12.43 per cent. In 1870 the consumption of domestic manufactures was 93.14 per cent. and 6.86 per cent. of imports, and in 1880 there were consumed 92.58 per cent. of home manufactures and 7.42 per cent. of foreign manufactures. Now, it is evident from these figures that under any circumstances we can hold 90 per cent. of the market against the world.

Values of the products of domestic manufactures, of domestic manufactures exported, of foreign manufactures imported, and of the total consumption of domestic and foreign manufactures in 1850, 1860, 1870, *and* 1880, *with the proportions of domestic and foreign manufactures consumed in* 1850, 1860, 1870, *and* 1880.

Year.	Values of				Consumption of—	
	Products of domestic manufactures.*	Exports of domestic manufactures.†	Imports‡ of manufactures.†	Consumption of domestic and foreign manufactures.	Domestic manufactures.	Imported manufactures.
					Per cent.	*Per cent.*
1850.....	$1,019,106,616	$22,903,888	$130,838,280	$1,127,041,008	88.39	11.61
1860.....	1,885,861,676	45,658,873	261,264,310	2,101,467,113	87.57	12.43
1870.....	4,232,325,442	47,921,154	308,363,496	4,492,767,784	93.14	6.86
1880.....	5,369,579,191	79,510,447	423,699,010	5,713,767,754	92.58	7.42

*Census years. †Years ending June 30. ‡Gross imports.

Values of the products of domestic manufactures and of the exports of domestic manufactures, with the proportions of such manufactures retained for home consumption and exported, in 1850, 1860, 1870, *and* 1880.

Years.	Values of—		Proportion of domestic manufactures—	
	Products of domestic manufacture.*	Exports of domestic manufacture.†	Retained for home consumption.	Exported.
			Per cent.	*Per cent.*
1850	$1,019,106,616	$22,903,888	97.75	2.25
1860	1,885,861,676	45,658,873	97.58	2.42
1870	4,232,325,442	47,921,154	98.87	1.13
1880	5,369,579,191	79,510,447	98.52	1.48

*Census years. †Years ending June 30.

WM. F. SWITZLER, *Chief of Bureau.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS,
February 18, 1888.

Senator Sherman, in a speech delivered three months ago, quoted a statement that nine-tenths of all the articles of manufacture consumed by the people could be produced as cheaply here as in England. He endorsed the statement as correct. I deny the accuracy of the statement. If he had said that nine-tenths of all the manufactures consumed in the United States could be produced more cheaply here than in England he would have been nearer the truth. If nine-tenths of all the manufactures consumed here are cheaper here than in England it is because they are produced at a lower cost. Then what objection does he see to reducing the tariff?

What use have our manufacturers for the tariff at all? Why are they constantly beseeching Congress not to ruin them by reducing the war rates? They can produce nine-tenths of their products and sell them cheaper than their rivals in England, but they do not do it. If they do sell nine-tenths of their products cheaper than English manufacturers, why is it that they and our friends on the other side not only resist every effort that we make to reduce these war taxes, but are asking now that the tariff on woolen goods shall be raised? Why are they demanding that woolen cloth shall be raised to 128 per cent., women's and children's dress goods to 102, flannels to 121 per cent., hats to 134 per cent, and knit goods to 135 per cent? Why do they resist the reduction of the duty on steel rails to $11 a ton? Why oppose the slight reduction we propose in cotton goods?

THE FARMER'S INTEREST IN THE FOREIGN MARKET.

The manufacturer is not so much interested now in the foreign market as the farmer. Less than 2 per cent. of the $7,000,000,000 of his annual product goes to the foreign market; but the farmer sends 15 per cent. of his products there, and would send a larger per cent. if the way was open. The manufacturer looks to the home market for the sale of 98 per cent. of his product. Then is it not a matter of the deepest concern to him to have that home market prosperous? Is not every one who sells goods interested in having customers able to purchase and pay for everything they want? Would not manufacturers make more money by selling their goods to American people with pockets full of money than to wild Indians who had none?

It is essential to the American manufacturer that he shall have a prosperous market in which there is a constant and active demand for his goods, and that he have such market both at home and abroad so that his customers may be as many as possible, that they be constantly increasing in pecuniary ability so that they can

buy largely and pay promptly for all they buy. These things being true, and his dependence being almost exclusively on the home market, he should do everything in his power to help his customers grow in wealth. Who are his customers? The farmers. How are they to become prosperous and grow in wealth? By selling their products in the markets that demand them and offer for them the highest price. Where are those markets? In foreign countries. But those markets are closed to him unless Congress will let him bring back the goods he will obtain in exchange. If to-day the barriers against importation were broken down and our imports should increase from two to three hundred millions, that importation would create a demand for that amount of agricultural products to be exported to pay for them, and that would increase the price of farm products all through the land. It would distribute money among the whole sixty millions of people, placing a dollar beside every want with which it could be satisfied. He would find that he had a market then at home far more valuable to him than it would be with the 10 per cent. of importations kept out and the prices of all farm products forced down so low that the farmers would have nothing with which to buy.

DIFFERENT PRICES OF WAGES IN DIFFERENT STATES.

But it is said that this will injure our labor. It is said a high tariff makes high wages for labor. It is said if we reduce the tariff wages must be reduced. How is it high tariff makes high wages for labor? How can it be explained? Why, they say, if you increase the value of the domestic product, the manufacturer is able to pay higher wages. Unquestionably he is, but does he do it? No. Mr. Jay Gould, with his immense income from his railroad property, is able to pay his bootblack $500 a day, but does he do it? Oh, no; he pays the market price of the street. He gets his boots blacked and pays his nickel like a little man. Mr. Vanderbilt, from the income arising from the interest on the immense amount of bonds of the Federal Government he has got, can afford to pay his hostler $10,000 a year. He is able to do it; his bonds enable him to do it, but does he do it? Oh, no; he goes out into the market and employs his labor at the market value, and pays the same price that the humblest citizen in New York does.

High tariff does not regulate wages. Wages are regulated by demand and supply and the capacity of the laborer to do the work for which he is employed. If high tariff regulated wages, how is it the wages in the different States of the Union are different while the tariff is all the same from Maine to California? In every part of the territory of the United States the tariff is the same. How is it the wages are not the same? How is it that wages in the different localities in the different States are different? What is the cause? What is it which disturbs the tariff and prevents it from fixing a high rate of wages all over the country for labor?

We find by the census the rate of wages in the cotton industry is lower in Rhode Island than in Pennsylvania, and we find the wages in the iron business are higher in Rhode Island than in Pennsylvania. Why is it that so? It is not the tariff that does it, it is the demand and supply of the people to do the work demanded of them. There are more cotton operatives in Rhode Island and the supply is greater, and therefore the wages are lower. The same thing is true about the iron business in Pennsylvania. The wages of cotton operatives in Pennsylvania are higher because there are fewer in Pennsylvania than in the State of Rhode Island. It is not the tariff that regulates the wages. Well, what is it that fixes the high rate of wages in this country?

It is admitted by all who are well informed on this subject that our rate of wages is higher than anywhere else in the world, that England is higher than France, and that the rate of wages is higher in France than in Germany. Why is this? Germany and France both have a protective tariff to guard against the free-trade labor of England. What then is it that makes higher wages? It is coal and steam and machinery. It is these three powerful agents that multiply the product of labor and make it more valuable, and high rate of wages means low cost of product. A high rate of wages means that cheap labor has got to go; and the history of our country in the last fifty years demonstrates that as clearly and as conclusively as any mathematical problem can be demonstrated.

INCREASE IN PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY.

Fifty years ago, Mr. Edward Atkinson shows, it required five persons, two carders, two spinners, and one weaver, working by the old methods, to make eight yards of cloth in one day. They got 20 cents a day; a dollar for the whole five. The labor cost of the cloth was 12½ cents a yard, and calculating 300 working days in a year, the whole product of these five cheap laborers was 2,400 yards of cloth; but when coal and steam and machinery were harnessed together to produce cloth, five persons to-day in New England produce 140,000 yards of cloth. The labor cost of the cloth is 1.08 cents per yard. The wages of labor, instead of being $60 a year, or 20 cents a day, is $287 per annum for each.

The result of the labor-saving machinery used was an enormous increase in productive capacity. The result of that was a great increase in the rate of wages, and the further result was a great decrease in the cost of production. The old hand-wheel and the old methods of labor have had to depart before the all-conquering march of coal and steam and machinery. They had to go because the small amount of product of the article drove them out of the field. It is not the rate of wages, it is the article which the labor makes and the cost at which that article can be produced—the lower cost—which drives the rival article out of the market. Such is the history which has been written in our country in the last half century.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, one of the clearest thinkers and writers on political economy of the present day, in his little book on The Distribution of Products, lays down the principle that high rate of wages means low cost of product, and low rate of wages means high cost of product. He says that the "cheapest man is the one who works the greatest amount of machinery with the least stops." I read a paragraph from his book, on page 44:

> In any given country like the United States, where the people are substantially homogeneous, where he means of intercommunication are ample, where there are no hereditary or class distinctions, and where there is no artificial obstruction to prevent commerce, high rates of wages in money will be the natural and therefore necessary result of low cost of production in labor.

Again, on page 46, he says:

> Hence, it follows that although the total production of any given thing may not be concentrated at the very best point, it will yet be found to be true that where the conditions are the best, the cost, measured in terms of days of labor, will be lowest, and the wages, measured in terms of money per day, will be the highest, the high money wages being the necessary consequence of the low labor cost. Conversely, low rates of money wages are the natural and necessary result of a high labor cost of production.

Now, then, "it follows," he says, on page 56,

> That the nation which has diminished the quantity of human labor in greatest measure by the application of machinery produces goods at the lowest cost, and by exchange with the hand working nations, who still constitute the majority of the people of the world, is, by way of such exchange, enabled to pay the highest rate of wages in money, because their goods are made at the lowest labor cost.

In order to prove that fact Mr. Atkinson made an investigation into the condition of two old manufacturing houses in the State of New Hampshire; he compared two periods—1830 with the year 1884. He found that in 1830 the wages per annum were $164 in gold to each operative. This increased until 1884, when it amounted to $290 in gold.

Now as to the efficiency of the labor employed. In 1830 the total number of yards of cloth produced by each operative was 4,321 per annum, while in 1884, mainly by the aid of improved machinery, it had been increased to 28,032 yards. The cost of the labor per yard was 1.09 cents in 1830, and but 1.07 cents in 1884.

Let us now reduce these differences to percentages and compare them in that form. There was, as I have shown, a great increase in the productive capacity of each operative, but there was a decrease in operatives per thousand spindles of 60 per cent.

The pound of material turned out by each spindle or operative was taken as a unit of measurement, and Mr. Atkinson's table shows that the pounds that each spindle turned out was increased 22 per cent., and the pound that each operative turned out in a day had increased 190 per cent.; the pounds that each operative turned out per hour increased 240 per cent. The increase of wages of operatives per hour (for the number of hours were made less) increased 240 per cent. The

wages of the operative per annum had increased 64 per cent., and per hour 94 per cent, while the labor cost per yard had decreased 41 per cent. The other house showed the same condition. It showed that productive efficiency had increased in spindles 276 per cent., in pounds per operative 214 per cent., while wages increased 77 per cent., and labor cost per yard decreased 44 per cent.

WHAT BROUGHT ABOUT THE REVOLUTION.

This great revolution in production, wages, and cost is not the work of the tariff, but of coal, steam and machinery. These three powerful agents have produced these marvelous results. The effects inevitably follow the cause—high rate of wages because so much more service is rendered the employer, low cost of product because so much more is done in a given time. I repeat it, the tariff has had nothing to do with bringing about the great change, and it is impotent, utterly impotent, to increase the rate of wages.

But, Mr Chairman, I want to call the attention of the committee to a statement found in the report of the United States Census. This is the report in reference to the wages in the manufacturing industries of the country, and I call special attention to a report of an ex-manufacturing establishment in Connecticut. This gentleman who makes the report compares the operations of his house from his books in 1840 with 1880. In steel fitting, in ax making, each operative turned out 600 pieces per day in 1840. In 1880 each operative turned out 1,250 pieces per day. Each operative received in 1840 24 cents per hundred pieces, and received in 1880 20 cents per hundred pieces. He earned in 1840 $1.44 a day, and in 1880, though he received less for each piece, he earned $2.50 per day.

And this table includes all the different parts of the manufacture of the ax—the poll-making, rough-polishing, tempering, finishing, grinding, painting, backing, etc.; and in every department of this manufacture in making axes the same rule is observed—that is, the increased productive power increases the wages and decreases the cost of the product. That follows as shadow follows substance, as night follows day. It is the effect following the cause. It is the cause producing the effect—that as the laborer is more efficient and more valuable to his employer, he is entitled to and receives more pay. He receives more wages by the day, even though he is paid less for each piece of work he turns out.

WAGES AND THE LABOR COST COMPARED.

Now, was the increase of the daily wages of these operatives due to the tariff? Let the manufacturer answer. He says: "The following table shows the results of labor-saving machinery, together with the increase in the efficiency of labor in the manufacture of axes, from 1840 to 1880." When I saw these tables, proving the principle so clearly presented and so strongly enforced by Mr. Atkinson, I went to our very able and efficient chief of labor, Carroll D. Wright, and asked him to have a table like this in the Census Report prepared, and to send an intelligent agent into some of the oldest houses in the country and get a statement from their books and send it to me, that I might see if there was a different result in other establishments. I now give you the testimony of those houses to add to the others.

There are here seven establishments. The first one is in Massachusetts. A comparison is instituted between 1849 and 1884, and the industry is cotton print cloth. Each operative made in 1839 in this factory 44¼ yards per day; in 1884 he made 98.2 yards, an increase of productive power of 120 per cent. What wages did he get? The average daily earnings of the laborer in 1849 were 66 cents, and in 1884 $1. His wages increased 50 per cent. The labor cost of the product decreased 32 per cent.

In that same establishment in 1849 the wages of weavers were 65 cents a day, and each man turned out 113 yards of cloth. In 1884 the wages had risen to $1.06, and each weaver turned out 273 yards of cloth.

In the second house, also in Massachusetts, manufacturing printed cloths, each laborer in 1850 produced 42 yards; in 1884 he produced 102 yards, an increase of 142 per cent. His earnings were 65 cents a day in 1850 and $1.05 in 1884. The increase in wages was 61 per cent. The decrease in the labor cost of the article was 33 per cent.

The third house, manufacturing sheeting in Massachusetts, showed that each laborer in 1852 produced 41 yards, and in 1886 73 yards of cloth. His productive efficiency increased 77 per cent. His wages increased 49 per cent. The labor cost of the cloth decreased 15 per cent.

In the fourth house, in New Hampshire, manufacturing print cloth, each laborer in 1852 produced 42.5 yards and in 1886 103 yards. The increase in productive capacity was 142 per cent. The increase in wages was 56.7 per cent., and the labor cost per yard decreased 35 per cent.

Without going all through these figures the facts as to each one of these houses show in every instance that the productive efficiency of the laborer had increased, and that corresponding with that the wages had increased and the cost of the product had decreased.

HIGH WAGES MEAN A LOW LABOR COST.

But now let us see what effect a reduction of the duties will have by letting in the goods of England and other foreign countries into our markets to compete with our people and to endanger the laborers of our country, as it is charged it will do. I say the same proposition for which I have been contending is demonstrated again when we compare the laborer of this country with the laborer of England. We produce cheaper than in England because a high rate of wages means low cost of product, and a higher rate of wages means lower cost of product, and the highest rate of wages means lowest cost of product.

Mr. Wright, Chief of the Labor Bureau, instituted a most painstaking examination into the rates of labor in England and Massachussetts a few years ago, and showed the rates of labor higher in this country than in England; 12 per cent. higher in cotton manufacture; 25 per cent. in the manufacture of woolens, 26 per cent. in iron and steel, 128 per cent. in boots and shoes. That would seem to indicate, according to the philosophy which has been taught in this country by protectionists for many years, that we are on the road to ruin because our rate of labor is higher than in England and other countries. But the reverse of that proposition is true; and the fact that the rate of wages is higher here than in England shows that England is distanced in the great industrial contest into which she has entered.

Now let me give you an instance here in boots and shoes. If we pay so much higher wages in producing boots and shoes, if the proposition we hear on the other side be true, we cannot enter into any contest with Great Britain when we pay 128 per cent. higher wages than she does. Yet we import no boots and shoes at 30 per cent. duty from England. We make the cheapest boots and shoes and the finest made in the world. In that England cannot contest with us; and the fact that the rate of wages is so much higher here than in England shows that she is far behind in the race.

Let us see. Here is a gentleman writing in Harper's Magazine in 1885, a very able article entitled "A pair of shoes." He takes the history of the hide from the cow and follows it through all its mutations into the finest products of manufacture. This is not an article on wages; but it contains a paragraph on wages. Mr. Howard Newhall is the writer. He says:

> American ladies' shoes wholesaling at $1.50 per pair, cost for labor of making 25 cents. English ladies' shoes wholesaling at $1 50 per pair, cost for labor of making 34 cents. American men's shoes wholesaling at $2.60 per pair, cost for labor of making 33 cents. English men's shoes wholesaling at $2.60 per pair, cost for labor of making 50 cents. In the report of the Massachusetts bureau of statistics for 1884 the general average weekly wage in Massachusetts is given as 128.9 per cent. higher than in Great Britain. The general average weekly wage in Massachusetts is given as $11.63 per week, and in Great Britain, $5.08.

Now, what is the solution of all this? What does it mean? In Massachusetts wages are 128.9 per cent. higher than they are in Great Britain, but the labor cost of a pair of ladies' shoes in Massachusetts is less than the labor cost of a like pair of shoes in Great Britain. The cost is 25 cents in Massachusetts against 34 cents in England. The labor cost of men's shoes in Massachusetts is 33 cents per pair; the labor cost of men's shoes in England is 50 cents. If our people are to be injured by the importation of English shoes into this country the English shoe must be produced at a lower cost than the American shoe; otherwise it cannot take the market.

It is not the rates of wages in England and in America respectively, $5.08 against $11.63, that we have to consider, but it is the labor cost of a pair of shoes. Now, the man holds the market who can sell his goods cheapest, and the man can sell cheapest who gets his goods at the lowest cost, and that is the man in Massachusetts. What, then, does this difference of wages mean, $11.63 per week in Massachusetts against $5.08 in England? It simply means increased productive efficiency; it means that the productive efficiency of the American workman engaged in this industry is greater than that of the British workman by 128.9 per cent.

In order for the American to earn his $11.63 a week he makes 35 pairs of men's shoes in a week; the Englishman to earn his $5.08 a week, makes 10 pairs of men's shoes. In order for the American workman to earn his $11.63 per week he makes 46 pairs of ladies' shoes; in order for the Englishman to earn his $5.08 per week he makes 15 pairs of ladies' shoes. The tariff did not make the American workingman's wages $11 63 per week. It was the number of shoes he made that regulated his wages, and superior skill in using machinery gave him the capacity to make more shoes than the Englishman.

Here is the solution of the whole question, and the principle is the same that I have been supporting all along. That principle in that the higher rate of wages means a higher productive power; it is increased pay for increased work; it is not the tariff; it is more work; it is more efficient work; it is better work; it is cheaper work. It is that that holds the market; and it holds the boot and shoe market of this country against the importation of a single pair of shoes from Great Britain, notwithstanding the fact that wages there are $5.08 a week as against $11.63 in Massachusetts.

APPLIED TO THE COTTON MANUFACTURE.

A few years ago, in 1879, our English friends across the water took alarm about the growth and development of our cotton industry in the United States, and they sent an expert—a gentleman thoroughly conversant with the cotton business of England—to the United States to make a thorough and searching investigation into the whole business of cotton manufacture in this country, and to report to them whether their industry was imperiled by that of the United States. That gentleman went to New England, the seat of the cotton industry in this country. He made a thorough and searching investigation, and in every instance he showed that we could produce cotton goods at a lower labor cost than they could be produced at any point in Great Britain. I have here the tabular statement that he gave to his people when he returned.

The following are the rates of wages for weaving and spinning cloths in some of the principal districts of England and America, as shown by his report:

A piece 28 inches, 56 reeds, 14 picks (?), 60 by 56, 58 yards, costs at Ashton-under-Lyne, in England, 24.68 cents to weave; in Rhode Island it costs 16 82 cents. At Blackburn, in England, it costs 25.4 cents; at Providence, R. I., it costs 17 26 cents; at Stockport, England, 25.4 cents; at Fall River, 19.96 cents; at Hyde, England, 25 28 cents; at Lowell, 19 96 cents. In every instance the labor cost of the production of the cotton goods is lower here than in England. Now let us turn to the summary. At Fall River the wages in a pound of print cloth, about 7 yards, is 6.907 cents; at Lowell it is 6.882 cents; in Rhode Island it is 6.422; in Pennsylvania, 6.44; in England 6.96 cents. In every place in the United States, in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the labor cost of producing a pound of print cloth was lower than at any point in England.

Now, Mr. Chairman, when we come to look at the last column of these figures the picture changes. What do we find when we come to look at the total product, with the cost of the material thrown in, and all the other elements besides labor? While the labor cost is lowest in the United States, where the rate of wages is highest, yet when we come to examine the cost of the material, England beats us, because she produces the goods at a total cost lower than ours. It is not the labor that causes this difference; it is the cost of the material. The machinery by which you run your establishments costs you 45 per cent; your dye-stuffs are more costly than in England; all these things which enter into the manufacture

of goods cost more here than on the other side. But do not charge this increased cost to labor. You are not paying the laborer, in proportion to the work that he does, as much as he receives in England.

Now, when we come to look at the total cost of this pound of calico cloth we find that at Fall River it is 14 cents (leaving off fractions); at Lowell, 13 cents; in Rhode Island, 11 cents; in Pennsylvania, 15 cents; in England, 12 cents. England produces the goods at a total cost less than ours, and that gives her the market; but while the goods cost more here, she pays more in the form of wages.

Now, when this gentleman goes back home after this general survey of the whole business he reports to his people elaborately. This is his language:

> While, however, the American nation heaps duties upon the import of foreign machinery, thus increasing the price of mill construction, and in other ways by her tariff arrangements artificially raising the cost of production, American manufactures will continue too high in price to compete with English in all but exceptional cases.

Now, this statement in regard to the cotton industry is supported by a statement from Secretary Blaine. A few years ago, while he was Secretary of State, he said in his report, in speaking of the cotton industry:

> Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as seems to be proven from official statistics, it will be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton trade of the world.

COMPARATIVE RESULTS FROM THE SYSTEM.

England with a higher rate of wages exports annually into Germany cotton yarns to the value of ten to eleven millions of dollars, and that over a duty, if I remember rightly, of 10 per cent. The German manufacturers find that they can buy cotton yarns cheaper in England, where the rate of wages is much higher than in Germany. If we look at these tables we will see the reason. Here are two tables giving the labor cost and whole cost of spinning cotton yarns of any number from 1 up to 177. One is the cost in Alsace, Germany, and the other in England, and they show that in every number the labor cost and the whole cost per pound are less in England than in Germany, notwithstanding the higher rate of wages which is paid in England.

Is it the tariff that makes English wages higher than German? Germany has the tariff but England has the trade. If these statements are true, what is there to prevent us from being the greatest manufacturing and exporting country of the world? We are the greatest agricultural people in the world. We exceed all others in the products of manufacture, but we export next to nothing of our product. Why should we not export the three hundred and seventy five millions of cotton goods which England is now exporting? She buys her cotton from us, pays the cost of transportation to her factories, makes the goods, and sends them all over the world. That trade, at least the most of it, is ours whenever we get ready to take it.

IT IS NOT AN AMERICAN POLICY.

This policy which is being pursued now may for awhile satisfy the demands of the capitalist who has money invested in the various factories and enterprises of that kind throughout the country. They may be able by the aid of these pools and trusts and combinations which seem to be springing out of the earth all around us to secure for a time the capital invested; but what, I ask you, is to become in the mean time of the poor laborer when they shut off their fires, when they turn him into the streets, and determine that they will limit the product of their establishments in order to keep up prices so as to save the profits on their investments? What is to become of the cotton and the iron and the wool, and all of the other interests that depend upon capital invested in manufacturing enterprises? Where are our markets when our factories are closed, when the wheels are still, when the fires are banked, and their laborers wandering as paupers around the streets seeking employment, which is not to be found anywhere in the land? And yet they call this the American policy.

I repel it; it is not American. It is the reverse of American. That policy is American which clings most closely to the fundamental idea that underlies our institutions and upon which the whole superstructure of our Government is erected, and that idea is freedom—freedom secured by the guaranties of government; freedom to think, to speak, to write; freedom to go where we please, select our own occupations; freedom to labor when we please and where we please; freedom to receive and enjoy all the results of our labor; freedom to sell our products, and freedom to buy the products of others, and freedom to markets for the products of our labor without which the freedom of labor is restricted and denied. Freedom from restraints in working and marketing the products of our toil, except such as may be necessary in the interest of the Government. Freedom from all unnecessary burdens; freedom from all exactions upon the citizen except such as may be necessary to support an honest, efficient, and economical administration of the Government that guarantees him protection to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" freedom from all taxation except that which is levied for the support of the Government; freedom from taxation levied for the purpose of enriching favored classes by the spoliation and plunder of the people; freedom from all systems of taxation that do not fall with "equal and exact justice upon all '—that do not raise the revenues of government in the way that is least burdensome to the people and with the least possible disturbance to their business. That is the American policy.

TARIFF AND LABOR COST IN BLANKETS AND FLANNELS.

The tariff is not intended to and does not benefit labor. The benefit of the tariff never passes beyond the pocket of the manufacturer, and to the pockets of his workmen.

I find in this report one pair of five-pound blankets. The whole cost as stated by the manufacturer is $2.51. The labor cost he paid for making them is 85 cents. The present tariff is $1 90. Now, here is $1.55 in this tariff over and above the entire labor cost of these blankets. Why did not that manufacturer go and give that money to the laborer? He is able to do it. Here is a tariff that gives him $1.90 on that pair of blankets for the benefit of his laborer, but notwithstanding that the tariff was imposed for the benefit of American labor and to preserve high wages, every dollar of that tariff went into the manufacturer's pocket. The poor fellow who made the blankets got 35 cents and the manufacturer kept the $1.90.

Mr. Crain. Will the gentleman please state how much the committee has reduced that duty?

Mr. Mills. To $1.00 from $1.90.

Take another pair of 5-pound blankets. The total cost is $2.70. The labor cost is 70 cents. The tariff is $1.98. Now, how strange it is that none of these sums that were intended for the laborer ever get beyond the pocket of the manufacturer. Why is it, when the American Congress enacted this legislation for the benefit of our labor, that every dollar of this aid intended for labor stops in the pockets of the manufacturer, who goes into the highways and hedges and hires his laborer at the lowest price for which he can get him in the market and then pockets the tariff benefits that we are told every day is intended for the laborer alone—for the benefit of labor.

Here is another pair of 5-pound blankets. The cost is $3.39. The labor cost paid by this manufacturer, he says himself, is 61 cents. The tariff is $2.55. In the pending bill we have left him $1.35, and we have left the other man $1.08. And we have left all along not only enough to cover the difference, if there was any difference, between the labor cost of production in Europe and the labor cost of production in this country, but we have left enough to pay for all the labor and a bonus besides.

Let us go on a litttle further. Here is 1 yard of flannel, weighing 4 ounces; it cost 18 cents, of which the laborer got 8 cents; the tariff on it is 8 cents. How is it that the whole 8 cents did not get into the pockets of the laborer? Is it not strange that those who made the tariff and fastened upon the people these war rates in a time of profound peace, and who are now constantly assailing the Democratic party

because it is untrue to the workingman, did not make some provision by which the generous bounty they gave should reach the pocket of him for whom they said it was intended? They charge that we are trying to strike down the labor of the country. Why do they not see that the money they are taking out of the hard earnings of the people is delivered in good faith to the workman?

One yard of cassimere weighing 16 ounces costs $1.38; the labor cost is 29 cents; the tariff duty is 80 cents. One pound of sewing silk costs $5.66; the cost for labor is 85 cents; the tariff is $1.69. One gallon of linseed oil costs 46 cents; the labor cost is 2 cents; the tariff cost is 25 cents. One ton of bar-iron costs $31; the labor cost is $10; the tariff fixes several rates for bar-iron. I give the lowest rate, $17.92. One ton of foundry pig-iron costs $11; the labor costs $1.64; the tariff is $6.72.

WHERE OTHER RATES GO.

Let us take Bessemer-steel rails. We are told that the steel-rail industry is in great danger of utterly perishing away and departing from this continent, because we propose to reduce the duty from $17 to $11.

The whole cost is put down at $31, the labor cost at $7.57; the tariff is $17. The manufacturer has $9.43 more for each ton than all the labor cost. The labor cost of this ton is exceptionally high. I have a statement of the labor cost of a ton of steel rails at Bethlehem, Pa., taken recently by Mr. Schoenof, and it shows labor cost there $3.85 per ton. The labor cost of a ton of steel rails in England is not one dollar cheaper than here. Mr. Schoenof informs me that a ton of bar-iron costs, for labor, in England about $7.75, and here about $8. But let us leave these and proceed with the official figures. A keg of steel nails costs $2 34; the labor cost is 67 cents, the tariff is $1.25. A ton of pipe-iron costs $34.57; labor cost, $12.26, the tariff is $22.40.

Here is a car-wheel weighing 500 pounds; cost $13; labor cost 85 cents; tariff rate is 2½ cents per pound, equivalent to $12.50, to cover a labor cost of 85 cents! Why, Mr. Chairman, these laborers of ours ought to get immensely rich if they could get all that Congress votes to them, if the manufacturers did not stop the bounties intended by the Government to reach the pockets of the workingmen.

Here is a coarse wool suit of clothes such as our working people wear in their daily toil in the shop and field. The whole cost is $12. The labor cost is $2. The tariff duty is 40 cents per pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem. As the weight of the suit is not given, we cannot get the exact tariff, but the duty on woolen clothes imported last year averaged 54 per cent., and at that rate the tariff stands $6.48 to cover $2 of labor cost.

A cotton suit costs $10.50; the labor cost is $1.65; the tariff is $3.67. A dozen goblets cost 48 cents: the labor cost, 15 cents; tariff, 19 cents. White lead, by the hundred weight, $9.50; labor cost, 50 cents; tariff, $3. A hundred weight of mixed paints, $8; labor cost, 41 cents; tariff, $2.

GIVE LABOR SOME REAL RELIEF.

Now, gentlemen, the time has come, after all these taxes on wealth have been swept away, after the people of this country have been bearing for years these enormous burdens that have been levied on the necessaries of life; now, when "trusts," and "combinations," and "pools" are arising all around us to limit production, to increase prices, to make the laborer's lot harder and darker—now the time has come for us to do something, not for classes, but for the great masses of our people.

I hope and trust that the bill which we have presented to you and which has met with favor throughout the whole country will receive a majority of your votes, a majority of the votes of the Senate, and become a law. I earnestly hope when the Treasury is full to overflowing of the people's hard earnings, you will lighten their burden, and reduce the taxes on the necessaries of life.

Although the bill we propose is not all that we could have asked, although it is a very moderate bill, yet it will send comfort and happiness into the homes and bosoms of the poor laboring people of this country, and I ask you now in behalf of them to consider their claims and help to reduce the burdens that have so long been laid upon their shoulders.

COST OF PRODUCTION, Etc., IN THE UNITED STATES AT TWO PERIODS.

THE FIRST PERIOD—1849 TO 1860.

Number of establishment.	Year.	State.	Industry.		Product per employe per day on full time.		Labor cost per unit of measure.	Average daily earnings of employes on full time.	Number of employes reduced to full time.			Weavers.		
			General	Special.	Quantity.	Unit of measure			Day hands.	Piece hands.	Total.	Number.	Wages.	Yards per day for each.
1	1849	Massachusetts..	Cotton.	Print cloth	44.5	Yards ..	$0.01499	$0.667	58	57	115	45	$0.65	113.3
2	1850	Massachusetts..	Cotton.	Print cloth	42.0	Yards ..	0.01547	0.650	76	154	230	.....	.....	.....
3	1852	Massachusetts..	Cotton.	Sheetings ..	41.3	Yards ..	0.01624	0.670	169	317	486	180	0.70	120.6
4	1855	New Hampshire	Cotton.	Print cloth	42.5	Yards ..	0.01576	0.670	414	350	764	283	0.65	114.5
5	1858	Massachusetts..	Woolen	Cassimeres.	1.5	Yards ..	0.70000	1.050	50	45	95	30	0.90	4.8
6	1858	Massachusetts..	Woolen	Flannel.....	10.0	Pounds.	0.10000	1.000	26	32	58	20	0.90	*30.0
7	1860	New York.....	Iron ...	Pig "anth".	40-25	Ton....	2.02500	1.080	.....	.....	75	.....	.....	.....

THE SECOND PERIOD—1884 TO 1887.

1	1884	Massachusetts..	Cotton.	Print cloth.	98.2	Yards .	$0.01018	$1.00	151	244	395	142	$1.06	273.4
2	1884	Massachusetts..	Cotton.	Print cloth.	102.0	Yards ..	0.01029	1.05	150	260	410			
3	1886	Massachusetts..	Cotton.	Sheetings ..	73.0	Yards ..	0.01369	1.00	227	530	757	280	1.17	194.0
4	1886	New Hampshire	Cotton.	Print cloth.	103.0	Yards ..	0.01019	1.05	394	760	1154	429	1.05	278.0
5	1886	Massachusetts..	Woolen	Cassimeres.	3.2	Yards ..	0.46875	1.50	60	80	140	40	1.45	11.2
6	1887	Massachusetts..	Woolen	Flannel.....	16.9	Pounds.	0.07100	1.20	23	40	63	19	1.02	*55.0
7	1886	New York.....	Iron ...	Pig "anth."	14-17	Ton....	1.80928	1.49	.....	.....	95	.....	.....	.....

*Pounds per day for each.

THE TWO PERIODS CONSIDERED WITH RESPECT TO LABOR COST.

Number of establishment.	Periods.	State.	Increase in product.	Increase in wages.	If wages of first period prevailed in second and were applicable to product of second, the following would be—		Decrease of labor cost per unit of measure.
					Labor cost per unit of measure.	Per cent of such labor cost of labor cost of first period	
			Per cent.	*Per cent.*			*Per cent.*
1	1849–1884	Massachusetts	120.6	50.0	$0.006792	45.3	32.0
2	1850–1884	Massachusetts	142.8	61.5	0.006372	41.2	33.4
3	1852–1886	Massachusetts	77.0	49.2	0.009178	56.5	15.7
4	1855–1886	New Hampshire	142.3	56.7	0.006504	41.2	35.3
5	1858–1886	Massachusetts	113.3	42.9	0.328125	46.8	33.3
6	1858–1887	Massachusetts	69.0	20.0	0.059110	59.1	29.0
7	1860–1886	New York	54.4	38.0	1.311428	64.8	10.6

III.

IMPORTING LABOR UNDER CONTRACT.

HOW STRIKES HAVE INCREASED UNDER OUR SYSTEM OF TAXATION AND LABOR HAS BEEN IMPORTED WITHOUT LET OR HINDRANCE.

From the Speech of Benton McMillin, of Tennessee, April 24, 1888.

I wish to quote from the report of the Commissioner of Labor to show that twenty-seven years of alleged protection has not resulted in that peace, quiet, and prosperity to the laborers which it was claimed would follow it.

In the six years from 1881 to 1886 there have been strikes in 22,336 establishments. Of these 16,692, or 74.74 per cent., were in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Illinois, where protection is claimed to have wrought such wonders for the laboring man.

There were lockouts during the same period in 2,182 establishments. Of these 1,981, or 90 8 per cent, occurred in the five States named. The number of employes striking and involved was 1,324,152. In addition to these there were 159,548 employes locked out, 31.22 per cent. of whom were females.

Of the 22,336 establishments in which strikes occurred, the strikes in 18,342, or 82.12 per cent. of the whole, were ordered by labor organizations; while of the 2,182 establishments in which lockouts occurred, 1,753, or 80.34 per cent., were ordered by combinations of managers.

Concerning the loss to employes resulting from these disturbances the report says:

> Understanding, then, the difficulties in ascertaining the exact loss of employers and employes as resulting from strikes and lockouts, reference may be had to the summaries, where the information which has been collected is grouped. The loss to the strikers, as given in these tables, for the period involved was $51,819 163. The loss to employes through lockouts for the same period was $8,132,717; or a total wage loss to employes of $59,951,880. This loss occurred for both strikes and lockouts in 24,518 establishments, or an average loss of $2,445 to each establishment, and of nearly $40 to each person involved.

LABOR CONDITIONS NOT SATISFACTORY.

Will any gentleman say, in the face of these great disturbances, that the condition of the labor of this country is entirely satisfactory to the laborer? Has he derived that unmixed blessing from high taxation which was promised him? The tendency of our present legislation, I regret to say, is to make millionaires and paupers. Under the lower tariff rates of years gone by, when taxation was imposed to carry on the Government, the word "tramp" was not daily and hourly heard. The Anarchist, the Socialist, and the Communist were also unknown in our midst.

Our rate of wages is higher than the rate in the Old World, and would be under any tariff law that we would impose. If tariffs give high wages, why is it that labor in England is so much higher than it is in France or Germany, the latter countries having protective tariffs and England having none? Why is it that our manufacturing journals of this country begin to declare that the danger of our people lies in the cheap labor of Germany instead of the cheap labor of England?

With the highest-priced labor in the world, we send over their tariffs to Germany and France, having the cheap labor, machinery, stoves, ranges, hardware, tools, machine needles, mechanical and scientific instruments, cutlery, fire-arms, printing presses, locks, hinges, sewing machines, clocks, watches and pianos, and so far as I have been able to trace the relation I find that the more labor we get into a commodity the more certainly we can compete successfully with the old country. One of the manufacturers of pianos alone in this country sends five hundred pianos per annum to England.

WHAT THE TARIFF BILL DOES.

The bill we present for consideration proposes to take $878,000 off of chemicals; $1,756,000 off of earthen and glassware; $11,480,000 off of sugar; $331,000 off of provisions; $227,000 off of cotton goods; $2,042,000 off of hemp, jute, and flax goods; $12,330,000 off of woolens; $3,000 off of books and papers, and $1,090,000 off of sundries. It is also proposed to add to your free list flax, hemp, jute, chemicals, salt, tin plate, wool, and other things, amounting to $22,189,000, making in all a tariff reduction of $53,720,000. It proposes to make reductions in the internal revenue of $24,455,000, or a grand total of tax reduction from tariff and internal revenue sources of $78,176,000—more than a dollar and a quarter to every individual, or $6 for every family in the United States. And the plain, simple question presented here to-day is: Will we take this burden off or will we leave it on? Will we free commerce, leaving it unshackled, or will we keep it hampered? Will we continue to hoard up a corrupting surplus, or will we leave the money in the pockets of the people, where it justly belongs? These are the subjects upon which we are to act.

WHAT THE PROTECTION LEADERS DID FOR LABOR.

I wish to compare the record of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Kelley) with that of the distinguished President of the United States, whose message he criticises. Let us compare their action on one subject that is of vital importance to the laboring man, and see if we can not get some additional light. The gentleman from Pennsylvania was a member of Congress in 1864, and on the anniversary of our country's liberty an act was passed by him and those acting with him which has only to be read to be most heartily despised. It is what is now known as the "contract labor law." There was a clause in the Constitution which forbade the re-establishment of the African slave trade, but this opening of something like a Caucasian slave trade was made legitimate by the statute which I send to the Clerk's desk to be read.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States in foreign countries, in conformity to regulations that may be established by the said commissioner, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months, to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States or of the several States and Territories; and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract, and the contract

be recorded in the recorder's office in the country where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the immigrant, whether under the homestead law when the title is consummated, or on property otherwise acquired until liquidated by the emigrant; but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the Constitution of the United States, or creating in any way the relation of slavery or servitude. (U. S. Stats. at large, vol. 15, 1863-'65.)

Not only were foreigners to be brought here by contract, but their services for a year were made liable for the fulfillment of the contracts, and any little home which they acquired by purchase, or even under the homestead act, was to be swept away from them and their children to satisfy the rapacity of the contractors who brought them over. Whenever the operatives in an American mine or at an American furnace became dissatisfied with their wages and struck for better pay, all that the mine or furnace owner had to do was to send his agent abroad to the densely populated regions, to the poor and squalid inhabitants of Russia, Poland, Italy, or other oppressed region, contract for laborers to take the places of the strikers, and the machinery worked smoothly again. Whole colonies of American citizens have been swept away from their places of labor in this manner.

Who was it that originated a bill repealing this law? It originated in a Democratic House of Representatives. Not only was the law allowing the importation of contract laborers repealed, but an amendment was made afterwards, with the approval of President Cleveland, which made the vessel bringing them to this country liable for the expense of transporting them back, and by a clause I offered, which was adopted, if it failed to do so, prevented it from entering in or clearing from our ports. This President Cleveland made effective by his approval. I leave this House to determine which has manifested the greatest affection and which has bestowed the greatest blessing upon the laboring man in this case, the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania or the President whose message he criticises.

IV.

ANALYZING THE SCHEDULE.

REDUCTIONS HAVE BEEN SO MADE AS RELIEVE LABOR FROM UNNECESSARY BURDENS NOW IMPOSED.

From the Speech of Clifton R. Breckinridge, of Arkansas, May 17, 1888.

Our tariff is divided into fourteen great schedules, and if we include the free-list it makes fifteen. These schedules are:

Schedule A.—Chemical products.
Schedule B.—Earthenware and glassware.
Schedule C.—Metals.
Schedule D.—Wood and woodenware.
Schedule E.—Sugar.
Schedule F.—Tobacco.
Schedule G.—Provisions.
Schedule H.—Liquors.
Schedule I.—Cotton and cotton goods.
Schedule J.—Hemp, jute and flax goods.
Schedule K.—Wool and woolens.
Schedule L.—Silk and silk goods.
Schedule M.—Books, paper, etc.
Schedule N.—Sundries.
The free-list.

THE DUTY ON SILK GOODS UNCHANGED.

Take Schedule L, that of silk and silk goods, and let us examine into the changes we have made and the ruin we have wrought here, as alleged by the minority of the committee. Under this head there were 383 productive establishments in 1879, as shown by the census of 1880. There is subject to ruin a

capital of over $19,000,000; over 9,000 men, 16,000 women, and 5,000 children, a total of 31,335 hands, are to be deprived of employment that "adds to our national wealth" over $41,000,000 of products every year—the business is larger now—and their earnings were $9,146,705. What happy homes are destroyed! What a doleful picture we have of the hum of industry hushed and the great factories standing, grim monuments of disaster and of Democratic folly. We have not changed a classification or lowered a single rate. We have not touched the schedule. In the matter of gloves made of silk, and that might have been involved elsewhere, we took particular pains to keep them at the 50 per cent. rate laid upon the general merchandise of this schedule.

NOTHING IN THE DIRECTION OF CHEAP WHISKEY.

I wish to call the attention of the committee to another schedule that we are said to have mutilated and to other industries that we are said to have pickled for an evil day. There is Schedule H, relating to liquors. The industries under this head exist or cease to exist under our "home rule" system of government as the people in the respective States prefer. When a State permits its people to make or consume such products they are subject to Federal taxation, and the Democratic members of the committee are very partial to taxing these products rather than the necessities of life. This schedule embraces distilled, malt and vinous liquors and some other products, such as ginger ale, etc. A great many working people are employed in these industries.

Without going into a complete summary, I may say that in 1879 there were over 3,000 establishments producing distilled spirits, malt liquors and vinous products. They gave employment to more than 32,000 people, and the wages paid exceeded $15,000,000. The capital employed was nearly $120,000,000. Apart from any question of merit, our Republican colleagues on the committee unite in making this schedule no exception in their general statement of ruin. They do not specify the particulars. We can not blame them for that. We can only blame them for making the statement at all, for the schedule is not touched.

ANALYSIS OF THE TOBACCO SCHEDULE.

Then there is the tobacco schedule—Schedule F—one of the great schedules, and covering one of the great lines of industry of the people. Foreigners will buy up our tobacco, ship it to Europe for say three or four dollars a ton, ocean freight, work it into the various forms fit for use, having pauper labor, and under the destruction of rates that we are said to have made they will ship it back here at a less rate of freight, for return freight is all "ballast," and they will deprive our people of this work. Seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-four establishments are going to ruin; $40,000,000 of capital will be idle to supplement the surplus in the Treasury; 87,587 hands, including 20,000 women, and more than 11,000 children, who now find honest and cheerful employment manufacturing the gay brands of tobacco, are going to be sent to the poor house. It is a terrible state of affairs. The changes we have made in this schedule and affecting these industries will stop the current of $25,000,000 of yearly wages now dispensed. It makes a man who loves his country—and only Republicans love our country—shudder.

The $17,000,000 internal revenue tax on tobacco that we repeal will help the industry. They all say that. Giving the cigarmakers Sumatra wrappers at 35 cents a pound instead of 75 cents a pound tax will help them. They all say that. Then so far we have helped them by universal consent. The last feature is a tariff change. What are the changes which are going to produce the stated ruin?

DEALING WITH THE CHEMICAL SCHEDULE.

Let us take schedule A—that of chemicals. This is the most intricate and difficult schedule that we have It covers a multitude of industries of the most scientific character. By the census of 1880 we had 592 manufacturing establishments with a capital of nearly $30,000,000. They employed 9,515 people. They

paid $4,157,163 in wages, and their product was $38,173,058. Sir, the wage per cent. of their product is 10 per cent, and we leave on the articles that we touch an average duty of over 22 per cent., which is more than twice as much as all the labor there is in them; and yet the gentlemen of the minority fail to omit the chemical schedule from their prediction of the general ruin which they say this bill will inflict upon every industry in the country.

Look a moment further at the chemical industry. The cost of material in 1879 was $24,380,566, making $28,537,729 for labor and material. Take this from the product, and we have a net profit of $9,535,929. In these figures interest on capital, cost of maintaining plant, and every form of expense has been included. Here, then, is a profit of 33 per cent. in their sales over and above all this Our rate of duty on all dutiable imports of chemicals last year was 35 per cent. In 1879 it was within a small fraction of 32 per cent. They collected from the people and retained in the pockets of the proprietors every cent of the protection and 1 per cent. of profit on top of it, which, according to the usual mode of computation, is the net profit, as I have just set forth, that they would have made if there had been no protection. They would have made more than 1 per cent. under free trade after paying the wages they did pay, for many articles taxed were of the nature of raw material to them.

PROTECTING LABOR IN EARTHENWARE.

I wish to cite only two or three points in relation to the earthenware schedule. This business, too, according to gentlemen on the other side, is to be consigned to ruin by this bill. It is an industry of very considerable importance. The data respecting this schedule is not consolidated, nor can it well be. We can, however, consider representative features of it without going too much into detail. As shown by the census returns of 1880, the per cent. of labor in the drain and sewer pipe business was 23; in brick and tile, 40; in stone and earthenware, 40; in glass, cut, stained and ornamented, 27, and in other glass, 43. We leave 49.21 per cent.—far more than all the labor there is in any branch of the business. The basket clause of the bill is 40 per cent., whereas under the act of 1861 it was only 30 per cent. Those are the general facts relative to this industry. We leave room for the manufacturers to charge extra to the consumers under this schedule more than all that is paid out for wages, and yet our friends on the other side of the House say this will not cover the difference between wages paid here and abroad.

DEALING WITH THE METAL SCHEDULE.

I pass next to the consideration of the metal schedule. In 1880 there were in the foundry and machine shop business 145,000 hands; the wages paid were over $65,000,000; the product over $214,000,000, the wage element being 32 per cent. of the product. If we had left 16 per cent., or the half of 32 per cent., perhaps it would have covered the difference between the cost of production in this country and in foreign countries; but out of abundant caution we have left over 43 per cent., which is 11 per cent. more than all the labor in the business. Yet gentlemen have the boldness to say that this does not cover the difference in wages.

In the iron and steel industry there were employed 140,000 hands, and there was disbursed $55,000,000 in wages. The average per cent. of labor in the product is 18; and we leave over 43 per cent., leaving still enough to permit an immense embargo upon the consumption of the products of labor, a heavy burden upon workers in iron and users of iron. Gentlemen take a weak position, weak in every sense, when they say they only want enough protection to cover the difference in wages in a particular industry. Every one can see that the rates we have are generally far in excess of all the labor in the particular industry. The product of one industry often constitutes the base or raw material of another industry. The first product is raised in price by the protective tax laid for it, and especially if the tax be specific a higher rate must be laid upon the latter or subsequent product. To admit this is to admit what our opponents absurdly deny, that protection does not enhance the price of the domestic made article. If the first tax does not raise the price, why do you place the subsequent tax so far beyond the entire cost of the labor in it?

In the tinware industry the wage per cent. is 22; and we leave over 43, with free tin, and yet gentlemen say that there is not left room for the laborer to get his hire. I think it certain that with free trade in tinware, to prevent combinations, the workmen would do more and get more than they now do.

THE TARIFF ON LUMBER AND ITS PRODUCTS.

As to the wooden and woodenware schedule, a fair index is to take the furniture business. In that industry there were in 1880 59,000 hands, to whom were disbursed more than $23,000,000 in wages. The product was roundly $77,000,000 of goods. The wage per cent. is 30; and we leave a 30 per cent. rate of protection, which, in covering all the wages paid, certainly covers every difference of wages between this country and foreign countries.

In planed lumber we leave precisely the rate of protection that exists under the present law, simply taking off that upon the rough lumber.

It should be remembered also that in these bulky products distance and freight alone constitute adequate protection, as is shown by their extensive existence in the West, where wages are high, while often in the Eastern States wages are much more below the Western standard than in Europe they are below our Eastern standard.

THE SUGAR REFINING INDUSTRY.

I wish to pass rapidly to a brief consideration of the general features of the sugar schedule. The sugar-refining industry is an important one. In 1880, there were, exclusive of plantation refining, 49 establishments in that business in this country, with a capital of $27,000,000, with nearly 6,000 hands, and a disbursement of nearly $3,000,000 in wages.

The labor is only one eighth of 1 per cent. of the product. The question is, as we have a duty upon raw sugars, whether we leave a sufficient margin between the tax on the raw sugar and the tax on the refined grades of sugar to cover the differences between the cost of refining in this country and the cost abroad. Under the present law the tax on sugar not above No. 13 Dutch standard of color and 65 degrees of saccharine strength is 1.40 cents per pound. For each additional degree the tax is .04 of a cent per pound. What is called the working base in the sugar-refining industry is No. 13 sugar, or sugar below 13, with 90 degrees of saccharine strength. The present tax on that is 2 cents a pound. The present tax for the first grades of refined sugar, those between 13 and 16, is now 2 cents per pound; between 16 and 20, a higher grade of refined sugar, the tax is 3 cents a pound; above 20 (and at 20 you reach about the grade of granulated sugar) the tax is 3½ cents a pound.

But I must not dwell too long on this feature. We have sought to reduce the sugar tax, say $11,000,000. The reduction is a little more: and then by more largely reducing the margin of the refiners we have sought to also reduce what I may call the subsidy tax. Of course the tax on raw sugar affords a subsidy to the Louisiana sugar planters. They will lose about $2,500,000 of their subsidy. But while the margins to the refiners are at present 75 cents, $1 and $1 50 a hundred for refining, we make them in this bill in this way: We take off 20 per cent. instead of merely twenty points from each grade. This makes a deeper cut in the higher grades. No. 13, of 75 degrees, is proposed at 1.15 cents, and each additional degree .032 cent. This makes No. 13, of 90 degrees, taxed at 1.63 cents. From No. 13 to No. 16 it would be 2.20 cents. Between No. 16 and No. 20 it would be 2.40 cents. Above No. 20 it would be 2.80 cents. This leaves margins respectively of 57 cents per 100 pounds instead of 75 cents, 77 cents per 100 instead of $1, and $1.17 instead of $1 50; or reductions of margins of 18, 23, and 37 cents per 100 pounds for refining.

DEALING WITH COTTON INDUSTRIES.

The cotton schedule deals with a very important part of our domestic industries. According to gentlemen on the other side, we are going to ruin them all. We had in 1880 1,005 cotton mills in this country; capital, $219,000,000; hands, 180,000; wages, $15,000,000; product, $210,000,000; and the average rate of wages

82 cents a day, counting three hundred working days to the year, and the wage per cent. of the product was 21 per cent.

There is not a rate in the schedule lower than 35 per cent. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that 35 is greater than 21, however stoutly the other side may deny it, and I also submit that 35 is greater than some figure less than 21, which is what they now tell the House and the people is not true. If the House will believe that 35 is greater than 21, and also greater than some sum less than 21, then the question as to the safety of the proposed rate is settled.

The tax now on costly cotton cloths, laces, etc., is 40 per cent. ad valorem. We leave it just as it is. The rates, however, on cheaper cloths are specifics. I hold in my hand samples of crinoline cloths, low priced goods, involving but little labor compared with the cloths taxed 40 per cent., and that enter into the dressmaking industry, and these goods are taxed under the specifics at from 68 to 137 per cent. We correct this inequality and injustice to consumers and dressmakers and put the tax at the same rate as it now is upon fine cloth—40 per cent. Dresses are taxed at from 35 to 50 per cent. now by law; that is, cotton and silk. Should we leave their material taxed 137 per cent.? Some dress linings are now taxed 158 per cent. Here are mulls and tarltons. The cheaper goods are taxed as high as 110 per cent. Manufactures out of them are taxed 35 per cent. This inequality has, we are told, destroyed the ruffling industry here; and whether it has or not, it is unjust to the people employed in it and unjust to consumers. We make the rate the same as now fixed by law for fine goods—40 per cent. Here are sleeve linings taxed 70 per cent., the raw material of made-up goods taxed 35 per cent. and along there. Is this just? What inequalities do the other side propose to correct, and how, when they have the boldness to denounce us for proposals like these?

THE DUTY ON STARCH AND MUSTARD.

Now, there are some manufactures in the provision schedule which the minority prophesy will be ruined by the pending bill. There is very little upon that schedule that we touch. There is starch and mustard, with two or three other products in their natural state. In the starch industry, which substantially covers the ground, our capital in 1880 was a little over $5,000 000. They employed 3,119 hands; their wages were $919,197; their product was $7,477,742. The per cent. that labor got of the product was a little over 12. We leave rates of 40 and 47 per cent. We then leave a subsidy on starch sufficient to pay all the laborers now get nearly four times over, and yet gentlemen say room is not left to pay them. This is on a level with their other statements.

Our exports of starch last year were over 7,000,000 pounds. We sent over 1,000,000 pounds to England, and over 3,000,000 pounds to the Netherlands, and over 300,000 pounds to Germany. It will appear from this that here in this country, at the seat of the supply of corn and potatoes, the raw material for this manufacture, we are at the place to make starch cheaper than anywhere in the world, and certainly we would not export these vast quantities abroad were it not that we can undersell the foreign maker on his own grounds.

THE DUTY ON FLAX AND ITS PRODUCTS.

Touching the hemp, jute and flax schedule, our imports in 1887 were over $31,000,000, our receipts over $7,000,000, and the rate of duty over 34 per cent., and our average rate now, as proposed by this bill, is 24 per cent. In the linen-goods branch of this business the per cent. of labor is 27. In order to protect this labor we need to cover the difference between the 27 and some lesser amount that is received in competing countries. We leave 25 per cent. As we give them free flax and leave them 25 per cent., we believe that the protection is not only adequate to take care of the labor, but also, if it be charged in full by the manufacturer, to constitute a serious restriction upon the sales of the products of labor.

In the matter of collars and cuffs we leave the present rate of 35 per cent. This is an industry that has been discriminated against by the high rate of taxation heretofore upon the cheaper grades of cotton goods. That inequality has

been wholly or substantially removed, and we put this industry upon a fairer basis than it has occupied heretofore. It may be mentioned that the rate on the linen-goods industry up to July 14, 1862, was 30 per cent., but at that time they had a tax of $15 a ton on flax dressed and undressed. Now we give them the rate, as stated, at 25 per cent. and remove the tax off of the raw material. In the linen-thread industry, with a tax of $15 a ton on flax, there was a rate of protection of 30 per cent. We now give them free flax and 25 per cent.

WHAT WAS THOUGHT ENOUGH IN 1867.

I want to read for the information of our friends upon the other side of the House, who insist that we are reckless in our legislation, that this is going to ruin the woolen industries, what the representatives of those industries said in regard to rates in 1867, when they needed protection more than they need it now, but had not advanced to the high demands which now seem to characterize them. They said, through their committee, in their communication to the Internal Revenue Commissioner in 1866:

The provisions proposed by the committee and rendered necessary by the proposed change of the duties on wool aim to accomplish two objects; first, to fix the specific duties at rates which shall be simply compensatory for the duties on wool and other material, and secondly, to establish an ad valorem duty which, besides providing for the revenue tax on manufactures, shall leave the importer simply the net protection of 25 per cent. With some exceptions, the reasons for which will be specially explained hereafter, the ad valorem duties on manufactures of wool and worsted goods are fixed at 35 per cent., 10 per cent. being fixed as an equivalent for the internal-revenue tax of 6 per cent. on manufactures and on articles consumed in manufacturing, and 25 per cent. as protection to the manufacturer. That 10 per cent. is not more than an equivalent for the 6 per cent. revenue tax will appear from considering that the customs duty being levied on the foreign value, and the internal tax on the home value a larger percentage of the former than of the latter will be required to make a given sum.

To state a case for illustration, quite closely conformable to present home and foreign values: A yard of cloth sells now in our market for $2.50, which would cost abroad only $1.50. In that case exactly 10 per cent. customs duty would be required on the latter sum to equal the 6 per cent. internal tax on the former.

In the case taken the 10 per cent. would not be a whole equivalent for the internal-revenue tax, for such tax must also be paid on articles used in manufacturing.

This shows that in an earlier state of the infancy of this ancient industry the manufacturers themselves declared that all the protection they needed was 25 per cent.

THE CHARGE OF SECTIONALISM ANSWERED.

They say we put Northern wool on the free-list and lightly touch Southern rice. Let us look at the sectional character of the wool tax. In the Southern States, including Maryland, the Virginias, Kentucky, and Missouri, and all the country south of these States, and not going farther west than Arkansas and Texas, there are 876,560 square miles. In 1875 the number of sheep in this vast territory was 5,420,000. In 1887 the number was 9,428,953; showing that in this section of our country the sheep had increased nearly 100 per cent. Those of us who are familiar with the climate and soil of this vast area of our country know that it is peculiarly well adapted for stock-raising, and especially for raising sheep. Far the greater part of our mountain area east of the Rocky Mountains is in this section.

Now let us compare this with the States that we are said to have dealt with in an unfriendly spirit. The Northern States most frequently mentioned in this connection are the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Ohio. They have a combined area of 209,590 square miles, a great deal less territory than there is in the single State of Texas alone. In these Northern wool-growing States there were in 1875, 9,830,100 sheep. In 1887 they had 8,580,526 sheep, showing a falling off of nearly 1,000,000 in number, or more than 10 per cent., while our Southern part of the country showed an increase of over 4,000,000, or nearly 100 per cent.

WHEN WILL PROTECTION BRING THE HOME MARKET?

What is the feature of a home market? Does your war policy lessen exports, and hence lessen our dependence upon foreign consumption? If so, how does it work? In 1850 we exported roundly $13,000,000 in grain and breadstuffs. In

1860 it was $24,000,000. This was under a low tariff. You said shocking! See the increase! Let us consume all this at home. Let us hire people to eat our grain and flour. Some foolish farmers thought it a good plan to hire people to eat their stuff, so they put high prices on the goods they had to buy so as to increase their own consumption of such goods, and thus hire a new lot of men to come here to make the extra goods. Of course this made consumption and production relatively less than ever. It then impaired relatively the home market for grain and flour, and hence made exports greater than ever. It cut the farmer both ways. By 1870 the exports of grain and breadstuffs was $72,000,000. It was bad enough for exports to grow nearly 100 per cent. upon $13,000,000 from 1850 to 1860, but how is this that it grew upon the larger base of $24,000,000 over 400 per cent. by 1870? Nothing can abash a "home-market" philanthropist who is getting a subsidy, so he got off some miserable sophistry and asked the farmer to wait for ten years longer and see how it would work. By 1880 these exports were $288,000,000; and so it has continued. Now tell me, gentlemen, when are we to expect you at this rate to give us a home market sufficient to keep your pledge to consume our grain and breadstuffs?

We depended upon Europe to consume $16,000,000 of provisions in 1860. In 1880 we had to send out $127,000,000 worth. Of live animals we sent out less than $2,000,000 worth in 1860. In 1880 we had to send out nearly $16,000,000 worth. We had to ship, say, $1,598,000 worth of tallow in 1860. In 1880 we we had to ship off $7,689,000 worth of tallow. We had to ship $600,000 worth of seed in 1860. In 1880 we had to ship $2,776,000 worth. In 1860 we had to ship $32,000 worth of hops. In 1880 we had to ship $2,575,000 worth of hops. And so it goes. Are you improving? Are you not making the home market relatively worse and worse? It never pays to hire people to consume your goods. The trader and the customer soon becomes the proprietor under such a "protective" system as this.

A COMPARISON OF TWO SYSTEMS.

See the wonderful wealth and power that we were shown to possess in the great conflict from 1861 to 1865. Take that shown upon both sides and put them together, and do they show that our country had grown feeble and poor under a policy of low taxation from 1846 to 1860? Was the North with high-priced free labor less wealthy and less powerful than the South with not simply pauper labor, but with actually slave labor? Is either of these things true? And yet gentlemen say that low taxation will ruin us.

Let us compare the results of the two systems and see if our growth has not been retarded by war taxes, and if by our class legislation the current of wealth has not been measurably changed from one class to another. Let us take States fairly agricultural and a State having the protected industries; and see the results. In 1850 our per capita wealth was $388. In 1860 it was $514. The average gain was $206 per capita, or 66 per cent. In this decade Iowa gained $243 per capita, or 197 per cent; Illinois gained $316 per capita, or 172 per cent.; Indiana gained $187 per capita, or 91 per cent.; Pennsylvania gained $174 per capita, or 55 per cent.

It will be observed that the new States, rich in soil and vigorous in population, gained under a fair and equal system more than the older States. The new States would be expected to exceed the national average and the older ones to fall behind it.

Now leave the per capita basis of calculation and go to State wealth:

Iowa's grew between 1850 and 1860 from $23,714,638 to $247,388,268; an increase of $223,613,630, or 970 per cent. Illinois' grew from $156,265,006 to $871,860,282; an increase of $715,595,176, or 458 per cent. Indiana's grew from $202,000,000 to $528,000,000; an increase of $326 000,000, or 161 per cent. Pennsylvania's grew from $722,000,000 to $1,416,000,000; an increase of $694,000,000, or 96 per cent. The national growth during this decade was from $7,135,780,228 to $16,159,616,068; an increase of $9,023,825,840, or 126 per cent.

Now, take the first decade under high and discriminating taxes and under what may now be called "the new doctrine." From 1860 to 1870 the nation grew in wealth from $16,000,000 to $30,000,000, an increase of $14,000,000, or 87 per

cent., a rate 39 per cent. less than that of the previous record. This shows that war and the attendants of war retard the growth of wealth. But how as to the different States? Iowa grew from $247,000,000 to $717,000 000, a gain of $470,000,000, or 190 per cent. Illinois grew from $871 860,000 to $2,121,680,000, a gain of $1,249,820,000, or 143 per cent. Indiana grew from $528,000,000 to $1,268,000, a gain of $740,000,000, or 140 per cent.

Now, mark Pennsylvania. She grew from $1,416,000,000 to $3,808,000,000, a gain of $2,392,000,000, or 166 per cent. Pennsylvania was harassed by war; she was disturbed in every way; but she possessed the subsidized industries. See how she now runs ahead of the average growth of the nation. See how the agricultural States have fallen in the scale of progress and how the wealth poured into the pockets of the mine-owners and mill owners of Pennsylvania has caused the census returns from that State to swell.

Now take the per capita record for this decade. The increase in the nation was from $514 to $780, equal to $266, or 52 per cent. Iowa gains from $366 to $871, equal to $505, or 138 per cent. Illinois gains from $509 to $835, equal to $326, or 64 per cent. Indiana gains from $392 to $601, equal to $209, or 53 per cent. Pennsylvania gains from $487 to $1.081, equal to $594, or 122 per cent.

Now, sir, take the decade from 1870 to 1880. The national growth was from $30,068,000,000, to be exact, to $43,642,000,000—a gain of $13,574,000,000, or 45 per cent. I give only the final figures now. Iowa gained $697,356,000, or 97 per cent.; Illinois gained $971,000,000, or 45 per cent.; Indiana gained $231,000,000, or 18 per cent.; Pennsylvania gained $1,585,000,000, or 41 per cent.

As to the per capita changes during this decade: The national gain was $90 per capita, or 11 per cent. Iowa gained $169, or 28 per cent.; Illinois gained $170, or 19 per cent.; Indiana gained $3, or .003 per cent.; Pennsylvania gained $178, or 16 per cent.

V.

THE EFFECT OF FREE WOOL.

DEMONSTRATED FAIRLY BY A COMPARISON DRAWN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF LEATHER MANUFACTURERS.

From a Speech by W. C. P. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, July 16:

I do not want to discuss the free wool question now distinctively as free wool, but to illustrate the effect of what I believe will be the adoption of this schedule by some observations upon an experiment which we have tried and of which we have a sufficient account to understand its good effects In 1872 Congress put raw hides on the free list. We had then the same predictions about placing raw hides on the free list that my distinguished friend from Ohio, who has just taken his seat, makes, and which other gentlemen also have made with reference to free wool. It was not quite so large an industry, but it was to be ruined utterly as the wool industry is to be ruined by putting wool upon the free list. We have had free raw hides now for sixteen years. We have seen the experiment tried. It is not a matter of conjecture or of prophecy, but of history. It stood related to American industries almost precisely as free wool does to-day, though somewhat less important. Every industry connected with leather has prospered under this experiment.

I hold in my hand the tables prepared by the customs office, which show this result: We have now about 20,000,000 more of population than we had in 1872. It was estimated then that our population was about 40,000,000. It is now estimated at over 60,000,000.

So there has been an increase of consumers of the various manufactures of leather to the extent of over 20,000,000 persons. In 1872 we imported $11,879,000 worth of leather. In 1887 we imported $10,936,000 worth; that is, the American manufacturers of leather goods supplied both the twenty odd millions of increase of our population as well as those formerly supplied. Every additional consumer of every form of leather manufacture is provided for by an American manufacturer. As the people increase in population the American manufacturer of leather increases the amount of his product.

GROWTH OF THE EXPORT TRADE.

But that is only part of the story. In 1872 we exported $3,684,020 worth of the manufactures of leather and $1,445,178 worth of hides and skins. We now export $10,436,138 worth of the manufactured article and $765,655 worth of hides and skins—that is, we not only supplied the additional twenty million, but we have increased our exportation nearly 300 per cent. Not only that, but we have increased our importations of raw hides from fourteen millions in 1872 to twenty-four in 1887—that is, we have given that much more work to American workingmen. We have not only used every hide produced in America except $765,000 worth, but we have increased our importations of raw hide nearly 100 per cent., which represents that much more labor given to the American laborer, that much more wages earned by the American wage-worker, and that much more profit by the American manufacturer.

Not only that, Mr. Chairman, but the importations of leather are divided almost equally into two classes. We have ceased to import almost all sorts of leather save gloves, of which we import $4,184,877 worth out of the ten million dollars' worth and odd of importation—nearly 50 per cent. We import of the other $6,195,479.08 calf skins and skins for morocco and the upper dressed leather, those articles, which are in an unfinished condition and have to be manufactured in America, so that our whole importation of leather is of gloves which we do not make, or are supposed not to make, as well as they are made in Paris or elsewhere, and of leather which is manufactured in America. So that the result of this experiment is that the tanner has increased in prosperity by tanning twice as much foreign raw hide; that the manufacturer has increased his manufactures over 100 per cent.; that the importations have decreased until they have reached a point where they can probably decrease no longer, because we import finer calf-skins and morocco than we make, and import kid gloves and nothing else substantially, and our exportations have increased 300 per cent.

THE ANALOGY WITH FREE WOOL.

By this means we have built up a trade with South America and elsewhere, where we buy these rawhides. We sell to them our manufactures. In increasing the exportation of our goods we have increased our commerce with the countries to which we sell, and in purchasing the rawhides we have increased our commerce with the nations from which we buy.

Mr. Butterworth—Will the gentleman from Kentucky allow me to call his attention to the fact that the illustration is hardly fair? The hide is an incident of another great industry in this country, the production of meat being the main thing.

Mr. McMillin—So is wool.

Mr. Butterworth—While wool is the basis of an industry and a separate industry itself, in which the carcass of the sheep is only an incident, the cases are hardly upon all fours.

Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky—Undoubtedly the gentleman's criticism is in part just and in part unjust. The analogy to which I desire to call attention is absolutely on all fours. It is that the introduction of free raw material necessarily has these consequences: First, the increased importation of the raw material in lieu of the finished product by which the amount of labor is increased, the amount of wage is increased, and the amount of profit to the manufacturer is increased. Secondly, that the importation of raw material increases in such a way that we find a market for our manufactured goods and sell our finished products to those countries that have

the crude material, and buy from them their raw material. In the third place, if we will keep up that experiment, as has been done, it increases in exact proportion to two things: First, the increased consumption of the country, so that we may furnish the entire amount needed by that increased consumption; and second, the increased exportation as rapidly as our commercial relations will allow it to be done. There is some difference between leather and wool on both sides.

We produce leather in America as incidental to the production of provisions. So, in a certain sense, do we produce wool. The sheep as food is as important as are cattle; it is growing in value in that aspect, and one of the largest profits derived from sheep-raising is in the sale of lambs in our great markets. It is also important because the hide upon the sheep, the sheep-skin, becomes an article of commerce and comes under this head of leather; and in the third place many of the woolens which we use in America are made in part of foreign wools, because as to these fabrics American wool must have foreign wool mixed with it. We are therefore in the condition that we cannot produce all the wool we need. We produce, in round numbers, only 265,000,000 of pounds out of about 600,000,000 of pounds that we need.

Counting the finished product and the wool that comes in in the raw state, and counting the adulterants which the excessive protective duties require to be put into our clothing, we use about 300,000,000 pounds more than we raise.

WHAT FREE WOOL WILL DO FOR MANUFACTURES.

Now, I have used this leather illustration because it illustrates what we claim will be the result of the operation of this bill in relation to wool. If you introduce free wool, there may be a temporary depression in the price of American wool as there was a temporary depression in the price of rawhides, but immediately the reaction will begin. We shall begin to increase the amount of goods made by the mixture of our own wools with the cheap wools brought from abroad, wools which will come in at the price which they now cost the English manufacturer, wool which can be freely selected in all the markets of the world instead of being chosen as now for reasons connected with the tariff.

Those wools will come in, I say, at a price so cheap that there will be an increased demand for American wools, precisely as there is now for American rawhides. We shall continue to import wool somewhat in the quantity that we do now, but in its raw state instead of the finished product. Instead of thousands of thousands of yards of woolens being made in England and brought here, fabrics on which the English wage-worker has earned his wage, the English manufacturer his profit, the English ship-owner his freightage, the material will come to this country in the shape of free raw wool, to be mixed with our own wools, and in the manufacture of the fabric our own laborer will obtain the wage, and our own woolen factories, instead of running only six or seven months in the year, will run the whole twelve months; our wool-growers will be prosperous because our woolen manufacturers will be prosperous and will give a stable market to our wool-growers. We shall then drive from the American market the foreign manufacturer, and some man standing here in Congress as I stand now will present figures similar in nature to show that our woolen industry, under the stimulous of free wool, demonstrated the value of that system which furnishes the labor the material which it turns to human use free from burden or exaction.

FREE WOOL WILL INJURE ENGLAND.

Mr. Butterworth—As my friend goes on I want to say to him that the English manufacturer does not adopt the view which he presents here.

Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky—It may be possible that he does not; but if the gentleman means that the English manufacturer wants our market in the sense that it is to his advantage that we should have free wool, I utterly deny it, and I can produce the evidence of Sir Lyon Playfair, Mr. Gladstone, and other great thinkers to the effect that the reason the United States does not successfully compete in the markets of the world with England and the other European nations, with their enormous armaments, their enormous taxation, and their great armies subtracted from their productive population, is because of our unfortunate, unwise,

foolish, protective laws, that so long as we manacle our hands and chain our feet they will run ahead of us in the great progressive industrial march, but that as soon as we unshackle our own limbs, bring the crude material in free, and put the machinery at work which will transform that crude material into the finished product, we shall be masters of the situation.

We propose by this bill to do that, to do in relation to wool precisely as we have done heretofore in relation to leather. As our population increases our manufactures will increase; as we increase our manufactures our exports will increase; our ships will be seen again in foreign ports; there will be American merchants with balances in foreign commercial cities; there will be American vessels owned by American capital, carrying American cargoes to foreign nations and bringing back in return cargoes of crude materials to be sold to the American manufacturer, to be mixed with American materials, to be worked up into finished fabrics by American workingmen, the profits of which will remain in American pockets. That is the Democratic doctrine.

VI.

COMPARISON WITH THE WAR TARIFF.

HOW OPPRESSIVE TAXES HAVE PRODUCED STARTLING IRREGULARITIES IN THE CONDITIONS OF DIFFERENT ELEMENTS OF POPULATION.

From a Speech by Henry G. Turner, of Georgia, May 10.

When war was flagrant and the Treasury was empty, and the population of the entire country, including the Southern States, was but little more than 31,000,000, the tariff then framed to meet the most extraordinary immergency that ever arose on this continent, imposed during the first year of its operation an average rate of 36 per cent. After twenty-three years of profound peace, with a Treasury full to repletion, struggling with an accumulated surplus over the largest wants of the Goverment of $150,000 000, with a population of over 60,000 000, the tariff now levies an average rate of 47 per cent. This surplus has arisen notwithstanding an immense increase in our annual expenditures, and is itself a constant temptation to wasteful extravagance. And it is not only a mischievous influence in public affairs, but it measures the extent to which the Government has contracted the currency, to the imminent peril of every private interest. The people need more money than they have hitherto had; and to take from them this immense sum which the Government does not need, and which is so indispensable to the business of the country, is indefensible extortion Heavy taxation of a people having an inadequate currency is bad enough; but unnecessary taxation of such a people is a crime.

HOW THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY ARE TAXED.

Our aggregate circulation of gold, silver, and paper money. including the funds in the Treasury, is estimated to amount to about $1,500 000 000. The people paid to the Government in tariff taxes $217,000,000 and in excise duties one hundred and seventeen millions, making a total taxation of $334,000,000 last year. This immense tribute is over 22 per cent. of all the money in the country. We have only $25 in cash for each man, woman and child in the country, and on each man, woman and child is levied an average tax of over $5.50 or $27.50 on each family of five persons.

Now let us consider the incidental taxation which is collected under the tariff by the manufacturers. The total value of all the manufactured products of the United States returned according to the last census amounted to $5,369,667,706. Our dutiable imports last year amounted to $450,000,000 in round numbers, on which we collected over $217,000,000. As our duties are laid confessedly for protection, it is very probable that on the immense aggregate of our domestic manu-

factures, in competition with which our taxed imports are sold an addition of value is placed equal to many times the income of the tariff to the Government.

But taking $217,000,000 as a measure of the bounties paid last year to our manufacturers, let us commute protection into an annuity, computed at the Government rate of 3½ per cent; the principal of that annuity would amount to $6,200,000,000. That annuity is the interest on a sum greater than the cost of the war! And the moderation of this estimate of protection no man will deny.

The enormous taxation which I have endeavored to outline is so contrived as to bear lightly on the rich and prosperous and heavily on the poor and unfortunate. To those who do not need, it is a largess and benefaction; to those States and their people that are cramped by narrow and scant means, it is a hindrance and oppression. To the latter it is a deduction from the comforts and necessaries of life, from the education of their children; a burden upon the offices of religion and charity; a tax on school, on church and on home.

When I heard the other day the splendid inventory of New England's wealth presented with so much pride by the gentleman from New Hampshire, and reflected on the system under which that wealth has been drawn from other sections, and on the beggarly reduction of taxation which our bill proposes, I felt like exclaiming, like Lord Clive before a committee of Parliament: "By God, Mr. Chairman, I am astonished at my own moderation!"

THE DUTY A TAX ON CONSUMPTION.

The tariff is a tax on consumption. It is not laid on the taxpayer according to what he has, but it is levied on his wants. It is apportioned among men, not according to their means, but according to their necessities. It is an income tax, graduated not according to what men make, but according to what they buy. It is, therefore, hardest on those who have to spend all that they make.

But inequality is the foundation of the system of protection, and the only inducement for its preservation. If a scheme of protection could be devised by which each citizen could tax his neighbor just as much as his neighbor could tax him it would be equality, but it would meet with scant favor. The present system is worse, because it is brigandage without reciprocity.

Let us expose some of the profits of protection according to its own returns made during the last census year The capital invested in manufactures then amounted to $2,790,272,606; materials used cost $3,396,823,549; wages, $941,953,795; total product, $5,369,579,191. It can be easily seen from these figures that manufacturers made enormus gains, amounting in clear net profits to more than four times the income of the Government from the tariff.

THE SMALL PROPORTION OF TAXES PAID TO LABOR.

But it is said that protection advances wages. If this is not mere pretension, then wages ought to keep pace with protection. Let us see. In 1860 the average tariff rate on the dutiable list was 19 per cent., which has been frequently denounced as free trade And yet during that year labor received over 20 per cent. of the total product of our manufactures. In 1870, when the average tariff rate was two and a half times as high as in 1860, amounting to 47 per cent., labor received less than in 1860, or a little over 18 per cent. of the total product of our manufactures. And in 1880 labor received 17½ per cent. of its entire products.

These figures seem to demonstrate that the increase of protection is not accompanied with an increase in wages.

The chief argument for protection is founded on the assumption that wages are higher in this country than in Europe. Seventeen and a half per cent. of the value of our manufactures covers the entire cost.

It has been claimed in this debate that protection saved the Union. The money with which the soldiers were paid, with which the great armies and navies were provided and maintained, was paid, not by protection, but by those who are its victims. The only office of protection in this business was to tax for its own benefit those who did save the Union. It charged two prices for the clothing the soldiers wore, for the shoes in which they marched, for the blankets under which

they slept, for the comforts and necessaries required by their wives and children, for the powder and lead with which they met and defeated the foes of the Union, and now puts a tax of 47 per cent. on the pensions of their widows and orphans.

The chief mission of protection during the struggle was to establish itself, not the Union, to feather its own nest, to put money in its purse, and while the brave and patriotic were fighting the battles of the Union protection bound them hand and foot.

VII.

VARIATION OF THE RATE OF WAGES.

EVEN UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM THERE IS NOTHING LIKE UNIFORMITY IN WAGES IN DIFFERENT SECTIONS.

From a Speech by William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, May 3d.

I have here an address delivered before the Home Market Club of New England, by Senator Frye, of Maine, on what he saw in Europe, in which, after the good old-fashioned protection logic, he pictures the wretched condition of European labor. The Home Market Club is composed largely of gentlemen who derive dividends from the present tariff, and who, naturally, do not want it disturbed. The preface of the address has a statement to show "the vast interests New England has in protective tariff," and it gives the manufacturing statistics of all the New England States except Rhode Island. According to this statement, the capital invested in those five States is $548,652,118, the number of employes 584,495; but when it comes to wages I find the average wages of an employe in the State of Maine to be $257 a year, whereas in the State of Massachusetts he gets $364, and in the little State of Connecticut $385. Now, what I can not understand is this: If a tariff, a law of Congress, makes wages, why does it operate so unevenly as between the employe in Maine and the employe in Connecticut, and why is the Maine man worth only two-thirds as much as the Connecticut man? And when we come to Vermont, the State of our venerable friend at the other end of the Capitol, I find that the average employe gets only $303.

If a tariff does make wages, then the protective tariff is the most ungrateful thing that ever existed in the history of the world. Why should it give to the fellow-citizen and compatriot of the last Republican candidate for the Presidency only $257 a year, while it gives to the operative in the good old State that voted for the author of the last Presidential message $385 a year? And why should it give to the fellow-citizen of the author of the tariff, Mr. Morrill, but $303 a year?

VARIATION IN THE WAGES OF LABOR AT HOME.

But, the statistics of the Home Market Club are exactly in line with the figures embraced in the report of the Commissioner of Labor. After careful inquiry into many industries in this country, Colonel Wright says that "An examination of these reports will show that there is no such thing as an American rate of wages" For example, in the manufacture of agricultural implements a blacksmith gets 15 per cent. more in Illinois than in Indiana, while a foreman gets 50 per cent more in Pennsylvania than in New York, and a painter nearly 70 per cent. more in Pennsylvania than in Maine. In the boot and shoe industry a buffer gets $2 50 in Pennsylvania and only $1.40 in New York, and we find that a button hole maker in Pennsylvania, if a woman, gets 78 cents, while New York pays $1.04. When it comes to heelers, New York gives $2.50 and Massachusetts only $1.72. Massachusetts pays her packers $1.95, while New York neglects hers with a cold $1.08.

So when we come to the table of cotton goods we find that Great Britain pays mule-spinners $1.57, Massachusetts $1.25, and Vermont only $1.20, and that the average rate of wages paid in the cotton industry in Great Britain is $1.17 per day, while in Vermont it is only $1.15; so that, when Senator Morrill became so alarmed for fear that his fellow citizens were going to be reduced to the level of the pauper wages in England, it meant simply that they were going to be kicked upstairs from $1.15 to $1.17, the average wages in the cotton industry in England.

WHO GETS THE BENEFIT OF THE PROTECTION?

My venerable colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. Kelley] was one of the conference committee in the Forty-seventh Congress which constructed the present tariff. In that committee they put up the duty on iron ore from 50 cents a ton, at which it had been fixed by the Tariff Commission, by the House in open session, and by the Senate in open session, to 75 cents a ton, and all of course in the interest of and for the benefit of the American laboring man.

Now, I have here Pennsylvania Legislative Documents for 1884–'85, volume 2, in which I find the twelfth annual report of the bureau of industrial statistics, by Joel C. McCamant. Speaking of the wages of the iron-ore miners, he says:

> The mining of iron-ore does not afford constant employment, the average amounting to but thirty-six weeks per annum. This allows scarcely sufficient wages per week, for the run of the year, to maintain a single individual; how those wage-workers having families to maintain can accomplish that difficult task is a problem in social economies that can be solved only by those who have been in similar circumstances. Many miners wear belts instead of suspenders to support the weight of their pantaloons; and one of these, in reply to the question asked him relative to his ability to buy food, replied: "Lord bless you, we do not always eat when we are hungry, we just tighten our belts."

Now, what has become of the 75 cents a ton which was secured for the American miner of iron ore in that conference? Why, up to that date, May 1, 1885, more than two years afterward, had it not reached him? Is it lost, strayed or stolen? I suspect it has found its way into the literary bureau of the American Iron and Steel Association, and has been expended in the publication of tracts to prove to the miner what a good thing a protective tariff is for him. I would say to that philanthropic association, give your miners less tracts and better food under their belts.

THE LAW OF DEMAND AND SUPPLY.

There is one great element in this question of wages that is carefully kept out of view. Gentlemen compare the wages and the condition of the American workman with those of his foreign competitor as if they stood upon an equality in other respects. They ignore the fact that in the labor market, as elsewhere, the law of demand and supply is the great regulator of prices. Where labor has many opportunities for employment wages are high; as these opportunities diminish wages are lessened.

Now, contrast the position of the laborer in these United States with his position in the other countries of the world. The sixty million of people that now inhabit this country are but the vanguard of that mighty host which is destined to find homes, comfort and prosperity here. Not until the sixty millions become six hundred millions, not until the six hundred millions grow into a thousand millions will men crowd each other here in the fierce struggle for existence and wealth as they do in Great Britain to-day.

THE FARMER AND HIS BURDENS.

But there is one class of our laboring men as to whom these advocates of protection clearly see the difficulty and weakness of their position, and that is the American farmer. Where does the farmer get any benefit from protection? He is the patient beast of burden upon whose broad shoulders you have shifted down the chief burdens of supporting a government of sixty millions of people.

Where is the benefit to him under the tariff? My colleague from Michigan [Mr. Burrows] meets the question with the bold reply:

> The farmer is not hurt. The consumer does not pay these taxes.

The duty that is paid on a foreign article to get it into this country is as much a part of its original cost to the American consumer as the cost of its manufacture or of its ocean freight. No matter who the importer be, foreigner or fellow-citizen, if he does not get that duty back in its sale he is in a losing business, as much as if he failed to get back any other element of cost. Trade stops at once if it brings no profit. Moreover, the amount thus added to its cost by the duty saves the home producer of a like article from having to compete with it at the cost it bore before the duty was added. Sir, I commend to the gentlemen on the other side the utterances of some of their party leaders on this point.

Senator Sherman has a higher idea of the intelligence of the farmer than my friend from Michigan, for he has said in this House:

I said it, and I stand by it, that as a general rule the duties paid upon imports operate as a tax upon the consumer.

Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, in the February number of *Harper's Magazine*, in replying to Mr. Watterson, argued at length that the larger portion of import duties is borne by the foreign producer; but Senator Edmunds, speaking on the tariff question, January 4, 1883, made a much more correct statement when he said:

In the main all these taxes come out of the consumer, particularly internal revenue taxes, perhaps all of them substantially.

And I particularly commend to his colleagues on this floor the emphatic language of Senator Plumb, of Kansas, on the 11th of January, 1883, spoken with a directness and earnestness that showed an impatience of any contrary suggestion:

Who pays these taxes? When the manufacturer of iron comes to the Senate and says "I can live, or I can make a profit, if a certain duty is imposed," what is he saying? He is simply saying "If you give me a certain duty you put it in my power to charge over that duty as an additional tax on the farmers of the United States."

The mere statement of this question is its conclusive argument, and I should not further refer to it but that the gentleman from Michigan so sharply criticised the President for expressing views like those of Mr. Sherman, Mr. Edmunds, and Mr. Plumb.

HOME MARKET ARGUMENT.

We have heard on this floor time and again the "old, old story," of the "home market." I have the great speech made by Mr. Clay in 1832, when he was urging upon the farmers of the country what the opponents of this bill would denounce as free trade, but what he supposed to be a protective tariff. He says, in substance: "I rest the whole case on two grounds." One of these was that the protective system would build up a home demand for the products of the farm, and thus maintain or advance the price of those products.

Whatever force may have been in that argument when used by Mr. Clay is entirely dissipated to-day. Mr. Clay spoke to a country without railroads, without telegraphs. There were no steamships traversing the ocean, no cables under the ocean. He spoke to a country whose farmers, with the exception of those adjacent to its Eastern rivers and seaboard, sought a market for their produce in the nearest town, to which they hauled it in their own wagons; when the value of a bushel of wheat was exhausted by a haul of 300 miles, and that of a bushel of corn by a haul of 100 miles. It was a day when "manufacture" meant something very different from what it means to day. As late as eight years afterward, Mr. Webster described American manufactures as "a little capital mixed with manual labor." At that time the neighboring village or town, with its woolen mill, its hat factory, its shoemakers, its varied industries, was flesh and blood to consume the farmer's products and wear the clothing made from his wool and cotton.

The world has been created anew since Mr. Clay made that speech. To-day we have a railroad system of 150,000 miles, extending into every corner of this country where population or product invites it. To-day we have instantaneous communication with every section of the country, with every portion of the world. You can order a cargo of tea from China and it will be loaded on the ship before night. An order for wheat from Liverpool to San Francisco will

outstrip the lagging sun and get there hours before him. You can transfer millions of dollars in the twinkling of an eye from the money market of Calcutta to that of London or New York. The whole world with the construction of railroads, with the building of steamships, with the laying of cables has been drawn into one family. The price of the farmer's products is no longer decided in the market of the neighboring village, but in the great market of the world. The price of the farmer's cotton, his wheat, his meat, and dairy products is no longer decided even in his own country, but by the free, untrammeled competition of the markets of all the world.

During all that time the progress of invention has been displacing human labor by machinery. To-day one man in a factory, and frequently a child, tending some great mechanical invention, produces what in Henry Clay's day would have taken the labor of ten or even twenty men.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MACHINERY.

In the first annual report of the Bureau of Labor we have some striking illustrations of this displacement of labor by machinery. In a manufactory of agricultural implements 600 hands do the work that formerly required 2,145. In the manufacture of boots and shoes one hand does the work of five, and will produce enough shoes in a year to supply a thousand men. In the manufacture of carpets one hand with the improvements in machinery does the work that required from ten to twenty; in spinning, the work of from seventy five to one hundred. In the manufacture of some kinds of hats one man is equal to nine. In a large establishment in New Hampshire improved machinery, even in the past ten years, has dispensed with 50 per cent. of human labor in the making of cotton goods. By the use of improvements and inventions in the past ten or fifteen years, in hammers used in the manufacture of steel, there has been a displacement of employes in the proportion of nearly ten to one. In the manufacture of paper, a new machine for drying and cutting, run by four men and six women, will do the wark of one hundred persons. In the manufacture of wall-paper the displacement has been one hundred to one. Equally striking facts as to the woolen and other industries might be given, but I will call special attention to this general statement. The mechanical industries of the United States carried on by steam and water represent the labor of 21,000,000 men. On our railroads to day 250,000 men do the work which when Mr. Clay spoke would have required 13,500,000 men and 54,000,000 horses.

To do the work now done by power and power machinery in our mechanical industries and upon our railroads would require men representing a population of 175,500,000 in addition to the present population of 55,000 000.

And it is just in the protected industries of the country, employing altogether, according to the estimate of the late Secretary Manning, not more than 5 per cent. of the labor of the country, that the chief displacement of human labor by machinery has occurred; and yet we all know that while Mr. Clay was willing to compromise on a tariff of 20 per cent. to protect flesh and blood, the demand to-day is for 47 per cent. to protect machinery.

WHAT MANUFACTURERS MEAN NOW.

To-day American manufacturers no longer mean as they did to Daniel Webster, manual labor mixed with a little capital. They mean great capital mixed wtih a little manual labor. Moreover, as our transportation system has been perfected, we have witnessed the gradual disappearance of local manufactures and their massing in immense industrial establishments at particular points. They are to-day sufficient and more than sufficient to supply all the demands of our home consumption, and yet the farmer has to look abroad for purchasers of his surplus products.

Two-thirds of our cotton, nearly one third of our wheat, immense quantities of other farm products must be sold to foreigners for lack of home consumers, and yet the argument is daily addressed to the farmer, "Tax yourself still longer to diversify industry and build up purchasers for your products." Our surplus wheat crop last year would feed thirty millions of people. Is there any device of

taxation by which the farmer could build up a home demand for that? You say to the Minnesota farmer, complaining that he gets but 60 cents a bushel for his wheat, "Continue to uphold the tariff; it will start up other industries in your State to buy your wheat." But the farmer, if he is intelligent, knows that there is a cry of overproduction from our manufacturers to-day; that we already have more than we can find a market for; and as long as there is free trade among the States of this country there is no taxation to which he can submit that will necessarily bring these industries to Minnesota aside from the natural advantages as would bring them there without such taxation.

But suppose you give him a rolling mill capable of supplying all the steel rails needed for the railroads of his State, a sugar refinery capable of supplying all the sugar consumed in his State, and a boot and shoe factory sufficient for the demands of the entire population of Minnesota, there will not be human labor enough in any one of them to consume the wheat crop of a single large farm. With all the families dependent upon them they would add not one mill to the price of his wheat, and little, if any, to the price of his other products.

So much for the home-market idea. It is but a snare and a delusion to the American farmer. His surplus products sent abroad determine the prices of those he sells at home. Without such foreign market they would sell still lower at home. But to the gentlemen of the Home Market Club of New England the home-market idea is a most solid and profitable reality. It means for them a population of 60,000,000 shut in by a benevolent Government and forced to buy of them at prices which the Government is seeking to stimulate 47 per cent. higher than they would be if subjected to the same competition under which the farmer sells his staple products.

VIII.

COST OF HIGH TAXES TO THE FARMER.

THE PROFITS OF MANUFACTURERS OF STEEL RAILS—THE COST OF THE WOOL TAX IN ONE STATE.

From a Speech by William L. Scott, of Pennsylvania, May 11.

The bill under consideration has been framed by the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means who realize and appreciate the condition of affairs existing in the country to-day; and however desirous they might be to extend that full measure of relief to the wage-worker and the great agricultural classes of the country, to which they are so justly entitled, invested capital has its claims upon them. They appreciate the fact that during the past twenty-five years, under the present system of protected industries, immense sums of money have been invested in the various manufacturing industries of the country, and that any bill which the committee might introduce should have due regard for the capital invested in such manufactures; that it would be unwise for any great political party having the power to do so to at once attempt to readjust the conditions of to-day, which would undoubtedly cause serious loss to those who had invested their capital under a previous condition of affairs.

Keeping these objects in view, we ought first, to relieve these manufacturing industries by placing on the free-list, as far as we possibly could, such articles as are essentially necessary to them to enable them to compete, not only in their home markets, but in the markets of the world. Secondly, in the revision and readjustment of the various schedules, under the existing tariff, to leave ample duties on all merchandise that could possibly be imported from abroad in competition with our home products, and to protect our home manufacturers and the labor employed by them; and, as the best evidence of our efforts in this direction, I can only compare the average rates of duties under the existing tariff with what they would be under

this bill if it should become a law, namely, the average ad valorem duties on dutiable goods under the existing tariff of 47.7 per cent. ad valorem, and the average under the proposed bill of 40 per cent. ad valorem. This shows a reduction under the present bill equal to 7.7 per cent. ad valorem.

Of the $53,720,447.22 reduction of duties on imports under the proposed bill, should it become a law, $22,189,505.48 are derived from articles placed upon the free list, leaving the sum of $31,530,941.74 as the gross reduction made or proposed by the committee, applicable to all our varied industries; and yet, sir, the majority of this House and of the committee are charged with being free traders!

THE BURDENS OF THE FARMING POPULATION.

In my opinion upon no class of our people do the present fiscal burdens of our country bear so heavily as upon the farming class. It is not in the power of the Government, by any policy that can be adopted, to protect the farmer in what he raises and has to sell; but the Government can impoverish and virtually pauperize him and his family by not only imposing a high duty upon everything he consumes, which is or may be imported, but also by prohibitory duties upon commodities made in this country and necessary to his comfort, which place it in the power of the home manufacturer, by combinations and trusts, to charge what he pleases for his wares. What a mockery of protection the Republican tariff of 1883 is for the farmer! In a speech made by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Burrows), referring to the advantages that the protection theory gave the farmer, he used the following language:

Among the advantages conferred upon the farmer by our protective tariff, is that derived from a direct protection to the products of his farm and the industries incident thereto, as shown by the following table:

(Referring to the duties upon farm products under the existing tariff:) Beef and pork, 1 cent per pound; hams and bacon, 2 cents per pound; butter, 4 cents per pound; lard, 2 cents per pound; cheese, 4 cents per pound; wheat, 20 cents per bushel; oats, 10 cents per bushel; corn, 10 cents per bushel; rye, 15 cents per bushel; live animals, 20 per cent. ad valorem; wheat flour, 20 per cent. ad valorem; corn meal, 10 cents per bushel.

I claim, sir, that not an article named in the foregoing schedule would be imported into this country in competition with the American farmer, if they were all upon the free list, with the exception of wheat, which could only come from Canada, and if every bushel of wheat raised in Canada should be sold in the United States it would not affect the price of the American wheat one-tenth of 1 cent per bushel, but the country would be the gainer if it were sold here, so far, at least, as the cost of transportation and commissions for storage and selling accrued to our railroads and commission men. The home price of our wheat, corn, beef, pork, butter, lard, and cheese, and of all the products of the farm produced in excess of home consumption, and which have to be exported to Europe to find a market, is determined by the price of the commodity in the markets of the world, plus the cost of transportation.

I will also avail myself of a portion of the tables submitted in relation to the farm products of this country, and the quantities exported, for the fiscal year of 1886-1887, as follows:

Products.	Production.	Exportation.		
	Farm value.	Export value.	Farm value	Per cent.
Breadstuffs:				
Corn	$610,311,000	$20,052,704	$11,790,046	1.9
Wheat	314,226,020	142,666,563	87,668,833	27.9
Meats	748,000,000	78,152,731	62,522,185	8.4
Dairy products:				
Butter	192,000,000	1,983,698	1,487,773	.8
Cheese	32,000,000	7,594,633	6,455,438	20.3
Textile fabrics:				
Cotton	257,295,327	206,222,057	177,895,501	69.1

Why the tariff of 1883 did not contain a duty upon the importation of cotton into this country, I do not understand; for, most assuredly, if the duties provided for under the tariff of 1883 gave protection to the products of the Northern farmer, the same theory ought to have given to the cotton planter of the South; at least it would be just as consistent, practically applied, when we consider the exportations of the farm products of the whole country.

If the products of our farms could have been sold at home for the one thirty-second part of 1 cent more than the export price, not one pound would have gone abroad; and every pound consumed at home would have been exported if it had commanded abroad one-half of 1 per cent. in value more than the home price; for the home price is governed by the price the surplus exported will command in the foreign markets. One of the strong arguments that the protectionist makes to the farmer is the home market that protection is alleged to insure for his produce. It is a fallacy and a fraud, and intelligent farmers will not be longer deceived by it.

THE STEEL MILL AND THE FARMER WITH SOMETHING TO SELL.

Let us suppose a case in my own State: Let us take, say the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, located at Braddock, on the Pennsylvania Railroad, 10 miles east from Pittsburgh and 478 miles from Chicago, employing a large number of men. Contiguous to these works lives an industrious farmer with a hundred acres of land. His products consist of wheat, corn, oats, hay, hogs and cattle. His proximity to these extensive works, where his surplus produce can be delivered in an hour, and where thousands of hungry mouths are ready to consume it, surely gives him an advantageous market, according to the protectionist's theory. But let us see, let us take one of the products of the farm as an example of the others, for they all come under the same law of supply and demand and price. The man in the iron works can not eat wheat; it must first be reduced to flour; so the farmer takes a load of 33⅓ bushels of wheat, just 1 ton, to the miller, who is also on the railroad and near the steel works.

Now, let us see what controls the miller in making a price to the farmer: first, self-interest, to purchase it as cheap as he can; second, to buy the farmer's wheat at a price which after being ground into flour will enable him to sell it to the mill men in competition with flour sold by the grocery man at the corner, which has been manufactured at St. Paul or Minneapolis, Minnesota, leaving him (the miller) a margin of profit for grinding and his labor. Surely the miller can not pay the farmer any more for his wheat because it was raised on land adjoining the steel works; he can only pay what he would pay for the same quality of wheat in the Chicago market, plus the cost of transportation to his mill. The miller explains the situation to the farmer and gets his wheat for that price, or probably less, because the farmers's market is restricted practically to the local mill. But where does Chicago wheat come from? Where is it grown and what law of values determines its selling price? It comes from the great regions of the Northwest; is grown upon the rich and fertile prairies of that section, upon land that can be had almost for the asking, or at most at a cost of from $3 to $15 per acre, upon land requiring no barnyard to make a crop, and where the straw is burned in the fields as the easiest and cheapest way of getting rid of it. The price in the Chicago market is determined day by day, if there is not a "corner" in wheat, by the price at Mark Lane, London.

The farmer at Braddock, after selling his wheat, returns to his home and family. He had bought his farm at a cost of $100 per acre, made a payment in cash upon it, from the savings of years of toil and labor, secured the deferred payments by a mortgage, hoping that by his industry and labor upon his farm and its favorable location he would make money enough to meet the interest and pay off his mortgage at maturity. He has sold his wheat at 90 cents per bushel, grown upon land which cost him $100 per acre, sown and harvested this wheat by labor for which he had to pay from $15 to $18 per month and board, and after the taxes upon the land and his help are paid, and other debts connected with the raising of his crop are settled, he finds that both ends will not meet; that the price he has received for his wheat will not cover cost of production.

GOES TO THE STEEL MILL TO BUY SOMETHING.

Discouraged, but not disheartened, the farmer rises the next morning before the sun; hitches up his team and drives to town. He needs an iron or steel beam for some purpose on his farm, and goes to the steel mill to buy it; and upon asking the price is told that he can have it for 3 3 cents per pound, or at the rate of $66 per ton; and he is further informed that 3.3 cents per pound for steel beams is the uniform price at all the steel mills in the United States.

Now, the farmer protests that 3.3 cents per pound for steel beams appears to him to be an exorbitant price; that his boy works in the steel mill, in the beam department, and that in figuring over the cost of making steel beams last night with his boy they could not make them out to cost more than $29 or $30 per ton at the mill; that $66 per ton gave the steel works a profit of $36 per ton; and that he thought something must be wrong; what it was he did not just understand, but yesterday he brought into town 33⅓ bushels of wheat, just one ton, and he could only get 90 cents per bushel for it, 1½ cents per pound, the equivalent of $30 per ton, and that this price did not pay him the cost of raising it; in fact, he lost money on it instead of making $36 per ton profit, to meet the interest and pay the mortgage on his farm; that he could not understand why he should be obliged to raise and sell 73 bushels of wheat, or over two tons, to enable him to purchase one ton of steel beams, costing less than $30 per ton to produce and make.

The answer of the steel-man was, that this condition of affairs all grew out of the pauper labor of Europe, and the necessity of protecting home labor, and to make a home market for the farmer's wheat, oats, corn, cattle and hogs. The farmer being unable to refute this unanswerable argument, paid 3.3 cents per pound for his beam and departed a wiser man.. In the evening the son returned, and with the father began to discuss the transactions of the last two days, endeavoring to ascertain why the farmer's wheat would only command 1½ cents per pound at the steel-works, while the farmer had to pay 3.3 cents per pound for his steel beams. The farmer feared he had made a fatal mistake when he bought the farm; but he had been influenced in the purchase by a speech he had heard in the fall of 1884, delivered by a very distinguished statesman, one Mr. Kelley, at the opera house in Braddock, in which that gentleman ably set forth the advantages of protection to home labor, and eloquently dwelt on the home market it would create for the products of the farm, while enhancing the wages of the mill hands.

But the son could not see the advantage of Mr. Kelley's kind of protection, either to himself the mill-hand, or his father, the farmer. The price of the latter's product in the home market being regulated by the price in Mark Lane, London, he was of course trading in an open market, and took nothing whatever by the so-called protection.

As to his own wages in the mill, if he got any share of the tariff subsidy in the form of wages, it was so small as to be inappreciable and to count for practically nothing as against the prices he was made to pay for the "tariffed" necessaries of life; but considering the employer's share, and the necessities of a "protected" employer's life, he was not so surprised that the "boss," as alleged in the newspapers, could rent Cluny Castle, in Invernes-shire, Scotland, to spend his summers in; and as he believed that the net profits of Carnegie Brothers on the two items of steel rails and steel beams alone, throwing out of account all other items of their production, were, on 30,000 tons of steel beams, $1,000,000, and on 192,998 tons of steel rails, at $10 per ton, $1,929,980, or a total profit on these two items alone of nearly $3,000,000, the son, with an eye to facts and figures, declared his extreme amazement at the proposition of Carnegie Brothers to reduce wages 10 per cent., for the wage workers of that establishment thought they might decently leave this pitiful percentage in the hands of that labor in whose name and for whose alleged benefit they receive the enormous bounty extorted from the consumers of the United States upon those two capital articles; and that while the employes not only thought they were justly entitled to this 10 per cent. they were yet fighting for a principle dearer to them than mere dollars and cents.

It was a principal involving not only the great economic problem of this age, but of past ages, and must be the geeat problem of the future—a fair division between labor and capital; and if the wage-worker at Carnegie Brothers' works could be forced into subjugation by Pinkerton special detectives, their just rights denied them, and the imported pauper labor of Europe could be utilized as a means for the subversion of their rights, he could see very little hope in the future for the wage-worker in this country.

IRON AND STEEL, AND THE EDGAR THOMSON STEEL WORKS.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I propose, if I can, to prove that the boy's conclusions in regard to his own wages are correct. In 1886 Hon. Daniel Manning, then Secretary of the Treasury, issued circulars to the various manufacturing industries of the country, asking them for certain information in regard to the cost of manufacturing, including labor and material, the object of the circular being to gather together certain data to lay before Congress in connection with a revision of the tariff. Among others to whom this circular was sent was the "American Iron and Steel Association," with offices at Philadelphia—an association representing, I may say, the entire iron and steel industry of this country. This association sent out to the various manufacturing industries that formed the association a circular-letter, asking that the information desired by the Secretary of the Treasury should be reported to them, and that they would forward it to the Department. Among the replies received by the association was the following communication from Thomas M. Carnegie, chairman of Carnegie Brothers & Co., limited, Pittsburgh, Pa.:

Notwithstanding your able argument in favor of reporting details of cost of production of iron and steel, as requested by the Secretary of the Treasury, and in a less objectionable form by yourself, I am of the opinion that our interest would not be served by making such returns as you indicate. (See page 373, Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on revision of the tariff, with accompanying documents, 1886.)

I am prepared to supply a portion of the information desired by the Department, and which Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited, declined to give, taken from their own books.

I hold in my hand, a copy of a contract, executed under seal, which I saw copied from the original myself, of the schedule of wages as awarded by the board of arbitration, selected by the Knights of Labor and the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, fixing the wages of the employes of that company in the steel-mill department for the year 1887; and from this contract I submit a statement based upon the absolute amount of money paid to these employes in connection with the steel-rail department of that company. They are not theoretical figures; they are the absolute results in dollars and cents, and fully and clearly set forth the earnings of the wage-workers working in that company.

THE COST OF STEEL RAILS.

Under the terms and conditions of this contract the following is the cost of manufacturing a ton of steel rails, of 2,240 pounds, at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, located near Pittsburg, Pa., during the year 1887, one of the largest establishments of the kind in the United States:

Market price for one ton of No. 1 Bessemer pig-iron at the mill	$18 00
Converting same, per ton	1 50
Blooming, per ton	72
Finishing, per ton	1 87
1 1-5 tons Connellsville coke, average $1 35 per ton	1 62
	$23 71
Add for net loss on material, first to last, 13 per cent	3 08
Total	$26 79

Divided as follows:

Labor	$4 09	
Material and waste	22 70	
		$26 79

The percentage of labor cost to the cost of production is 15.26 per cent. The percentage of labor cost to the average selling price of steel rails, namely, selling price of rails, $37.50; labor, per ton, $4.09, is 10.09 per cent. The present rate of $17 per ton duty on steel rails is equal, under the present tariff, to an ad valorem duty of 85 per cent.

STEEL BEAMS OR STRUCTURAL IRON.

The principal difference in cost of making a ton of beams or structural steel and a ton of steel rails is about 30 per cent. additional in the cost of labor:

Cost of steel rails	$26 79
30 per cent. on $4.09 labor	1 23
Total	$28 02

The value of steel beams imported into the United States in 1887 at foreign ports of shipment was 1.2 cents per pound, or $26.88 per ton, and the duty upon the same under the present tariff is 1¼ cents per pound, or the equivalent of $28.88 per ton, or 102.75 per cent. ad valorem.

These estimates of cost in the United States represent net cost, without profit or allowance for interest on or depreciation of plant, or for fuel for steam power, or Spiegeleisen, or manganese, the cost of steam power and Spiegeleisen adding very little to the cost per ton.

The cost of labor paid for the manufacture of a ton of steel beams, based upon the cost of production per ton, namely, labor $5.33, cost $28.02 is 19 per cent. The percentage labor received based on the selling price of a ton of steel beams, namely, $5.33 for labor and $66 per ton selling price, is 8.7 per cent.

The total output of steel rails, blooms, ingots, and beams at these works during the year 1887 was as follows.

	Tons of 2,240 pounds.
Steel rails	192,998
Blooms	220,235
Ingots	241,874
Steel beams (estimated)	30,000

The number of men employed in producing the above, classed as skilled labor, and the actual wages paid them per day, as awarded by the board of abitration of the Knights of Labor and accepted by the managers for the year 1887, were as follows:

CONVERTING DEPARTMENT.

Seventy-six men working on turns of eight hours, requiring for twenty-four hours 228 men: Gross amount paid 76 men per turn, under contract, $230.02; average daily wages of each man in the converting department, $3.02.

BLOOMING DEPARTMENT.

Twenty-seven men working on turns of eight hours, requiring for twenty-four hours 81 men: Gross amount paid 27 men per turn, under contract, $76.02; average daily wages of each man, $2.81⅛.

RAIL DEPARTMENT.

Forty-two men working on turns of eight hours, requiring for the twenty-four hours 126 men: Gross amount paid 42 men per turn, under contract, $126.89; average daily wages of each man, $3.02.

FINISHING DEPARTMENT.

One hundred and nineteen men working on turns of twelve hours, requiring for the twenty-four hours 238 men: Gross amount paid 119 men for twelve hours, under contract, $230.01: average daily wages of each man, twelve hours, $1.93.

Total amount of skilled labor employed, 673 men. Average daily wages paid 673 men, $2.58.

The number of tons of steel rails produced per man at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works during the year 1887, the number of days employed not being taken into consideration, was 286.77 tons per man per annum.

As the total output of the entire force of men engaged in the Edgar Thomson Steel Works in 1887, in the converting, blooming, rail, and finishing departments, was: Ingots, 241,874 tons; blooms, 220,235 tons, assumed to be represented by the steel rail product of the mill, namely, 192,998 tons, and as the total output of the steel rails in the United States, according to the official statements, was 2,049,638 tons for the year 1887, this would, by inference, make the total number of skilled employes engaged in this industry in the United States, during the year 1887, 7,147 men.

WHAT IT COSTS THE COUNTRY TO GIVE MR. CARNEGIE $1,500,000 A YEAR.

Now, let us ascertain from these figures, if we can, what it costs the people of this country under the protectionists' theory and the existing tariff of to-day for steel rails alone, to equalize what they claim to be the difference between labor and material in England and labor and material in the United States, and then to ascertain, if we can, what proportion of this protection, claimed for the equalization of labor, labor receives. In producing a ton of steel rails, we started with the Bessemer pig iron. The average price per ton of No. 1 Bessemer pig-iron during 1887 did not vary materially from $18 per ton in Pittsburgh, and the average price for the same quality of iron in England during the same period was $12.50 per ton, or a difference of $5.50 per ton.

As I have shown, the cost paid for the labor to produce a ton of steel rails at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works was $4.09, and allowing a difference of even 50 per cent. in labor between England and the United States, which is excessive, to protect the wage-worker in this country engaged in the steel-rail factory against the so-called pauper labor of England, it would require $2 These two items of the difference in cost of pig-iron and the difference in labor would equal $7.00; and a duty on steel rails, therefore, of $7.50 per ton would cover every claim upon which the theory of protection is based.

But it costs something to get a ton of steel rails from Liverpool to our seacoast, and the average freight and insurance during the year 1887 from Liverpool to New York was about $3 per ton, which is the equivalent of so much more protection to the producer in this country, and this, if deducted from the $7.50, would still further reduce the necessary duty, even under their own theory, to $5.50 per ton. But let us be liberal with them; let us call the freight and insurance 50 cents per ton, and then a duty of $7.00 per ton, under their own claims and theories, would be ample. The present duty is $17 per ton, and, if I am correct in my figures, $10 per ton in excess of what is absolutely necessary, as they claim, not only to protect home labor, but to cover the difference in the cost of pig-iron.

I have shown that the cost to produce a ton of steel rails at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works in 1887 was $26 79; and surely a profit of $5 per ton on the number of tons of steel rails produced in the United States ought to satisfy the most avaricious manufacturer, and this would bring their selling price up to $31.79 per ton, just about the average price in the United States to day, namely, $31.50 to $32 per ton at the mill, and $5 per ton profit on the output of steel rails for 1887 would be the equivalent of $10,248,190 of profits divided between ten or twelve establishments engaged in this industry in this country. But the average price at which steel rails sold for in the United States during the year 1887 was $37.12½ per ton, or $5.33 in excess of the price to-day, or $10,924,570.54 additional profit on the output of 1887, or an aggregate profit of $21,171,760 to be divided between ten or twelve steel rail mills in the United States; and, sir, I am satisfied that this is not very much out of the way.

HOW IT IS ILLUSTRATED BY STEEL BEAMS.

When we come to structural iron and steel beams, although the output is much less than steel rails, yet the figures are more astounding. A fire-proof building can not be erected in the country that structural iron and steel are not a material part of its cost. It is a large part of the cost in the railway and highway bridges of the country. Its use not only adds to the durability of all structures, but in our large cities lessens the chances of conflagrations and reduces the rates of insurance. I have shown that the cost of a ton of structural steel produced at the Edgar

Thomson Steel Works during the year 1887 was about $28.02. But let us call it $33. You cannot to-day buy a ton of steel beams for less than 3.3 cents per pound, or $66 per ton.

It is well known that the steel-beam industry of this country to-day is in a trust; and I have further shown that the average price of these steel beams imported into this country during the year 1887, upon which duties were levied, was 1.2 cents per pound, or $26.88 per ton, and that the duty upon them under the existing tariff is 1¼ cents per pound, or $28 88 per ton, the duty exceeding the value of the imported article $3 per ton. The output of these steel beams at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works during the year 1887 averaged about 100 tons per day, or 30,000 tons per annum, and the difference between the cost of its production, $33 per ton, and $66 per ton, the selling price, leaves a margin of $33 per ton, or $1,000,000 profit on this one product alone; and I ask this House and the country whether or not the Committee on Ways and Means is justified in reducing the duty on steel rails from $17 per ton to $11 per ton, and on steel beams from 1¼ cents per pound to six-tenths of 1 cent per pound, which leaves the duty on steel rails under the proposed bill equal to 55 per cent. ad valorem, in place of 85 per cent. ad valorem under the existing tariff, and on steel beams at 44½ per cent. ad valorem in place of 102 per cent. under the present law?

Mulhall, in his History of Prices, in referring to wages, page 127, says that the percentage of wages paid of the value of manufactures produced in the United States since 1850 was: In 1850, 23.3 per cent.; in 1860, 21.2 per cent.; in 1870, 19 per cent., and in 1880 17.8 per cent.; and that the British operatives earn, as a rule, in wages from 30 per cent. to 33 per cent. of the value of the manufactures they produce, while in the United States the workman gets only 17.8 per cent. On page 125 he states the advance in artisans' wages in England and France between the years 1840 and 1880 was as follows:

OCCUPATION.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
Blacksmiths	45	64
Masons	55	70
Carpenters	55	60
Plumbers	57	70
Cotton spinners	42	48

COST OF BEAMS IN OTHER MILLS.

I also have before me a pamphlet entitled "The Edgar Thomson Steel Works," dated 1887. It is an authentic pamphlet, furnishing certain data, which could have only come from the proprietors of the company. I will only quote an extract from the last page:

To keep the works running, on an average daily output of 1,400 tons of iron and manganese and 800 tons of rails, requires the handling, by loading and unloading, of 7,920 gross tons of material daily, namely, 2,300 tons of iron ore, 1,450 tons of coke, 670 tons of limestone, 1,400 tons of pig-metal, 1,000 tons of cinder, 800 tons of rails, 300 tons coal, sand, brick, molds, refractories, etc., a greater tonnage for these works alone than the entire cotton crop of the United States.

If the proprietors of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works were indicted before a United States grand jury for obtaining money under false pretenses, namely, as parties to the tariff act of 1883, if this admission would not convict them, then I am at a loss to know what would. With an average output daily of 1,400 tons of pig-iron and 800 tons of steel rails, their total consumption of coal is so insignificant as to be included in the items of "sand, brick, molds, refractories, etc.," at 300 tons total of these articles; and the number of tons of coke consumed, 1,450 tons, which, at the market price of to day, figures $1.10, would make a total cost per day of $1,595, equal to a cost for fuel of only 72½ cents per ton on an output of 1,400 tons of pig-iron and 800 tons of steel rails, and in which estimate no allowance is made for natural gas.

Comparisons are always odious, but the latter part of this extract says:

A greater tonnage for these works alone than the entire cotton crop of the United States.

I will endeavor to make some approximate estimates and comparisons, which this pamphlet has failed to provide *One of the members of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, Limited, admitted to me within the past month, within 200 feet of where I now stand, that a statement, made by myself in the fall of* 1886, *was correct, namely, that he drew out of the company as dividends in one year the sum of* $1,500,000, *the equivalent of* $5,000 *per day for three hundred days in the year, and this was but one member of the firm, with no statement of profits undivided.* No intelligent business man will put the profits of this company at less than $5,000,000 in prosperous years, and we will allow them to employ 7,500 wage-workers.

I wish distinctly to state here that I believe it to be the duty of every man to accumulate every dollar possible in fair and open competition with his fellow-men; and that the dollar so accumulated by his industry, energy, and economy is entitled to its due share of protection by the Government without discrimination as between the rich and poor. I care not how many millions of dollars any man may thus accumulate; but what I protest against is that while the great masses of the people are weighed down in their struggle for existence the favored few are permitted to rob them, under the pretense of protection to home industry and home labor.

COTTON.

Let us find out if we can what the cotton-planter of the South is doing:

The average price per pound for cotton in 1886, on the plantation, was 8¼ cents on a bale of 500 pounds		$42 50
The most reliable estimates of cost of production gives labor 50 per cent. of the selling price of cotton on the plantation, namely, per bale	$21 25	
(As against only 8.7 per cent. of the selling price of a ton of steel beams which labor receives at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works.)		
Incidental cost to planter over labor cost	6 25	
		27 50
Profit to planter per bale for interest on plantation and for supervision		$15 00

This sum, $15 per bale, on 6,500,000 bales yield of 1886, would be $97,500,000. The total plantation value of the cotton crop of 1886 was $269,989,812, equal to a gross return for each acre cultivated of $14.75.

PROTECTED AND UNPROTECTED INDUSTRIES.

According to the pamphlet referred to in connection with the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, they represent that their whole area of ground is 154 acres, and we will concede that they employ 7,500 wage-workers—which they do not—in their various industries. According to officical returns of the Agricultural Department, there are now under cultivation in the production of cotton 18,000,000 acres, and a fair estimate of the number of adults employed in cultivating these fields, allowing four bales to an adult, is 1,625,000 wage-workers, and allowing each one to represent a family of five, it would give a total of 8,125,000 of our people dependent upon this industry for a support and a living. I have estimated the net profits of the entire cotton crop of 1886 at $97,500,000, which represents the interest on the cost of the 18,000,000 acres of land and the supervision and other contingent expenses and liabilities to the planter.

Assuming that my statement that the said company's net profits in the most prosperous years are $5,000,000, I would be pleased to have some mathematician work out for me the relative comparative profits realized by the protected industries of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, employing 7,500 men, with an estimated capital of $20,000,000, occupying 154 acres of land and improvements on same, and the profits realized by the unprotected planters of the South, cultivating 18,000,000 acres of land, and employing 1,625,000 adults in this industry, supporting 8,125,000 of our population. Yet, sir, when the committee introduced this bill into the House and proposed to put the cotton-ties in which this cotton had to be baled for exportation on the free list, the gentlemen on the other side of the House denounced it as a discrimination against home industries and the theory of protection.

ACCUMULATED WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

The truth can not be too often stated, nor falsehood too often exposed. Gentlemen on the other side have frequently referred to our immense strides in the accumulation of wealth between 1850 and 1880, and this I admit; but sir, they claim that protection has done this in the building up of our manufacturing industries. I will take their own figures, upon which they base this claim. I submit the following official table, which tells its own story:

THE WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS DEVELOPMENT FROM 1850 to 1880.

[Compiled from the reports of the United States Census.]

YEARS	TRUE VALUE OF REAL ESTATE AND PERSONAL PROPERTY.					
	Total.	Per capita.	Distribution.	Total.	Per capita.	Per cent. of group.
1850..	$7,135,780,228	$308	Agriculture	$4,967,343,580	$171	69.61
			Manufactures	533,245,351	23	7.47
			Railroads	296,260,128	13	4.15
			All other	1,338,931,168	101	18.77
1860..	16,159,616,068	514	Agriculture	7,980,493,063	254	49.39
			Manufactures	1,009,855,715	32	6.25
			Railroads	1,134,452,909	36	7.02
			All other	6,034,814,381	192	37.34
1870..	24,054,814,806	624	Agriculture	8,899,966,997	231	37.00
			Manufactures	1,694,567,152	44	7.04
			Railroads	1,632,980,616	42	6.79
			All other	11,827,300,041	307	49.17
1880..	43,642,000,000	870	Agriculture	12,104,081,440	241	27.74
			Manufactures	2,790,272,606	56	6.39
			Railroads	4,112,367,175	82	9.42
			All other	24,635,278,779	491	56.45

Years	Increase during decade.					
	Total.	Per cent.	Per capita.	Distribution.	Total.	Per cent.	Per capita.
1860..	$9,023,835,840	126.46	$330	Agriculture	$3,013,149,483	62.66	$110
				Manufactures	476,610,364	89.39	18
				Railroads	838,192,781	282.94	31
				All other	4,695,883,212	350.72	172
1870..	7,895,198,738	48.86	226	Agriculture	919,473,934	11.52	26
				Manufactures	684,711,437	67.80	20
				Railroads	498,527,707	43.94	14
				All other	5,792,485,660	95.98	166
1880..	19,587,185,194	81.43	442	Agriculture	3,204,114,443	36.00	72
				Manufactures	1,095,705,454	64.66	25
				Railroads	2,479,386,559	151.83	56
				All other	12,807,978,738	108.30	289

Years	Total.	Per cent.	Per capita.	Distribution.	Increase since 1850. Total.	Per cent.	Per capita.
1860..	$9,023,835,840	126.46	$330	Agriculture	$3,013,149,483	60.66	$110
				Manufactures...	476,610,364	89.39	18
				Railroads.....	838,192,781	282.94	31
				All other	4,695,883,212	350.72	172
1870..	16,919,033,578	237.11	545	Agriculture	3,932,623,417	79.17	127
				Manufactures...	1,161,321,801	217.78	37
				Railroads.....	1,336,720,488	451.20	43
				All other	10,488,368,872	758.69	338
1880..	36,506,219,772	511.60	1,019	Agriculture	7,136,737,860	143.66	199
				Manufactures...	2,257,027,255	423.26	63
				Railroads.....	3,816,107,047	1,288.09	107
				All other.....	23,296,347,610	1,739.37	650

The principal facts to be remembered in connection with the foregoing table, are:

First. That of the gross accumulations of wealth between 1850 and 1880, as shown by the census, namely, $36,506,219,722.

	Per cent.
Farm lands and personal property on same, gave	19.55
Capital invested in manufactures	6.18
Railroads	10.45
All other industries and suburban property	63.82
	100.00

Second. That the percentage of gain in manufactures in the decades named was as follows:

	Per cent.
Between 1850 and 1860, low tariff	89.39
Between 1860 and 1870, high tariff	67.80
Between 1870 and 1880, high tariff	64.66

Third. That the percentage of gain in farming lands and personal property on same was as follows:

	Per cent.
Between 1850 and 1860, low tariff	60.66
Between 1860 and 1870, high tariff	11.52
Between 1870 and 1880, high tariff	36.00

Fourth. That had the agricultural resources of the country between 1870 and 1880 maintained the same relative gain shown between 1850 and 1860, the latter period being under a tariff for revenue and the former under a protective tariff, the increase would have been $2,125,000,000 more, or within $665,272,606 of the total value of capital invested in manufactures in the United States in 1880.

Fifth. That the percentage of manufactures to the wealth of the country accumulated in thirty years is only 6.18 per cent.

NOTES.—Gold being at a premium of 25 in 1870, the data for that year reported by the United States Census have been reduced to gold value.

"Agriculture" represents the value of the farms, farm implements and machinery, and of live stock.

"Manufactures" represents the capital invested in manufactories.

"Railroads" represents the cost of constructing the railroads.

I would also refer here to the fact that between 1860 and 1880, the number of immigrants that arrived in this country was 5,093,333; the larger proportion of which, it is reasonable to suppose, engaged in agricultural pursuits.

It is also claimed that the balance of trade in our favor since 1873 is the result of the protective theory. From 1873 to June, 30, 1887, our exports exceeded our imports by $1,611,973,748.

Our total exports for the year 1886 were $665,964,529, of which $484,954,595 were derived from agriculture; and the exports of cotton and cotton-seed oil, represented in the latter item, were $207,201,616, or nearly 50 per cent. of the agricultural products exported, and the ratio of agricultural products exported to the total exports was 72.8 per cent. If, sir, the same ratio is applicable to the balance in our favor between the years 1873 and 1887, it will show that of this balance the non-protected industries of this country—

The farmer and cotton-planter gave you 72.8, or	$1,173,516,888
Other industries, 27.2, or	438,456,860
Total	$1,611,973,748

WHAT THE WOOL TARIFF COSTS IN ONE STATE.

I turn now to another vexed question—wool. This bill puts wool on the free-list. It does so, I make bold to maintain, not only in the interest of the woolen manufacturer, but in that of sheep husbandry itself.

In referring to the woolen schedule and its effects upon the people of my own State, it is fair to infer that relatively it will have the same effect upon the people of the other States of the Union. I am compelled to refer to the census of 1880, and to resort to statistics, which are not as interesting to the general reader as the latest novel, but may be more instructive. According to the Agricultural Report of 1886, the number of sheep in Pennsylvania was 1,189,481; number of farms in the State (census of 1880) 213,542; average number of sheep to the farm, 5.5; pounds of wool clipped, 5,645,984; average weight of fleece, 4¾ pounds, which, at the estimated market price of to-day, 32 cents per pound, would give a total value of $1,806,714 88. Should the bill as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means become a law, the result upon the people of my State would be as follows: First, upon the farmers: The 213,542 farms produced, as stated above, in 1886, 5,645,984 pounds of wool, equal to 26 pounds of wool to the farm, and the duties upon foreign wools of the same quality, unwashed, under the present tariff of 10 cents per pound would amount to $564,598.40. If making wool free would cause the value to decline equal to the duty now imposed, which it would not, in my judgment, it would show a gross loss to the 213,542 farms of $2.60 each, or a total of $564,598. *Per contra*, the per capita consumption of domestic and imported woolen and worsted goods, according to the census of 1880, was $6.50, which multiplied by five, the estimated average number in a family, would be $32.50.

The proposed reduction in the woolen schedule is 29 per cent. from the present tariff, or 29 per cent. of the cost of the woolen goods consumed, which would be an equivalent saving of	$9.42
The proposed reduction of the duties on sugar, namely, $11,000,000 on the imports, and $1,000,000 reduction on the cost of home production, would be $12,000,000, or the equivalent of 20 cents per capita on a population of 60,000,000, or on a family of five	$1.00
	$10.42
From which deduct the estimated loss to each family of	$2.60
It would on these two items alone show a saving to every family in the State of Pennsylvania of	7.82

The profit and loss account of the bill under consideration to the people of the State, based on the population of 1880, namely, 4,282,891, would show a saving of $1.56 each, or $6,681,309.96 on these two items alone, and not taking into consideration the large savings that will accrue to them from the other proposed reductions under the bill. But, let us examine the woolen schedule as proposed in the bill, from the standpoint of the Pennsylvania manufacturer of woolen and worsted goods,

and which I claim is applicable to the woolen manufacturers of the whole country. According to the census of 1880 there were in the State of Pennsylvania manufacturing establishments of woolen goods as follows:

Number of mills or factories producing—	
Woolen goods	324
Woolen hats	23
Worsted goods	28
Total	375
Total amount of capital invested	$24,537,743
Cost of material used for one year	29,497,945
Gross wages paid	7,046,273
Pounds of wool consumed, grown in the United States	22,556,077
Imported wools, pounds	5,005,271
Total consumption of wool.....pounds	33,561,348
Total value of the manufactured articles produced for the year ending June 30, 1880	$44,182,590
Average number of hands employed:	
Males over sixteen	10,790
Females above fifteen	9,477
Children	3,571
Total number of persons	23,838

Average wages paid per hand per year, $287.20.

It will be seen that while Pennsylvania consumed 33,561,348 pounds of wool in her mills in the year 1880, she only produced within the State, in 1886, 5,645,984 pounds, or 16 4-5 per cent. of the quantity required in 1880, and that there were employed in this industry 23,838 of her population.

PROTECTION INCREASES THE COST OF LIVING.

I claim that I have shown by the facts submitted that even the skilled wage-worker employed in the protected industries of the country receives no higher and often not as high wages as the wage-worker in the unprotected industries of the country. That while undue protection does not increase the wages of the wage-worker employed in the manufacturing industries of the country, it adds enormously to the cost of his living, as well as to that of the minister of the gospel, the doctor, the lawyer, the carpenter, the mason, the blacksmith, the widow and the orphan, and that large class of our people living upon limited incomes, those too old to work; and upon no class is its effects more disastrous than upon the agricultural classes; that the home market theory to the farmer is a fallacy; that if the census of 1880 is reliable, and that 17,392,099 of our population were engaged in the five great classes of occupations, that of the agricultural products produced and consumed in the United States the relative consumption would be as follows:

		Per cent.
Agriculture	7,670,493, or	44.1
Professional and personal services	4,074,238, or	23.4
Trade and transportation	1,810,256, or	10.4
Mining and engineering	1,104,517, or	6.4
Manufacturing	2,732,595, or	15.7
Total	17,392,099	100.0

Which would show that the farmers and those dependent upon them were consumers to the extent of 44.1 per cent. of what they produced themselves, while three classes named consumed 40.2 per cent., leaving only 15.7 per cent. for those engaged in manufacturing.

That the protection theory has exterminated our shipping from the seas of the world; that the tables submitted, showing how the accumulated wealth of the United States has been made between the years 1850 and 1880, demonstrates that protection to home industries had little or nothing to do with it.

IX.

DECLINE OF SHEEP RAISING.

A CLEAR STATEMENT SHOWING THAT UNDER A SYSTEM OF HIGH TAXES WOOL PRODUCTION HAS DECREASED.

From a speech by W. D. Bynum, of Indiana, April 26.

It is contended that a duty on wool is a necessary protection to our farmers. It is strange that the protectionists have by the mere assertion of the truth of this statement been able to pull the wool over the eyes of many of our farmers, and thus secure their support in sustaining a measure which has plundered them at home and abroad; at home upon what they have consumed, and abroad upon what they have exported. How has protection benefited the wool-growers? Has not the price of wool steadily fallen since 1867, when the highest rate of duty was placed upon it? The advocates of protection admit this—not only admit it, but many of them claim it as the result of "protection." Mr. Haskell, a leading member of this House from Kansas, in 1882 said:

I have here the figures. To-day wool is cheaper per pound, and has been for the past five years, than it was from 1855 to 1860 under the free-trade rating of the free-trade party.

STEADY DECLINE IN THE PRICE OF WOOL.

To show exactly what has taken place by way of a fall in prices, I have prepared a table giving the price of wool for four years preceding the Act of 1867; for four years succeeding the same; for four years preceding the Act of 1883, when there was a reduction of about 10 per cent., and for the last four years.

Year.	Price per pound.	Year.	Price per pound.	Year.	Price per pound.	Year.	Price per pound.
	Cents.		*Cents.*		*Cents.*		*Cents.*
1863.....	75	1868.....	46	1879.....	37	1884.....	34
1864.....	100	1869.....	48	1880.....	46	1885.....	31
1865.....	75	1870.....	46	1881.....	42	1886.....	33
1866.....	70	1871.....	62	1882.....	42	1887.....	38
Four years' average.	80	.....	50½	.....	41¾	.....	34

The average price of wool for four years preceding the Act of 1867 was 80 cents a pound; while for four years succeeding it was only 50 cents a pound. For four years preceding the reduction in 1883 it averaged 41¾ cents a pound, and for the last four years it has averaged only 34 cents a pound. It cannot be claimed that the reduction in price during the last four years was the result of the reductions in 1883, as the reductions of duty were only 10 per cent., while the fall in price has been much larger. The fall in the price of wool has gone on uninterruptedly ever since the duty was increased in 1867. Of what benefit, then, has "protection" been to the wool grower.

Mr. Stebbins, in his work on Protection, following the suggestion of the Tariff Commission, has explained or undertaken to explain wherein the wool growers have been benefited. He says:

Its results as to wool are given in the Tariff Commission report, and can be stated as follows: Sheep, 1860, 22,471,275; 1880, 43,576,897. Pounds of wool in 1860, 60,264,913; in 1880, 240 000,000, or twice as much per head as in 1860. Prices in Boston in currency averaged in 1867, 51 cents; in 1875, 43 cents; in 1880, 48 cents. The price is a little lower, but the sum from each fleece nearly double, as the results of improved breeds under protective encouragement and with a home market.

Let us try to ascertain the truth about this subject. I do not claim that the reduction in the price of wool since 1867 is the result, solely, of the high duty placed upon it, but I do think it is one of the causes which have brought about such a radical reduction. The establishment of large ranches in Texas, New Mexico and Colorado, where lands and pasturage could be had at nominal rates, and sheep kept at a much less cost per head than in the Northern States, had a marked influence upon the price. In 1867 New Mexico, Texas and Colorado contained but 1,454,717 head, while in 1885 they contained 14,155,343. Wool can be raised much cheaper in Texas and New Mexico than in Ohio, Michigan and Indiana, and this illustrates the great fallacy of trying to protect the production of materials which can be grown in one section of the country at one-half the cost in another.

DECLINE IN COMPARATIVE NUMBER OF SHEEP IN THIS COUNTRY.

Why tax the people of Minnesota and Dakota upon their clothing that wool may be grown in Ohio and Pennsylvania? The truth of the matter is that you can not stimulate the production of wool by a high tariff. With us the raising of sheep is not for the wool, but for the meat. Farmers in the Northern States and in all the States will always raise sheep, and the number of head will increase as population increases without any protection. Farmers will raise sheep because a certain number can always be profitably kept upon any farm. They assist in cultivating the land, they eat down the briars and shrubs and clean up the hillsides, thus saving much labor and expense, and whatever the wool brings is clear profit. The profit in raising sheep, except where the climate is mild and pasturage abundant, is not in the wool, but in the mutton.

With free wool the United Kingdom upon her 121,751 square miles in 1886 had 28,955,240 head of sheep, while Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, three great wool-growing States, upon their 139,028 square miles had only 8,111,158 head. France, upon her 204,030 square miles, in 1885 had 22,616,542 head, while Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia and Maryland, upon their 200,473 square miles, had only 5,020,053 head. Germany, with her 208,624 square miles in 1883 had 19,189,715 head, while Texas, upon her 274,356 square miles, had only 7,877,500 head, and this number has been diminished over 3,000,000 head in the last four years.

The United States, with twenty years of protection, has about 14 head of sheep to the square mile, while Germany, with free wool, has 92 head; France, with free wool, 100 head, and the United Kingdom, with free wool, 235 head to the square mile. The number of sheep in the United Kingdom is 85 per cent. of the population, in France 58 per cent., and in the United States 75 per cent. Why this equality in the number of sheep as compared to population, and great inequality as to area of territory? It must be that it requires about this proportion to raise the mutton consumed by the inhabitants. In 1884 we had in round numbers, 50,000,000 sheep; but in 1887 this number was reduced to 44 000 000, not because there was no demand for wool—we imported large quantities of wool and even shoddy during these years—but because we had surpassed the number required to raise the mutton consumed by us. In 1885 we exported over a half million head, not to produce wool, but for slaughter.

The wool-growers of Pennsylvania and Ohio stated to the Tariff Commission that it cost them from $2 to $2.04 a year to keep a sheep. The fleece averaging six pounds, the wool would have to bring 33⅓ cents a pound to pay expenses; adding a reasonable sum for shearing, handling, interest, etc., it is fair to estimate that wool cannot be raised in these States for less than 40 cents a pound.

We consume annually 600,000,000 pounds; this, at 40 cents, would cost $240,000,000. We can purchase foreign wools and pay for them in the products of labor for one-half this sum. Now, why make the people of the United States pay a hundred millions more for their wool in order to have it all produced at home?

In countries where the profit is in raising mutton the demand for mutton will control and regulate the number of sheep, and by no system of protection can the number of sheep be increased above that point. In countries where wool can be grown at comparative little cost, and the profit to the shepherd is not in slaughter-

ing but in shearing his sheep, there the wool will be grown to clothe the people in the colder climates; and to exclude the same from our shores is not only destruction to our woolen mills, but it is a serious blow to every other industry and to every individual throughout the whole country, and to none is it more detrimental than to that great body of our people who live by their hands.

THE DECLINE IN WOOLEN MANUFACTURES.

The condition of our woolen manufacturers is well known. They have been struggling for existence under a protection too burdensome for the people to longer tolerate. Their condition has been well described in a letter by one of their number published in the Boston *Herald* of February 18, 1888. He says:

In addition to the mills I have mentioned as now shut down, I will state for your information, if you do not already know it, that since 1880 29 woolen mills and 135 sets of machinery have been destroyed by fire in New England, and have not been replaced—a fact which proves more forcibly than can any words of mine the unprofitableness of the woolen manufacture and the folly of a protective policy which closes against it the world's markets at the same time that this country is importing woolen goods to the value of $45,000,000 annually. And in this connection I will ask your attention to the following table:

Comparative number of manufactories and sets of cards in the woolen manufacture proper for the years 1870 *and* 1880, *compiled from census returns.*

States.	Mills.			Sets of cards.		
	1870.	1880.	Decrease.	1870.	1880.	Decr'se.
			Per cent.			*Per cent.*
In all the States and Territories	2,890	1,990	31.14	8,352	5,961	28.6
In New England States:						
Connecticut	108	78	28.00	660	435	34.1
Maine	107	93	13.1	331	261	21.1
Massachusetts	185	167	9.7	1,367	1,356	0.8
New Hampshire	77	58	24.7	351	293	16.5
Rhode Island	65	50	23.2	474	432	8.8
Vermont	65	44	32.3	175	145	17.1
Totals	607	490	19.3	3,358	2,922	13.4

This table shows that in the country at large, in the ten years between 1870 and 1880, the number of woolen mills decreased over 31 per cent., and the sets of cards over 28 per cent. Or, if we confine our attention to our own vicinity, in New England the decrease in mills has been nearly 20 per cent., and in sets of cards over 13 per cent. Is not this a significant hint of the extreme prosperity which the tariff has brought to wool manufacturing in this "favored country?" And yet, it was during this period that the very highest tariff rates prevailed.

It is useless for us to ignore the fact that we must place wool on the free-list or our woolen manufacturers will have to succumb. They cannot live under this high rate of duty upon wool, and they know that the time has passed when they can ask the great masses to shoulder heavier burthens.

X.

PURELY A PRACTICAL QUESTION.

HOW THE COUNTRY GREW UNDER A LIBERAL SYSTEM OF TAXES—THE INCREASED EFFICIENCY AND DECREASED COST OF LABOR.

From a Speech by John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, Speaker of the House, May 19.

Whenever an attempt is made to emancipate labor from the servitude which an unequal system of taxation imposes upon it; whenever it is proposed to secure, as far as possible, to each individual citizen the full fruits of his own earnings, subject only to the actual necessities of the Government, and whenever a measure is presented for the removal of unnecessary restrictions from domestic industries and international commerce, so as to permit freer production and freer exchanges, the alarm is sounded and all the cohorts of monopoly are assembled to hear their hearlds proclaim the immediate and irretrievable ruin of the country.

We have been told over and over again during this debate that the passage of the pending bill will destroy many valuable industries now flourishing in various parts of the country; that it will deprive thousands of laborers of employment and greatly reduce the wages of those who continue to work; if I believed that the passage of this measure would injure a single honest industry or reduce the wages of those who are employed in it, I would, notwithstanding the great emergency which confronts us, hesitate long before giving it my support. But in my opinion the reductions now proposed on dutiable imports, and the proposed additions to the free list, will be beneficial to the manufacturers themselves as well as to their laborers and the consumers of their products; and as the Representatives from New England on the other side of the House appear to be especially alarmed concerning the injurious effects of this bill upon the great manufacturing industries in their part of the country, it may not be inappropriate to call their attention to a few historical facts connected with our tariff legislation in the past and the effects of low rates of duty upon the prosperity of their people.

The highest rates of duty imposed by the tariff act of 1846 upon any class of woolen goods, cotton fabrics, manufactures of leather and of hardware, was 30 per cent. ad valorem, and upon most kinds of cotton goods it was only 25 per cent. These were the industries in which New England was most largely engaged, and her Representatives here, except those from the State of Maine, who were divided upon the question, protested against the passage of that act, as they now protest against the passage of the pending bill, upon the ground that it would paralyze and ruin these great interests. The Representatives from Massachsuetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont voted unanimously against the bill, with the exception of Mr. Collamer, of Vermont, who did not vote at all. But it passed, nevertheless, and became a law; and now, Mr. Chairman, let us see what its effect was upon the most important industries of these great manufacturing States, and what the subsequent action of their Representatives was, after an experience of eleven years under these moderate rates of duty.

EFFECT OF A LIBERAL TARIFF ON MANUFACTURING DEVELOPMENT.

We have no authentic statistics showing the progress made by manufacturing industries between 1846 and 1857 as a separate and distinct period of time, but it may be fairly assumed that the full force and effect of the new rates of duty were realized at least as early as the census year 1849, and we have the census returns of 1850 and 1860, the latter based upon the productions of the year 1859, to which I beg leave to invite the attention of gentlemen from New England and other gentlemen who believe that low tariffs destroy manufactures and pauperize labor. During the period mentioned the value of all our woolen manufactures increased more than 42 per cent., the number of hands employed increased 18½ per cent., but the total amount of wages paid increased nearly 37 per cent., showing that the per-

centage of increase in the amount of wages paid was twice as great as the percentage of increase in the number of hands employed. Taking all the New England States together the increase in the value of the product in this industry was 62 per cent. The increase in Massachusetts was 54 per cent.; in Rhode Island, 176 per cent.; in Vermont, 61½ per cent., and in Maine, 83½ per cent. In the manufacture of hosiery the progress during the ten years under consideration was almost marvelous. In the Eastern States the increase in the value of the product was 481 per cent. It was 523 per cent. in Connecticut, 377 per cent. in New Hampshire, and 373 per cent. in Massachusetts.

What was the effect upon the manufacture of cotton fabrics in New England and in the whole country? The value of the production in the United States increased 77 per cent., the number of hands employed increased 28½ per cent., and the total amount of wages paid increased 39 per cent. In New England the increase in the value of the product was over 81 per cent., in the number of hands employed 28 per cent., and in the amount of wages paid 36 per cent. Massachusetts increased her product 77 per cent, New Hampshire 55 per cent., Rhode Island over 87 per cent., Connecticut 116 per cent., Maine 137 per cent., and Vermont 27½ per cent.

In the six New England States the increase in the value of the product in the manufacture of boots and shoes was 82 per cent.: in Massachusetts the increase was 92 per cent, in Connecticut 10 per cent., in Maine 99 per cent., and in Rhode Island 337 per cent. The production in New England alone in 1860 was greater than the aggregate production of all the States of the Union in 1850. In the manufacture of hardware New England increased the value of her product 100 per cent, and in this industry also her product in 1860 was greater than the product of all the States in 1850.

Instead of paralyzing the industries and pauperizing labor in New England, or any other part of the country for that matter, the tariff act of 1846 infused new life and vigor into our languishing manufactures and secured more constant employment and higher wages to our laboring people; and the consequence was that even the strong prejudices of New England were removed by actual experience, and in 1857 every Representative from that part of the country who voted at all voted for a bill making an almost uniform reduction of 20 per cent. from the rates imposed by the act of 1846, and placing many additional articles on the free list.

STILL FURTHER LIBERALIZED IN 1857.

Here is the vote upon the tariff act of 1857, as it first passed a Republican House over which Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, presided as Speaker. Five of the six Representatives from Maine voted for it, and the other one, who was absent when the vote was taken, had made a speech in favor of its passage. Nine of the ten Representatives from Massachusetts voted in the affirmative, and the other was in the chair and did not vote. Every Representative from New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island was present and voted for the bill, and among them appears the name of the venerable and distinguished Senator who still serves his State at the other end of the Capitol, Hon. Justin S. Morrill

The bill to which I have referred was sent to the Senate, where it was amended by making a very slight increase in the reductions on certain articles, and, finally, upon agreeing to the conference report, eighteen Representatives from New England voted in the affirmative and nine in the negative. Two thirds of the men chosen by the people of New England to represent their interests in Congress declared by this vote that a further reduction would be beneficial to their industries, and thus the tariff act of 1857, which we have so often heard denounced on the other side of the House, became the law of the land by the votes of Republican and New England Representatives.

THE PUBLIC CREDIT IN 1860.

It is customary in all our debates on the tariff for gentlemen on the other side to depict in the darkest colors the condition of the country during the financial depression of 1857. That depression, from which the country recovered in a few months, was an insignificant incident in our history in comparison with the great

industrial, commercial and financial storm which began here in 1873 and devastated the country for five years, closing mills and factories, extinguishing the fires in our furnaces, ruining banking and mercantile houses, and throwing hundreds of thousands of laboring people out of employment. Under a low tariff our industries soon revived and the country started again, like an awakened giant, on its march to wealth and power, but under a high tariff it struggled on for five weary years, and, for the first time in its history, was brought face to face with those difficult and dangerous social problems which still confront us, and which it will require all the wisdom and patriotism of her ablest and best citizens to solve.

It has been repeatedly charged here and elsewhere that the credit of the Government was so reduced by the act of 1857, that it was compelled to sell its bonds at a discount of 12 per cent.

I hold in my hand a volume issued from the Treasury Department in 1881, while Mr. Windom was Secretary, giving the history of all the loans negotiated by the Government from the time of its organization to the date of the publication; and this account, taken from the official records, shows that from the time of the passage of the tariff act of 1846 down to the last few days of Mr. Buchanan's administration, when civil war was imminent, not a bond or Treasury note, or Government obligation in any form, was sold at less than par, while many of them having but a short time to run and bearing but 5 per cent. interest were sold at a very considerable premium in gold. After the passage of the Morrill tariff bill, in March, 1861, and after the Democratic administration had gone out and a Republican administration had come in, twenty-year bonds, bearing 6 per cent. interest, were sold at 15 per cent. discount. But does the gentleman think it would be fair to charge this to the high tariff of 1861? Does the gentleman think that it would be fair for me to say that these bonds were sold at a discount because the rates of duty on imported goods had been increased by the act of March 2, 1861? I would be ashamed of myself if I should make such a charge.

The truth is that the credit of the Government was always good until the breaking out of the civil war, or at least until it became evident that there was to be a great civil commotion in this country.

AN AVERAGE OF MORE THAN FORTY PER CENT. DUTY.

During the last fiscal year the average rate of duty upon dutiable imports was about $48 upon each $100 worth of goods, and the revenue collected from that source was more than $212,000,000. During the same time the Government collected about $119,000,000 under the internal revenue laws, nearly all of which came from the taxes on distilled spirits, fermented liquors and manufactured tobacco. In the fiscal year 1866, which was the first entire fiscal year after the close of the war, the receipts from internal revenue taxes amounted to nearly $311,000,000; while receipts from customs, or tariff taxes amounted to $179,000,000, and the rate upon dutiable goods was $40 19 upon each $100 worth.

This brief statement shows that while the receipts from customs have largely increased, the receipts under the internal revenue laws have been greatly diminished.

The framers of the pending bill, recognizing and respecting the differences of opinion which exist upon this question, have proposed to deal with both systems of taxation. They propose to make a reduction of $78,000,000 based upon the receipts of the fiscal year 1887. About $54,000,000 of this is proposed to be taken from the tariff taxes and about $24,000,000 from the internal revenue receipts by the repeal of the tax on tobacco and the abolition of certain special taxes upon dealers and others.

So far the opposition to the bill has been directed mainly against that part of it which proposes to repeal or reduce the tax upon certain classes of imported goods; and gentlemen, speaking for the interests which have long ago been relieved of all the burdens imposed upon their industries, earnestly protest that the consumers of their products shall have no relief, or at least that they shall not have the full measure of relief contemplated by this bill. In 1866 there was collected from the

incomes of those having net annual receipts exceeding $600 the sum of $72,982,159, and from the manufacturers and their products, excluding distilled spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco, the sum of $127,230,609.

REDUCTION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.

It seems that our friends on the other side have at last concluded that there ought to be a reduction of the revenue, and many gentlemen who have spoken in opposition to the pending bill have foreshadowed their policy. Its main feature—in fact about its only feature as regards the tariff—is the total repeal of the duty on sugar and the payment of a bounty to the producers of that article; not to the laborer who tills the soil and converts the cane-juice into sugar, but to the capitalist who owns the plantation and the refinery.

But let us see what would be the effect of the repeal of the duty on sugar—the effect upon the revenue and upon the people who are compelled to pay taxes in some form for the support of the Government.

The latest reports I have at hand showing the total amount of sugar produced in this country and the total amount consumed are for the year 1886, and they show that the domestic production was 302,754,486 pounds, while the total consumption was 3,111,640,000 pounds. It thus appears that considerably less than one-tenth of the domestic consumption is produced at home, and that the remainder is imported and pays duty at the custom-house. The duty collected during the last fiscal year was $57,000,000. Now, assuming that the whole amount of the duty is added to the price of the domestic article, it is clear that whenever $1 is taken out of the pocket of the consumer on account of this increased price more than $10 are paid into the public Treasury for the support of the Government and the discharge of its obligations.

The repeal of this duty, therefore, while it would undoubtedly reduce the revenue, would afford very little relief to the people in comparison with the relief that would be afforded by the repeal of duties upon many other articles in common use. For instance, the duty collected last year upon woolen goods, cotton goods and iron and steel was $62,000,000; but this was a very small proportion of the burden actually imposed upon the consumers of these articles. There were produced in this country during the year 1887, 2,354,130 gross tons of Bessemer steel rails. The duty upon this article is $17 per ton. Applying the same rule to this article which I have applied to sugar, and which gentlemen on the other side also apply to sugar, that is, that the whole amount of the duty is added to the price of the domestic product, it is easy to see that the increased cost of steel rails alone to the people of this country in 1887 was over $40,000,000, although the Government received only about $1,000 000 revenue from this source.

The proposition to pay a bounty of 2 cents per pound out of the Treasury to the sugar grower is a confession of all that has been charged against the present system of tariff taxation. It is a confession that the tariff tax is a bounty to the manufacturers or other producers of the domestic article of the same character as the imported article, and it is a confession that the amount of the duty on the foreign product is added to the price of the domestic one; for if these charges be not true, there is no semblance of justice or propriety in the proposition to pay a bounty of 2 cents per pound as a compensation for the repeal of the duty.

Sir, I am just as much opposed to the raising of a fund by taxation for the purpose of paying a bounty to the sugar-growers of Louisiana as I would be if it were to be paid to the cotton-growers of Georgia or the wheat-growers of Minnesota. It is a vicious and demoralizing policy, and can never become permanent in this country. If gentlemen desire to extend relief to the producers of sugar, and at the same time help all the other people of the country, let them propose to reduce or repeal the taxes upon the iron and steel implements used in the cultivation of the soil; upon the machinery employed in the preparation of their crops for the market; upon the materials used in the construction of their buildings, and upon the clothing which they and their families and laborers are compelled to wear. This would be a general and not a partial measure of relief, and would be creditable to a great political party which seeks to govern the whole country. The people who are

interested in the production of sugar can neither be bribed nor deceived by the offer of a bounty, for they know that their fellow-citizens engaged in other pursuits will not consent to be taxed for any great length of time for any such purpose.

THE PRICES OF TAXED COMMODITIES.

It has been stubbornly contended all through this debate that high rates of duty upon imported goods are beneficial to the great body of consumers, because such duties, instead of increasing the prices of the domestic articles of the same kind, actually reduce the prices. If this be true, all the other arguments in support of the existing system are not only superfluous, but manifestly unsound. The proposition that a high tariff enables the producer to pay higher wages for his labor, and the proposition that it also reduces the prices of the articles he has to sell, which are the products of that labor, are utterly inconsistent with each other, and no ingenuity of the casuist can possibly reconcile them. Labor is paid out of its own product, and unless that product can be sold for a price which will enable the employer to realize a reasonable profit and pay the established rates of wages, the business must cease or the rates of wages must be reduced. When the price of the finished product is reduced by reason of the increased efficiency of labor, or by reason of the reduced cost of the raw material, the employer may continue to pay the same or even a higher rate of wages and still make his usual profits. But the tariff neither increases the efficiency of labor nor reduces the cost of the raw material.

I do not deny that prices have greatly fallen during the last fifty years, not only in this country, but all over the civilized world—in free trade countries as well as in protectionist countries. Nor do I deny that during the same time the general tendency has been towards an increase in the rates of wages; and this is true also of all civilized countries, free trade and protection alike. It is not possible for me now to enumerate, much less discuss, all the causes, that have contributed to these results. One of the most efficient causes, in fact the most efficient cause, is the combination of skilled labor with machinery in the production of commodities. The introduction and use of improved machinery has wrought a complete revolution in nearly all our manufacturing industries, and in many cases has enabled one man to do the work which it required one hundred men to do before. Here is a statement furnished by the United States Commissioner of Labor to the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, showing the value of the product of a week's labor in spinning cotton yarn by hand and the value of the product of a week's labor combined with machinery in the same industry. In 1813 one man, working sixty hours, by hand could turn out 3 pounds of cotton yarn, worth $2.25, or 75 cents per pound; now the same man, if he were living, could turn out in sixty hours with the use of machinery 3,000 pounds of cotton yarn of the same character, worth $450 or 15 cents per pound. The cotton spinner now receives as wages for his week's work more than three times as much as the total value of the product of a week's work, including the value of the material, in 1813; and yet labor is far cheaper to the employer now than it was then. Although the employer now receives only one fifth as much per pound for his cotton yarn as he did in 1813, he realizes from the sale of the products of a week's labor just two hundred times as much as he did then.

HOW MACHINERY HAS INCREASED PRODUCTIVENESS.

I have also a statement prepared by the same official, showing the relative production and value of product of a weaver using hand and power machinery, from which it appears that a weaver by hand turned out in seventy-two hours, in 1813, 45 yards of cotton goods (shirtings), worth $17.91, while a weaver now, using machinery, turns out in sixty hours 1,440 yards, worth $108. Substantially the same exhibit could be made in regard to a very large number of our manufacturing industries.

Is it strange, in view of these facts, that the prices of manufactured goods have fallen or that the wages of the laborers who produce them have risen? Is it not remarkable that there has not been a greater fall in prices and a greater increase in wages? Undoubtedly there would have been a greater reduction in prices and a greater increase in wages if there had been a wider market for the products and a lower cost for the material.

The tremendous productive forces at work all over the world in these modern times, and the small cost of manual labor in comparison with the value of the products of these combined forces, cannot be realized from any general statement upon the subject. In order to form some idea of the magnitude of these natural and mechanical forces, and the efficiency of manual labor and skill when connected with them, let us look at the situation in six of our own manufacturing industries. In the manufacture of cotton goods, woolen goods, iron and steel, sawed lumber, paper, and in our flouring and grist mills, there were employed, according to the latest statistics, 517,299 persons, not all men, but many of them women and children. This labor was supplemented by steam and water power equal to 2,496,299 horse-power. This is equal to the power of 14,977,794 men; and thus we find that a little over 517,000 persons of all ages and sexes are performing, in connection with steam and water power, the work of 15,495,093 adult and healthy men.

The railroad, the steam-vessel, the telegraph, the improved facilities for the conduct of financial transactions, and many other conveniences introduced into our modern systems of production and distribution and exchange, have all contributed their share towards the reduction of prices, and it would be interesting to inquire what their influence has been; but I cannot pursue this particular subject further without occupying too much time.

THE STEEL-RAIL TARIFF.

Gentlemen are in the habit of referring to the great decline in the price of steel rails in this country as conclusive evidence of the fact that the tariff reduces the cost of manufactured products to the consumer. They could not, in my opinion, have selected a more unfortunate illustration In the first place, the price of steel rails has fallen all over the world, and especially in England, where they are and always have been admitted free of duty. The price there is now and has at all times been very much lower than here. In the second place, the price was falling rapidly both here and in England before the imposition of the duty of $28 per ton by act of Congress in 1870. During the five years next preceding the imposition of that duty the price in England had fallen steadily, year by year, and had declined from $85.65 per ton to $50.37 per ton; and in the United States the same process had been going on, and the price had fallen from $148.50 per ton in gold in 1864, to $91.17 in 1870. Then the increased duty was imposed, and what was the result? The price immediately began to rise, both here and in England, so that in 1873 the average price in England was $80.05 per ton, and the average price here was $103.91 per ton in gold. Then came, in the fall of that year, the great industrial and financial depression which arrested the growth and development of the country, suspended the construction of works of internal improvement, paralyzed our industries, and brought down the prices of nearly everything that the people produced. Steel rails, of course, like all other manufactured products, felt the influence of this depression, and the price declined and has never since been as high as it was before.

THE TARIFF AND THE FARMER.

But we are told that a tariff is beneficial to the farmer, because, first, it protects him against competition from the agricultural products of other countries, and, secondly, caused by diversifying our industries and increasing the number of persons engaged in other than agricultural pursuits, it furnishes him with a profitable home market for his products. It cannot be necessary for me to make an argument to show that no rate of duty, however high, upon articles which the farmer is compelled to send abroad and sell at foreign prices, can possibly benefit him here at home or elsewhere. This has been so often shown, and is so thoroughly understood by the farmers themselves, that it would be a waste of time to dwell upon the subject.

Of course our home market has been constantly improving, and under any system of taxation will continue to improve, to a greater or less extent, with the increase of population and wealth, the extension of the use of machinery, which reduces the cost of production, and the multiplication of facilities for communication and transportation, which reduces the cost of distribution. But how long are

our farmers to be compelled to pay tribute to other industries and wait for the creation of a home market that will take all their own products at fair prices? Among our greatest agricultural products are wheat and cotton. They constitute the main reliance of millions of our people for a profitable use of their lands, and many hundred millions of dollars are invested in the soil and buildings and machinery devoted to their production. Taking the average crop of wheat in this country for several years past, and assuming that there shall be no increase whatever in production, and that the domestic consumption per capita shall remain just at what it now is, there would still be no sufficient home market for this great agricultural staple until our population had reached nearly one hundred million.

WHERE THE FARMER MUST SELL HIS PRODUCT.

The official statistics of the domestic production, exportation, and home consumption of raw cotton show that it would require three times as much machinery and three times as many operatives as we now have to convert this material into commercial fabrics here at home; in other words, we are now compelled to export two-thirds of our product to be manufactured in foreign countries, while one-third only is manufactured at home by all the machinery and labor now employed. In 1880 there were $219,505,000 invested in cotton manufactures, and there were employed in that industry 172,554 hands. To work up our present production of raw cotton would require an investment in this manufacture of $660,000,000 and the employment of 517,662 hands. If we have been more than one hundred years, part of the time under very high tariffs, in so developing our cotton manufactures as so enable them to take one-third of our product at European prices, how many more centuries will be required to enable them to consume the whole product at prices fixed by competition here at home?

When gentlemen have solved this problem to the satisfaction of the American cotton-grower, he may be able to listen with patience to the arguments by which they attempt to convince him of the immense advantages of a home market that will never exist. What is to be done with these great agricultural products, and with many others which are now exported, while the farmers are waiting for the home market which the advocates of restrictive legislation have been promising them for so many years? Are the farmers and planters of the North and South to abandon their wheat and cotton lands, or cultivate crops not suited to their soil or climate, while gentlemen are making experiments to ascertain whether or not a home market may not be created by legislation? No matter what gentlemen may predict or what they may promise, these great industries must go on, and the American farmer must sell his products in any market he can reach and at any price he can get.

WHERE COMPETITION COMES FROM.

Undoubtedly the amount of production here has some influence upon the prices abroad, but the controlling elements are the world's supply and the world's demands. Our farmers do not compete among themselves alone in the provision markets of Europe. Our wheat-growers, for instance, compete with the wheat-growers of England, France, Germany, Russia, Hungary, India, and all the other grain-growers of Europe and Asia, and their product meets in the open and free markets of the world the products of the poorest-paid labor on the face of the earth.

The lately-emancipated serfs of Russia; the oppressed peasantry of Hungary; the ryot of India, who lives on millet and rice, wears no garment except a coarse cotton shirt, and sleeps on the floor of a bamboo hut—all pour the products of their labor into the free markets of Europe to be sold in competition with the grain from our Western States and Territories. Our agricultural constituents are not ignorant of the true situation. They know very well that as to all the articles which we are capable of exporting and are actually exporting—and this includes all the principal productions of their industry—the foreign market is just as valuable to them as the home market, for the obvious reason that the prices are fixed abroad, and they receive here only what they could receive there, after deducting the cost of transportation.

What the American farmer most needs is a home market in which he can purchase his supplies as cheaply as his competitors purchase theirs; and if he can not secure this, then he simply asks the poor privilege of making his purchases where he is compelled to make his sales, and to be permitted to bring his goods home without being compelled to pay unreasonable taxes and fines by his Government for carrying on a harmless and legitimate business.

We want not only the home market, but all the markets of the world for the varied products of this great country. We want to send our agricultural pro lucts, our cotton and our breadstuffs and our provisions to the naked and hungry manufacturing peoples of Europe, and our manufactured products to the agricultural peoples of South America, Mexico and Asia. We can do this when we determine to trade with other people upon fair terms, but we can not do it so long as we protect England and other manufacturing countries in the great markets of the world upon the pretense of protecting ourselves in our own Let us diminish the cost of production in our agricultural and manufacturing industries, not by diminishing the wages of labor, but by reducing taxation upon the necessaries of life and upon the materials which constitute the basis of our finished products, and by removing, as far as we can, the restrictions which embarrass our people in their efforts to exchange the fruits of their own toil which they do not need for the commodities of other countries which they do need.

RELATIVE PRODUCTION, VALUE OF PRODUCT, AND EARNINGS OF A SPINNER USING HAND AND POWER MACHINERY.

Industry.	Year.	Description of unit.	Product of one spinner per week.		Earnings of one spinner per week.		Hours of labor per week.
			Amount.	Value.	Highest.	Lowest.	
			Pounds.				
Cotton yarn	1813	No. 10	3	$2 25	.....	.....	60
Do	1880	No. 10	3,000	450 00	$9 30	$7 20	60

RELATIVE PRODUCTION, VALUE OF PRODUCT, AND EARNINGS OF A WEAVER USING HAND AND POWER MACHINERY.

Industry.	Year.	Description of unit.	Production of one weaver per week.		Earnings of one weaver per week.		Hours of labor per week.
			Amount.	Value.	Highest.	Lowest.	
			Yards.				
Cotton goods (shirting)	1813	No. 17½ (yarn.)	45	$17 91	.....	.....	72
Do	1880	No. 17½ (yarn.)	1,440	108 00	$8 00	$4 00	60

NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS, NUMBER OF EMPLOYES, STEAM AND WATER POWER REDUCED TO HORSE POWER.

Industry.	Number of establishments.	Number of employes.	Supplemented by steam and water power equal to horse power below.	Reckoning six men to a horse power, equal to men below.	Actual employes and horse power reduced to employes.
Cotton goods	956	135,519	275,504	1,653,024	1,788,543
Flouring and grist mills	24,258	58,448	771,201	4,627,206	4,685,654
Iron and steel	781	77,555	397,247	2,383,482	2,461,037
Lumber, sawed	25,680	149,997	821,928	4,931,568	5,081,565
Paper	892	17,910	123,912	743,472	761,382
Woolen goods	1,984	77,870	106,507	639,042	716,912
Total	54,351	517,299	2,496,296	14,977,794	15,495,093

CHAPTER XLVII.

TAKING OFF BURDENS.

THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE PROPOSED REDUCTION OF BURDENSOME WAR TAXES ARE SUPPORTED.

Extracts from the Debates in Congress on the Schedules of the Tax Reduction Bill—How the Experts in various Lines Looked at its Effects.

I.

DECLINE OF AMERICAN SHIPPING IN THIRTY YEARS.

THE AMERICAN FLAG HAS BEEN DRIVEN MORE AND MORE FROM THE SEAS UNDER THE EXACTIONS OF HIGH TAXES.

Representative Timothy E. Tarsney, of Michigan, May, 1880.

Another element which enters into the consideration of this problem is the shipbuilding and navigation between the United States and foreign countries. By an examination of statistics it appears that the progress of American shipbuilding was continuous and rapid from the organization of the Government down to 1861. The time was when, under a revenue tariff, the United States was almost mistress of the seas. Her flag could be found floating in the ports of every commercial nation on the globe. The American clipper ship was the prodigy of the world; built of American material by American workmen, and manned by American officers and American seamen. Our merchant marine was the pride of the country. But "O! how has the mighty fallen."

Go with me to-night to the city of New York and stand on Brooklyn bridge and look down the river to the bay; go through the harbor and amongst the thousands of spars, and the flags that float from the mastheads, you will not find one in five hundred that floats the stars and stripes, and these few are coasters. Not one line of ships engaged regularly in the transportation of commerce to foreign countries. Why all this? Our materials are in existence, the brain and the sinew of the American builder and the sailor are not lost. The indomitable spirit that will brave the tempest and the storm is with us still. But why this falling off in shipping? The time was when in American bottoms we sent to foreign nations 77 per cent. of our exports under the American flag The order is reversed, and now it is less than 12 per cent.

THE DECLINE OF A GREAT INDUSTRY.

Table showing the total foreign tonnage and total American tonnage cleared from seaports of the United States for foreign countries, from 1858 to 1887, inclusive:

YEAR.	Total Foreign.	Total American.	YEAR.	Total Foreign.	Total American.
	Tons.	*Tons.*		*Tons.*	*Tons.*
1858	1,308,635	3,127,746	1873	5,940,849	2,574,021
1859	1,552,101	3,315,325	1874	7,096,947	2,961,103
1860	1,755,871	3,501,465	1875	6,279,345	3,061,354
1861	1,536,205	2,873,720	1876	6,802,096	3,037,362
1862	1 637,168	2,567,763	1877	7,345,436	3,043,158
1863	2,076,892	2,266,312	1878	8,647,080	3,196,491
1864	2,616,951	1,662,282	1879	10,545,403	3,071,287
1865	2,450,201	1,710,330	1880	12,217,973	3,077,724
1866	3,131,077	2,029,755	1881	12,754,453	3,039,514
1867	3,230,392	2,270,096	1882	11,910,956	2,935,512
1868	3,186,200	2,625,031	1883	10,639,945	2,8 5,077
1869	3,612 188	2,502,200	1884	9,360,610	2,845,109
1870	3,832 030	2,529,598	1885	9,687,700	2,808,575
1871	4,282,961	2,634,841	1886	9,606,976	2,806,259
1872	5,141,147	2,597,611	1887	10,740,017	2,770,518

You ask the cause. Some attribute it to our navigation laws with some of their restrictions. True, this may, to a certain extent, enter into the result, but the chief cause, and the principal one which I desire to present to this House to-day, is the fact that we have not that free and unrestricted commerce with the world that we had in the days of a tariff for revenue only, when our ships could go out laden with the product of our own country, and go to the port of any nation of the world and bring back in exchange their product. Therefore I say to this House that the policy of this country should be to so revise the tariff laws that we will bring ourselves to the base line of necessary taxation for governmental purposes honestly administered; discourage the idea of local protection for the benefit of a few favored individuals, and legislate for the common good of our population. When we do this, and upon fair and reciprocal relations with the world, we will find that American ingenuity, American pluck, and American skill will once more launch upon the high seas a merchant marine which will make our flag respected in every nation of the world where to-day it is sneered and scoffed at because of our commercial weakness.

II.

DECLINE IN COMPARATIVE NUMBER OF HOMES.

THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE OWNING HOMES IN THIS COUNTRY CONTINUALLY DECREASING UNDER HIGH TAXES.

Representative Charles H. Mansur, of Missouri, May 8, 1888.

Now let us look to its effects upon married life and to its housing; for be it known to you, a protective tariff is the universal great panacea, the one great solvent, that unfolds all the secrets in Nature's hidden *arcana*. It creates fortunes; it populates the wilderness, builds cities, tunnels mountains, and, I will add, builds monopolies, makes giant trusts, with anaconda folds, to embrace a whole country

and sixty millions of people; also creates giant fortunes in a shorter era of time than ever before known in any country in any age or any era, and ought, of course, to make happy families also.

Aladdin's lamp pales its glory before the shining luster of a protective tariff, and the slave of that lamp stands ready to abdicate his mystic power because he cannot serve the spirit of a protective tariff instead of his lamp.

HOMES FOR ALL THE PEOPLE.

In 1850 there were 3,598,240 families in this country who had 3,862,337 dwellings to live in; at that time only 235,903 families were apparently without separate homes for themselves. In 1860 there were 5,210,934 families, and they lived in 4,969,692 houses or dwellings. Thus 241,242 families were without separate homes in all the land. The families had increased 1,612,694 in number, and all of them had new homes but 5,339. The millennium is at hand, and the protective tariff has done this surely. One million six hundred and twelve thousand six hundred and ninety-four new families in the past decade, and all but 5,339 possessed of new homes. All hail and glory to a protective tariff! But hold on! This period from 1850 to 1860 was the period of lowest tariffs this country ever knew or had.

From September 14, 1851, to March 3, 1857, it had enacted four tariff laws, the duties running lower and lower until the last only ranged from 4 to 30 per cent., averaging 18 per cent., instead of from 10 to 300 per cent. and averaging 48 per cent., as does our present tariff. What comfort in the land is expressed in the figures 1,612,694 new families in ten years, and all living in new houses except 5,339! Surely it must be a low or revenue tariff that did it. No discontent abroad in the land then! Tramps unknown; the word is not yet coined.

THE MORE TAXES THE FEWER HOMES.

Now let us look at the decade from 1860 to 1870, a decade under the highest tariff this country has ever known; one claimed by its friends to be a distinctly protective tariff. In 1870 there were 7,579,363 families living in 7,042,833 dwellings. During the decade from 1860 to 1870 the number of families without dwellings had increased to 536,510, an increase, not of 3 per cent., or 5,339 only, but an increase of 295,268 families without houses or dwellings, an increase of over 100 per cent.—yea, of 123 per cent.

But, observe, this is under a new era of a high protective tariff, imposed between 1860 and 1870. Yet what misery is involved in the figures 295,268 families unable to find a separate home or dwelling, either to buy, build, or rent to live in, as against 5,339 families in the decade from 1850 to 1860. But the opposition will say this is a consequence of the war period. Be patient and let us see what we will see.

We will now look to the decade from 1870 to 1880 for its story. In 1880, 9,945,916 families had 8,955,812 dwellings to live in or occupy. In this decade the families increased 2,366,553 in number, but the dwellings only increased 1,912,079, leaving a total of 990,108 families in the land without separate homes or dwellings.

Thus in this decade the 536,510 unhoused families of 1870 had become 990,108, an increase of 433,598 in ten years, an increase of almost 100 per cent. in the decade, as against 123 per cent. from 1860 to 1870, as against 3 per cent. from 1850 to 1860, of homeless and houseless families for Democratic times and a low tariff; as against 123 per cent. and nearly 100 per cent. for Republican rule and a protective tariff running through two decades.

WHERE THE INCREASE WENT.

I now ask, who apparently got the "boodle" of the ten years from 1870 to 1880.

We see the manufacturers by their own reports, for they furnish the statistics that make the census reports, got an increase of capital of $674,063,837 at this dis-

content and misery of 453,598 homeless and unsheltered families in the same period. But I am not quite done with families and their dwellings. Between 1850 and 1860 the increase of families was 44 8 per cent. in numbers, and the increase of their dwellings was 32.4 per cent. This was in low-tariff times. Comparing now between 1870 and 1880, in high tariff times, the increase in number of families was 31.2 per cent., while the increase in their dwellings was only 27 per cent. This shows an advantage for the first decade of 13.6 per cent. in families, and 5.4 per cent. in dwellings.

In this last decade, in 1873, with the greatest panic, came a new order of beings theretofore unknown in this country. Tramps. Five hundred thousand strong; tramps, tramping over the country. Skilled laborer, mechanic, agriculturist, all felt the baneful effect of the panic. A new era is ushered in; and since then strikes, lockouts, tramps, discontent, degradation and misery have appeared in such numbers and so universally over and throughout the country, and even still abide with us, as the recent commotion on Western railroads and in the Reading coal regions attest, as to all alike indicate that if capital is satisfied labor is discontented and day by day becomes more so. And all this in spite of a protective tariff. Can I not say it is the legitimate fruit of an unequal and unjust system of tribute that robs the poor to make the rich richer?

III.

WORKERS IN NON-PROTECTIVE INDUSTRIES.

THE NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO ARE NOT ONLY NOT BENEFITED BUT SUBJECTED TO INJURY BY BURDENSOME TAXES.

Representative Samuel S. Cox, of New York, May 17.

It has often been repeated here that the last census shows that of the 17,392,099 of our population engaged in industries, 7,670,493 were employed in agriculture; and, in round numbers, about 4,000,000 in professional and personal services, nearly 2,000,000 in trade and transportation, and nearly 4,000,000 in manufacturing and mining. At least 1,214,023 were engaged in pursuits which were not benefited but rather injured by a high tariff. They were injured, I say, because the protective tariff, which is alleged to make high wages for others, did not benefit these. The pattern makers, the brick-layers, the molders, the house carpenters, and many workers in other branches of business which are absolutely unprotected, command higher wages than those working on protected articles.

There are nearly 400,000 carpenters and joiners, 300,000 milliners and dress-makers and seamstresses, nearly 200,000 blacksmiths, 133,000 tailors and tailoresses, 102,000 masons, 76,000 butchers, 41,000 bakers, 22,000 plasterers, and others engaged in unprotected pursuits, who bear the burden without receiving the supposed benefit of the favored class.

Counting out the number of unprotected farmers—and over one-half of our entire population are dependent upon farms—I have before me a list of trades and employments. It includes over one hundred classes, from the architect to the wood-chopper, who derive no sort of reward, but whose business is crucified between the two thieves—ad valorem and specific duties, levied upon all they consume.

Here is a list of the number of our population engaged in 1880 in non-protected industries:

ENGAGED IN THE NON-PROTECTIVE INDUSTRIES.

Architects	3,375	Sailors	60,070
Artists and teachers of art	9,104	Salesmen and saleswomen	32,279
Auctioneers	2,331	Steamboatmen and women	12,305
Barbers and hair-dressers	44,851	Stewards and stewardesses	2,285
Boarding-house keepers	19,058	Tollgate-keepers	2,203
Clergymen	64,698	Traders	114,339
Clerks and copyists	25,467	Dealers in books and stationery	4,983
Clerks in hotels	10,916	Traders in boots and shoes	9,993
Dentists	12,314	Traders in wood and coal	10,871
Domestic servants	1,075,655	Traders in cotton and tobacco	22,000
Employes of hotels	77,413	Undertakers	5,113
Civil engineers	8,261	Weighers and gaugers	3,302
Hostlers	31,697	Druggists	27,700
Hotel-keepers	32,453	Dealers in real estate	11,253
Journalists	12,308	Dealers in provisions	35,129
Laborers	1,859,223	Dealers in dry goods	45,821
Laundresses	121,942	Dealers in groceries	101,849
Lawyers	64,137	Dealers in iron and tin	15,076
Livery-stable keepers	14,213	Dealers in hides	2,382
Messengers	13,985	Dealers in lumber and marble	12,668
Musicians	30,477	Dealers in newspapers	2,729
Nurses	13,483	Dealers in paints and oils	1,940
Physicians and surgeons	85,671	Dealers in paper	1,862
Restaurant keepers	13,074	Bakers	41,309
Sextons	2,449	Blacksmiths	172,726
Teachers and scientific persons	227,710	Brick and tile makers	36,052
Veterinary surgeons	2,130	Bridge builders	2,587
Private watchmen	13,384	House builders	10,804
Whitewashers	3,316	Butchers	76,241
Boatmen and watermen	20,368	Carpenters and joiners	373,143
Book-keepers in stores	59,790	Carmakers	4,708
Canal men	4,328	Charcoal and lime burners	5,851
Clerks in stores	353,444	Coopers	49,138
Commercial travelers	28,158	Engineers and firemen	79,628
Clerks in railroad offices	12,331	Engravers	4,577
Clerks in insurance offices	2,830	Fishermen and oystermen	41,352
Clerks in express companies	1,856	Brick and stonemasons	102,473
Draymen and teamsters	177,588	Millers	53,440
Employes in warehouses	5,023	Miners	234,228
Employes of railroad companies	236,058	Oil well laborers	7,340
Peddlers	53,491	Painters	128,556
Milk men and women	9,242	Paper hangers	5,013
Newspaper carriers	3,374	Photographers	9,900
Street railroad employes	11,925	Plasterers	22,083
Telegraph employes	22,809	Printers and stereotypers	72,726
Telephone employes	1,196	Quarrymen	15,169
Packers	4,176	Quartz slaters	4,026
Pilots	3,770	Stave makers	4,051
Porters and laborers	32,192	Wood-choppers	12,731

It is this class of people that I have the honor in large part to represent. They live in our cities, and though they may be largely engaged in manufacturing according to our census returns, they are not manufacturing those articles which have the special favor of our tariff.

Gentlemen may tell us that they do not tax the wages of these men, whether high or low, by their tariff.

I know that they do not tax their wages; but they tax all that their wages buy. They thus reduce the purchasing power of the little money that is left at the end of the week or month; for every article that enters into their expenditure, from the potatoes, taxed specifically 15 cents a bushel, to the salt, at over 80 per cent. ad valorem, and from the rent of their houses, which is enhanced by the tax on lumber and iron, etc., to the blankets that give them comfort in the winter nights.

LUXURIES AND NECESSARIES.

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to place in parallel columns a statement of a number of these *insectivera*. One column will show some of the luxuries of life, which come in free under the present tariff, and the other the duties on the articles of necessity.

And yet, for years and years in this House, gentlemen have refused even to consider the advisability of reducing the one or raising the other of these taxes and harmonizing their discordant elements:

Duty on articles of luxury.

Ottar of roses, free.
Neroli, or orange-flower oil, free.
Diamonds, 10 per cent.
Raw Silk, free.
Jewelry, 25 per cent.
Gold studs, 25 per cent.
Finest still wines, in bottles, 29 per cent.

Finest thread lace, 30 per cent.
Fine Aubusson and Axminster carpets, costing abroad $2.77 a yard, 46 per cent.

Finest India Shawls, costing abroad, say $20 a pound weight, 35 cents a pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem, or say 40¼ per cent.
Silk Stockings, 50 per cent.

Finest Broadcloth, costing $5 a pound abroad, 35 cents a pound and 40 per cent., equal to about 41 per cent.

Pate de foie gras, 25 per cent.
Musical instruments, of all kinds, 25 per cent.

Duty on a quart bottle of champagne, costing abroad $1 a bottle, 58 cents.

Curry and curry powder, free.
Olives, green or prepared, free.
Spices all kinds, free.

Duty on articles of necessity.

Castor-oil, 180 per cent.
Linseed Oil, 62 per cent.
Common window-glass, 87 per cent.
Raw wool, 45 per cent.
Steel rails, 85 per cent.
Horseshoe nails, 116 per cent.
Cheapest mixed woolen goods, costing abroad 24 cents per yard, 77 per cent.
Spool thread, 51 per cent.
Common druggets, costing abroad 26 cents a yard, 86 per cent.
Common woolen shawls, costing abroad 68 cents a pound, 86 per cent.

Common worsted stockings, costing 26 cents a pound abroad, 73 per cent.
Common cloth, costing 65 cents a pound abroad, duty 3⅝ cents a pound and 3 per cent. ad valorem, equal to 89 per cent.

Rice, 106 per cent.
Galvanized wire smaller than No. 16 and not smaller than No. 26 wire gauge, 132 per cent.; smaller than No. 26, 155 per cent.
Duty on a dollar's worth of bleached cotton fabric, costing abroad 5¼ cents a square yard, 66⅔ cents.
Potatoes, 15 cents duty per bushel.
Corn starch, 85¼ per cent. duty.
Salt, 85 per cent. duty.

THE AD ABSURDUM.

It would be a very difficult task to persuade men who are selfish to indulge in self-love, much less in disinterestedness. Perhaps the most cogent reasoning upon this subject would be after the manner of our humorists, known as the *ad absurdum*, which Aristotle ranks among the best rudiments of logic.

We have a humorist known as "Bill Nye." This clever writer has been acting as a rural gentleman. He has ideas of stock-growing, garden sauce, and other home-spun matters about farming in the West. I quote:

"Well, farmin' is like runnin' a paper in regards to some things. Every feller in the world will take and turn in and tell you how to do it, even if he don't know a blame thing about it. There ain't a man in the United States to-day that don't secretly think he could run airy one if his other business busted on him, whether he knows the difference between a new milch cow and a horse hay-rake or not. We had one of these embroidered night-shirt farmers come from town better'n three years ago. Been a toilet-soap man and done well, and so he came out and bought a farm that had nothing to it but a fancy house and barn, a lot of medder in the front yard, and a southern aspect. The farm was no good. You couldn't raise a disturbance on it. Well, what does he do? Goes and gets a passle of slim-tailed yeller cows from New Jersey, and aims to handle cream and diversified farming. Last year the cuss sent a load of cream over and tried to sell it at the new crematory while the funeral and hollercost was goin' on. I may be a sort of a chump myself, but I read my paper and don't get left like that."

"What are the prospects for farmers in your State?"

"Well, they are pore. Never was so pore, in fact, sence I've been there. Folks wonder why boys leaves the farm. My boys left so as to get protected, they said, and so they went into a clothing store, one of 'em, and one went into hardware, and one is talkin' protection in the Legislature this winter. They said that farmin' was gettin' to be like fishin' and huntin', well enough for a man that has means and leisure, but they couldn't make a livin' at it, they said. Another boy is in a drug store, and the man that hires him says he is a royal feller."

"Kind of a castor royal feller," I said with a skriek of laughter.

He waited until I had laughed all I wanted to, and then he said:

"I've always hollered for high tariff in order to hyst the public debt, but now that we've got the national debt coopered, I wish they'd take a little hack at mine. I've put in fifty years farmin'. I never drank licker in any form. I've worked from ten to eighteen hours

a day; been economical in cloze and never went to a show more'n a dozen times in my life; raised a family and learned upwards of two hundred calves to drink out of a tin pail without blowing all their vittles up my sleeve. My wife worked alongside o' me sewin' new seats on the boys' pants, skimmin' milk, and even helpin' me load hay.

"For forty years we toiled along together and hardly got time to look into each other's faces or dared to stop and get acquainted with each other. Then her health ailed. Ketched cold in the spring-house, prob'ly skimmin' milk and washin' pans and scaldin' pails and spankin' butter. Anyhow, she took in a long breath one day while the doctor and me was watchin' her, and she says to me, 'Henry,' says she, 'I've got a chance to rest,' and she put one tired, wore-out hand on top of the other tired, wore-out hand, and I knew she'd gone where they don't work all day and do chores all night.

"I took time to kiss her then. I'd been too busy for a good while previous to that, and then I called in the boys After the funeral it was too much for them to stay around and eat the kind of cookin' we had to put up with, and nobody spoke up around the house as we used to. The boys quit whistlin' around the barn and talked kind of low by themselves about goin' to town and gettin' a job.

"They're all gone now, and the snow is four feet deep on mother's grave up there in the old berryin' ground."

Then both of us looked out of the car window quite a long time without saying anything.

"I don't blame the boys for going into something else, longs other things pays better; but I say—and I say what I know—that the man who holds the prosperity of this country in his hands, the man that actually makes money for other people to spend, the man that eats three good, simple, square meals a day and goes to bed at 9 o'clock, so that future generations with good blood and cool brains can go from his farm to the Senate and Congress and the White House—he is the man that gets left at last to run his farm, with nobody to help him but a hired man and a high protective tariff.

"The farms in our State are mortgaged for over $700,000,000. Ten of our Western States —I see by the papers—have got about three billion and a half mortgages on their farms, and that don't count the chattel mortgages filed with town clerks on farm machinery, stock, wagons, and even crops, by gosh! that ain't two inches high under the snow. That's what the prospecrs is for farms now. The Government is rich, but the men that made it, the men that fought perairie fires and perarie wolves and Injuns and potato-bugs and bliz-zards, and has paid the war debt and pensions and everything else, and hollered for the Union and Republican party and high tariff and anything else that they was told to, is left high and dry this cold winter with a mortgage of $7,500,000,000 on the farms they have earned and saved a thousand times over."

Yes; but look at the glory of sending from the farm the future President, the future Senator, and the future member of Congress.

"That looks well on paper, but what does it really amount to? Soon as a farmer-boy gits in a place like that he forgets the soil that produced him and holds his head as high as a hollyhock. He bellers for protection to everybody but the farmer, and while he sails round in a bighty-tighty room with a fire in it night and day, his father on the farm has to kindle his own fire in the morning with elm slivers and has to wear his son's lawn tennis suit next to him or freeze to death, and he has to milk in an old gray shawl that has held that member of Congress when he was a baby, by gorry! and the old lady has to sojourn through the winter in the flannels that Silas wore at the rigatter before he went to Congress."

So I say, and I think that Congress agrees with me, Damn a farmer, anyhow!

IV.

SOME OF THE RATES OF TAXATION.

LOWEST DUTIES ON LUXURIES; HIGHEST ON NECESSARIES—AS A RESULT OF THE PRESENT METHOD OF LEVYING TAXES.

Senator Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, January 13, 1888.

IRON AND STEEL.

Amount imported in 1887	$51,618,985
Duty paid thereon	20,713,253

Being an average of 41 per cent.

JEWELRY AND PRECIOUS STONES.

Amount imported in 1887	$10,981,191
Duty paid thereon	1,162,300

Being a duty of 10½ per cent

This shows whatever be the excuse for it, that the iron and steel, without which no industry can move, and which are an absolute necessity of life, are made to pay four times as much as the adornments of the rich.

WOOL AND WOOLEN GOODS.

	Per cent.
Wool hats:	
Valued at 40 cents per pound and under	75.00
Valued at from 40 to 60 cents per pound	73.00
Valued at from 60 to 80 cents per pound	66.00
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	52.00
As the article rises in value it decreases in duty or tax.	
Knit Goods:	
Worth not exceeding 30 cents per pound	88.33⅓
Worth from 30 to 40 cents per pound	65.20
Worth from 40 to 60 cents per pound	69.00
Valued at 80 cents per pound and upwards	62.00
Woolen Shawls:	
Valued at 80 cents per pound and under	88.50
Valued above 80 cents per pound	65.50
Woolen goods, dress goods, etc:	
Valued at 80 cents per pound or under	88.80
Worth over 80 cents per pound	64.46
Worsted, alpaca, and so on:	
Valued at 30 cents per pound or under	76.50
Worth from 30 to 40 cents per pound	69.33⅓
Worth from 40 to 60 cents per pound	68.25
Flannels:	
Cheapest, valued at 30 cents or under, per pound	73.42
Valued from 30 to 40 cents per pound	66.20
Valued at above 60 cents and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	67.05
Women's and children's dress goods, Italian cloths, etc.:	
Worth 20 cents per square yard or under	67.89
All above 20 cents per square yard	59.00
All woolen goods or mixtures of alpaca and other material:	
Weighing four ounces or less per square yard	83.00
Weighing over four ounces per square yard	69.68
Blankets:	
Worth 30 cents per pound or under	79.66
Worth from 30 to 40 cents per pound	63.85
All worth above 80 cents per pound	70.00

Whilst the woolen shawl of the poor woman is taxed 88 per cent. the silk shawl of her wealthier sister is taxed only 50 per cent.

Whilst the cheap alpaca of the laborer's wife is taxed 83 per cent. the silk or velvet dress of his employer's wife and the laces and ribbons with which it is trimmed are taxed but 50 per cent.

Whilst the plow-boy's coarse wool hat is taxed 75 per cent., the shining silk beaver of the dude is taxed only 50 per cent.

Files are taxed 56 per cent; trace-chains, 47 per cent.; horseshoe-nails, 76 per cent.; whilst sporting fire-arms, pistols, etc., are taxed only 35 per cent., and iron rails continue to pay 93 per cent. and steel rails 84.

Window Glass:	
Cylinder, crown and common window, unpolished, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square	60.71
Above and not exceeding 16 by 24 square	98.11
Cylinder and crown, polished, unsilvered:	
10 by 15	7.28
Not exceeding 16 by 24	16.79
Plate-glass, rough:	
Not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square	14.16
Not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square	23.88
Plate-glass, polished, unsilvered:	
10 by 15 inches, square	17.39
16 by 24 inches	20.15
Plate-glass, polished and silvered:	
10 by 15 inches square	10.85
16 by 24 inches square	18.44

HOW THE POOR PAY THIS TAX.

These are only a few items showing the manner in which these taxes are levied, and how anyone so thoroughly familiar with the whole subject can conclude that these taxes are levied mainly upon articles of luxury is another mystery that the friends of protection alone can explain. The heavy taxes placed upon iron, farming implements, cotton-ties, coarse blankets and coarse woolens, and the comparatively

light tax upon jewelry, plate-glass, silks and velvets contradict the proposition and show that it is the reverse of true. The effect of this arrangement of duties is, whether intended or not, to compel the poor and laboring classes to pay not more taxes to the Government perhaps, because they purchase but few imported goods, but to pay to the manufacturers of American goods a sum far in excess of the entire sum collected by the Government upon imported goods over and above that which they would be compelled to pay for these necessaries if this duty was not imposed. And the amount paid the Government as a tariff upon imported goods is about $220,000,000 annually.

V.

ENHANCING THE COST OF LIVING.

THE PAYMENT OF EXORBITANT TAXES MAKES THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE HARDER AND HARDER IN AMERICAN CITIES.

Representative Ashbel P. Fitch, of New York (Republican), May 16.

The upper part of the city of New York is mainly a residence district. The majority of the people who live there live on fixed incomes paid them as salaries or wages every month, or by the proceeds of professional employment in which their incomes are limited. Some of them are architects, artists, clergymen, clerks in banks, insurance and law offices, journalists, musicians, lawyers, physicians, teachers, book-keepers, railroad employes, drivers, conductors, policemen, firemen, telegraph and telephone operators, salesmen, mechanical engineers, civil engineers, stenographers, printers, and skilled mechanics of all sorts not employed in industries which have protection under the present tariff.

A WORD FOR PEOPLE WHO HAVE NO PROTECTION.

In that district lives, too, an army of deserving women who earn their living by unprotected labor, and often that of others dependent upon them. There is perhaps a necessity within the course of this long debate that somebody should say a word for these people. The farmer has his eloquent advocate trained in the county and State fairs, who is in arms to defend every product of his ground. The workmen in factories and the manufacturers have their special advocates, who lie awake at night to study their interests and whose voices have been heard here every day since the beginning of this session, asking for one measure or another for their protection. Almost every class has had its advocates here, except perhaps the millionaires, whom nobody will own to represent, and who have no friends in this House.

Suppose, as examples of the class of people to whom I refer in the city of New York, we take the policeman, who guards our houses; the fireman, who will risk his life for our children; the reporter and the printer, who spend the night in preparing our morning papers; the carrier, who brings it through all kinds of weather, and the locomotive engineer on the elevated railroad, who takes us up and down town. These classes of workmen have no direct protection. They are not overpaid, nor is their life more luxurious than it ought to be. The money which they draw at the end of every month is not more than they need, and they are often sorely pinched to buy even the taxed doll to fill the taxed Christmas stocking or to pay for the taxed medicine necessary for any member of the family.

DESERVING OF CONSIDERATION.

Perhaps an impartial examination may show that these people are as intelligent, as patriotic, and as deserving of consideration in the matter now before the House as are the Rhode Island mill operators or the Kansas farmers. Their wishes and

views may be even as important to the Republican party. If you are to get any Republican votes in New York City you must get them from these people. These classes gave you under the wise management of Arthur votes enough to keep down the Democratic majority in the city so that a Republican President was elected by the vote of the State of New York. They gave in my district a Republican an election to Congress, largely because his Democratic opponent refused to support any measure of tariff reform, and voted against the consideration of the Morrison bill.

You can hardly afford to pass these voters over in your desire to conciliate the factory operatives and the farmers, unless, indeed, you have decided to elect your candidate without the vote of New York State. I have had it explained to me that this can easily be done. It is a favorite theory apparently of the same gentlemen who have decided that the city workingmen who gave the most outspoken and determined free-trader in this country, Mr. Henry George, 68,000 votes at an election when we could only get 60,000 for so good a candidate as Theodore Roosevelt, are wild with enthusiasm for the absolute maintenance of the present tariff; and of those other wise leaders of the party whose declared policy is to alienate the German voters who are still true to the Republican party, in order to please the Prohibitionists, who laugh at their concessions and have always sought and always will seek the downfall of that party.

PAYING ON EVERYTHING THEY TOUCH OR HANDLE.

I for one am not willing to accept such theories or acknowledge such leadership. In the interest of the Republican party, and in the interest of common fairness, I propose to ask gentlemen on this side of the House to consider for a moment how the present tariff, which we have promised to revise, now affects the people whom I have described, and to consider what they pay taxes on in the general distribution of the customs taxes now in force.

They pay upon everything. Look for a moment at what they eat. There is a tariff duty on beef, on pork, hams and bacon, butter and lard, cheese, molasses, grapes, wheat flour, oats, corn meal, rye, barley, potatoes, raisins, vinegar, honey, rice and rice meal, sugar, extract of meat, pickles, currants, apples, salt, and condensed milk. The list is substantially an inventory of the stock of the grocery store at which they buy. There is a duty on the coal which warms them, on their cooking and household utensils, on their entire clothing from their hats to their stockings, on the medicines given them when they are sick, and on the roofs over their heads.

The commerce of New York, where most of the customs duties are collected, while it asks in vain for the money which is necessary to improve the water ways where $147,000,000 of our revenue is collected every year, pays cheerfully taxes which are used to keep up custom-houses where nothing is ever collected, and to carry the mails on routes which use up the great profits of the city offices, to build harbors in Texas, where a sailor who happened to be stranded would be lost and lonesome, to improve rapids in Tennessee which no one but the lumberman ever sees, and to dredge out creeks in Georgia which the Government engineers who are given charge of the work spend a month in trying to find. Just so the people of the city of New York, sooner than object in any way to the protective tariff, which they believe to be, if properly laid and fairly administered, for the good of the whole country, have paid without objection and cheerfully, on everything they use or touch or handle, from the beginning, these customs duties for the benefit of the manufacturer and his employe and the long-suffering farmer.

WHY A READJUSTMENT IS ASKED.

The time has now come when a revision of the tariff has been promised by both parties, and when the present duties yield so large a revenue that its further accumulation has become admittedly dangerous. Is it strange that at this time and under these circumstances they ask that a readjustment, partially at least, in their interest, may take place? And is it unreasonable to ask that a tariff which puts jewelry at 25 per cent. and oil-cloth for tenement house floors at 40 per cent. ad valorem; which brings in silver-plated harness at 35 per cent. and children's

cotton stockings at 40 per cent.; under which India shawls of the finest quality pay 40 per cent. and common woolen shawls 86 per cent., should be modified? On the theory of protecting or pleasing the manufacturing laborer and the farmer the mass of people in my district in the city of New York have paid for many years, each of them, out of money which they can ill spare, more for their meals, their shelter, their clothes, and their medicines than these things ought to cost them.

VI.

GARFIELD AND THE COBDEN CLUB.

HIS MEMBERSHIP, AT HIS DEATH, OF THAT FREE TRADE ORGANIZATION CLEARLY SHOWN BY IRREFUTABLE EVIDENCE.

Representative W. D. Bynum, of Indiana, May 10, 1883.

In regard to the record of General Garfield as a member of that club, I showed from the list of membership that he was a member in 1871 and in 1876. I stated that his membership, no doubt, was brought about by the sentiments which he had expressed on the question of free trade. In that statement I think I am fully sustained by the public declarations of that able and distinguished man. In 1866 General Garfield made a speech in the House, in which he used the following language:

If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily we shall, year by year, approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade. I am for that free trade which can only be achieved through a reasonable protection.

Again, General Garfield, on July 10, 1866, in the Thirty-ninth Congress, said:

I am willing, as a compromise, to favor the reduction of the proposed duty on railroad iron, and I presume the Committee on Railroads will agree with me in this. I think we should also reduce the proposed duty on salt, and I have no doubt in several other particulars we will reduce the rate of duty.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens replied as follows:

Why not come out honestly and accept the proposition of the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Wilson, who favored a tariff for revenue only), which is a much more ingenuous one?

To which General Garfield responded that—

Against the abstract doctrine of free trade as such very little can be said. As a theory there is much to commend it But it can never be applied to values, except in time of peace.

OCCUPIED A MIDDLE GROUND.

I read from a speech delivered on June 4, 1878, by Mr. Garfield, and I must say that I find nothing in the quotation from which I read to which I dissent. I certainly think there is much to commend and but little, if any, to condemn in the sentiments expressed by him. If the sentiments he then expressed as to the ultimate result of a reasonable tariff should prove as accurate as the prediction of the result of high protection, I think we can well calculate what will be the result if the present bill is defeated. He says:

Fortunately or unfortunately, on this question I have long occupied a position between two extremes of opinion. I have long believed, and I still believe, that the worst evil which has afflicted the interests of American artisans and manufacturers has been the tendency to extremes in our tariff legislation. Our history for the last fifty years has been a repetition of the same mistake One party comes into power, and believing that a protective tariff is a good thing, establishes a fair rate of duty. Not content with that, they say: "This works well; let us have more of it." And they raise the rates still higher, and perhaps go beyond the limits of national interest.

Every additional step in that direction increases the opposition and threatens the stability of the whole system.

Continuing, Mr. Garfield says:

HOW A HIGH TARIFF WORKS.

When the policy of increase is pushed beyond a certain point the popular reaction sets in; the opposite party gets into power and cuts down the high rates. Not content with reducing the rates that are unreasonable, they attack and destroy the whole protective system. Then follows a deficit in the Treasury, the destruction of manufacturing interests, until the reaction again sets in, the free-traders are overthrown, and a protective system is again established. In not less than four distinct periods during the last fifty years has this sort of revolution taken place in our industrial system. Our great national industries have thus been tossed up and down between two extremes of opinion.

During my term of service in this House I have resisted the effort to increase the rates of duty whenever I thought an increase would be dangerous to the stability of our manufacturing interests, and by doing so I have sometimes been thought unfriendly to the policy of protecting American industry. When the necessity of the revenues and the safety of our manufactures warranted I have favored a reduction of rates, and these reductions have aided to preserve the stability of the system. In one year, soon after the close of the war, we raised $212,000,000 of revenue from customs.

In 1870 we reduced the customs duties by the sum of twenty-nine and one-half millions of dollars. In 1872 they were again reduced by the sum of forty-four and one-half millions. Those two reductions were in the main wise and judicious; and although I did not vote for them all, yet they have put the fair-minded men of this country in a position where they can justly resist any considerable reduction below the present rates.

My view of the danger of extreme positions on the questions of tariff rates may be illustrated by a remark made by Horace Greeley in the last conversation I ever had with that distinguished man. Said he:

"My fault with you is that you are not sufficiently high protective in your views."

I replied:

"What would you advise?"

He said:

"If I had my way—if I were king of this country—I would put a duty of $100 a ton on pig-iron and a proportionate duty on everything else that can be produced in America. The result would be that our people would be obliged to supply their own wants; manufactures would spring up; competition would finally reduce prices, and we should live wholly within ourselves."

I replied that the fatal objection to his theory was that no man is king of this country, with power to make his policy permanent. But as all our policies depend upon popular support, the extreme measure proposed would beget an opposite extreme, and our industries would suffer from violent reactions. For this reason I believe that we ought to seek that point of stable equilibrium somewhere between a prohibitory tariff on the one hand and a tariff that gives no protection on the other. What is that point of stable equilibrium? In my judgment, it is this: A rate so high that foreign producers cannot flood our markets and break down our home manufacturers, but not so high as to keep them altogether out, enabling our manufacturers to combine and raise the prices, nor so high as to stimulate an unnatural and unhealthy growth of manufactures.

In other words, I would have the duty so adjusted that every great American industry can fairly live and make fair profits; and yet so low that if our manufacturers attempted to put up prices unreasonably the competition from abroad would come in and bring down prices to a fair rate. Such a tariff I believe will be supported by the great majority of Americans.

I commend the words and sentiments of General Garfield to the other side of this House. He would not have a tariff so high as to "enable our manufacturers to combine and raise the prices." This is just what has taken place under the present rates of duty.

DENOUNCED BY HIS OWN PARTY.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. Boutelle] promised to show that Mr. Garfield had renounced his allegiance to the Cobden Club. With all due deference to what he has said, I do not think he has done so.

Mr. Boutelle. I read Mr. Garfield's letter.

Mr. Bynum. The gentleman did read a letter from Mr. Garfield which he says was written in April, 1877. Mr. Garfield, in the letter read, says he was elected a member of the club, not on account of his sentiments in favor of free trade, which I have shown he had prior to his election repeatedly expressed, but by reason of the position he took in favor of resumption; that at the time of his election he did not know that the club favored free trade, and only learned so afterwards. But he nowhere, as I now recall, said that after learning what the purposes of the club were, he withdrew from the same. If this letter of General Garfield, which the gentleman has read, and says was written in April, 1877, was accepted by his party as a renunciation of his adhesion to the principles of the Cobden Club and of his membership in the same, the action of the Republican members of Congress from

Pennsylvania in refusing to support him for the Speakership in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses was very strange. Long after the gentleman says Mr. Garfield renounced his connection with the club, we find a Republican member of Congress from Pennsylvania defending the action of himself and his colleagues for withholding from him their support.

They were censured in Pennsylvania for refusing to give him their votes, and Mr. Killinger addressed a letter to the editor of the Philadelphia *Times*, dated October 17, 1877, giving the reasons why the members from that State withheld their support, which I desire to read.

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Times:

In reply to the inquiry, I will say that in the vote for speaker we chose the lesser of the two evils. We could not elect the speaker, and the only significance our action had was its indication of expression of confidence in the nominee on the great and vital question of protection to our industries, and employment for our laborers.

In my judgment all questions are subordinate to this. When, therefore, the caucus determined to compliment Mr. Garfield in this way I had to choose between sanctioning by my vote such an action or to express my dissent by withholding it. Mr. Garfield's record on this question is well known to the country, and some of it has come under my own observation. I could not, therefore, pass it by as insignificant or unimportant. Without meaning any disrespect to him I am compelled to say that his status has been equivocal, if not actually hostile, to the opinions we hold in Pennsylvania.

I have never found him to stand squarely for protection. He would not be accepted by the Republicans of my district as an exponent of their views, and I could not compliment him with their vote for the Speakership without manifest inconsistency and doing violence to all my convictions of duty and principle. No friend of American system of revenue and finance has ever been complimented with honorary membership in the British free-trade leagues. The object of these leagues is well known to be the strengthening of British influence in foreign countries. They aim to secure markets here for British manufactures, and to that end are hostile to our home industries.

In common with William C. Bryant, Samuel S. Cox and D. A. Wells, notorious free-traders, Mr. Garfield stands in connection with such a league. So long as he retains such connections and does not disavow its pernicious heresies, I do not see how to acquit him of holding the opinions of British co-laborers. It needed some resolution to express our dissent from the conclusions reached by the caucus. The Republican organization should be maintained by the party's representatives, especially at this juncture when we are threatened with disintegration in high quarters. But unless we can at the same time maintain the principles which gave value and vitality to the organization, party ties will weaken and our early dissolution is certain. So I chose the lesser of the two evils in withholding the vote of the Fourteenth district from a nominee who fails to be in accord with its people on the greatest question before the country.

J. W. KILLINGER.

Washington, D. C., October 17, 1877.

PROOF POSITIVE OF HIS CONNECTION WITH THE CLUB.

Now I read from a letter, dated April 23, 1888, from David A. Wells, which fully and explicitly explains Mr. Garfield's connection with the Cobden Club.

NORWICH, CONN., *April 23*, 1888.

DEAR SIR: In response to your question as to the connection of General Garfield with the Cobden Club, I would say that he was proposed and elected a member of the club in 1869, at the same time and in company with Edward Atkinson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, E. P. Whipple, John Quincy Adams, William Lloyd Garrison, of Massachusetts, and William Cullen Bryant, Henry Ward Beecher, and David Dudley Field, of New York. He acknowledged the compliment and accepted the membership in a letter to the secretary of the club, and his membership continued without any revocation on his part until the day of his death.

The statement that eminent men are, or have been, "frequently elected as honorary members of the Cobden Club simply as a recognition of their scholarship" is not correct. No man is ever elected unless his consent has been previously obtained, either directly from himself or indirectly through friends who propose his name for election, and who does not understand that an election to membership of the club involves an indorsement of its principles. The motto of the club, which appears in all its publications and correspondence, namely, "Free-trade, peace and good-will among nations," obviously does not allow of any individual self-deception, certainly not in the case of a man like General Garfield.

It is also worthy of note that the men who founded the Cobden Club, like John Bright, Thomas B. Potter, Milnor Gibson, and others, were men who through the darkest hours of the rebellion stood up in Parliament and out of Parliament for the Union, and did more than any or all others in preventing Lord Palmerston and his cabinet from uniting with Louis Napoleon in recognizing the Southern Confederacy and breaking the blockade, which in time meant calamity if not ruin to the Northern cause. And yet it now suits the extreme protectionists to revile these men as the relentless foes of the American laborer.

I will further add that, of my own certain knowledge, General Garfield was a believer in the principles of free trade down to a period as late as a year prior to his nomination for the Presidency, and that it was in no small part through intercourse and discussion with him in 1867 and 1868 I abandoned my original belief in the doctrines of protection and subsequently (1870) accepted membership in the Cobden Club.

In making these statements I prefer no accusation of disingenuousness or hypocrisy against General Garfield, and neither do I think him open to a suspicion of such conduct. He probably accepted the definition of Canning that true statesmanship consists in finding the line of safe change; and while accepting the principles of free trade and looking forward to the day when they will constitute the basis of commercial intercourse between all nations, he at the same time held that such a result in this country could be best and most speedily attained through gradual and tentative reforms; and that in the then temper of the American people the advocacy of radical measures was both inexpedient and useless.

I am, yours respectfully,

DAVID A. WELLS.

It was not my intention to occupy so much time of the House in presenting this matter, and my only apology for doing so is that I desired all the facts to go before the country. In conclusion I wish to say that I have always had the greatest admiration for the abilities of General Garfield, and taking his statements to the methods by and through which he expected to arrive at free trade, I do not think his connection with the Cobden Club discreditable to his public life or to his memory.

VII.

HOW IRELAND HAS SUFFERED FROM HIGH TAXES.

THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENT WHICH HAS BROUGHT IRELAND TO ITS PRESENT POSITION, AND THE INTEREST OF ITS PEOPLE IN REDUCTION OF TAXES.

Representative R. P. Bland, of Missouri, May 10, 1888.

We have heard a good deal about the effects of free trade on Ireland. But any one acquainted with the history of that country, as shown by the extract which has just been read, knows it is the reverse of free trade that has brought Ireland to the feet of England, depopulated the Green Isle, and sent her children wanderers over the earth, one half of them in the last half century, reducing the population from about eight millions forty years ago to about one-half of that now. It was the restrictive policy of the navigation laws, preventing Ireland from exporting her products to any ports other than those of England, that broke down her factories and subjugated her people, until to-day the landlords own nearly the whole of Ireland. Old England has her Ireland; shall New England also have an Ireland in the West?

It was the want of freedom of trade, it was the restrictions of her trade and commerce under the navigation laws that prevented her sending her products to any other ports save those of England, the inimical legislation on the part of England, that broke down her factories in the interest of the English manufacturers. These unequal and unjust laws imbued the spirit of rebellion in Ireland against the tyranny of England that has caused them for the century past to resist as best they could these injustices. They have demanded of England the right of free trade, the right of the liberty of the citizen, the right of free government.

And because these demands have not been acceded to, Ireland has been in a chronic state of war with England since the union. This chronic state of war and discontent has been answered by idiotic coercion acts in as many years, so that Ireland has not only suffered by these acts, but also by tyrannical military rule that has prostrated her in the dust, that has kept her people in constant strife to regain her liberties, and, although in recent years these restrictions may have been removed, yet it came too late, for comparative freedom of trade was offered her after she had been despoiled of her heritage, and her land owned by alien landlords and her substance mortgaged to the aristocracy of England. She has devoted the latter portion of her years to an effort to shake off the tyranny of England, and has had no profitable opportunity to engage in manufacture and agriculture.

Give Ireland self-government, the liberty of the citizen, the freedom of trade the whole world over, and the man who says she would not rise from her degradation and become one of the powerful nations of the earth, able to compete in trade and commerce and all that makes nations great, belies the history of that great people and slanders a noble, generous, and an industrious race. I have said this much because it has been the constant aid of protectionists on this floor to allude to Ireland as an example of the baneful effect of free trade, when the reverse is known to be true by every gentleman acquainted with the history of that people. To tell me free trade has reduced Ireland to this condition is to say that which I resent bitterly on the part of a people I know have been impoverished by other means, tyrannical and restrictive in the extreme.

TRUSTS AND THE TARIFF.

Mr. Chairman, I will print with my remarks a table showing the duties paid on a number of articles, necessaries of life in this country, and also a list of trusts and a list of a number of strikes and lockouts:

ARTICLES.	TARIFF.	ARTICLES.	TARIFF.
Lumber	$2 per thousand.	Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, etc	67 per cent.
Nails	43 per cent.	India-rubber shoes	25 per cent.
Common window-glass	68 per cent. and upward.	Umbrellas	45 per cent.
Linseed-oil	54 per cent.	Looking-glasses	78 per cent.
White lead	40 per cent.	Round and sheet-iron	40 to 50 per cent.
Read lead	77 per cent.	Cut nails and brads	35 per cent.
Wall paper	25 per cent.	Wrought-iron spikes, nuts, washers, etc	54 per cent.
Stoves	45 per cent.	Horse or ox shoes	55 per cent.
Carpets	50 per cent.	Anvils, mill-irons, etc	68 per cent.
Oil-cloth	40 per cent.	Iron or steel axles	62 per cent.
Books	25 per cent.	Horse-shoe nails, hobnails, etc	76 per cent.
Glassware, cheapest kind	45 per cent.	Iron or steel chains	47 per cent.
Cooking utensils, pots and kettles	45 per cent.	Hand-saws and buck-saws	40 per cent.
Knives, forks, spoons, etc	35 per cent.	Files	64 per cent.
Common soap	20 per cent.	Screws	60 per cent.
Plowshares, hoes, and forks	45 per cent.	Hollow-ware, glazed or turned	47 per cent.
Shingles	17 per cent.	Pens	43 per cent.
Salt, in bags	39 per cent.	Penknives	50 per cent.
Salt, in bulk	79 per cent.	Sugar	60 to 80 per cent.
Needles	25 per cent.	Molasses	47 per cent.
Grindstones	14 per cent.	Starch	95 per cent.
Garden seeds	20 per cent.	Rice	113 per cent.
Castor-oil	19 per cent.	Cotton thread	50 per cent.
Earthenware	55 per cent.	Cotton cloth	50 to 75 per cent.
Wool hats, not valued at over 80 cents per pound	66 per cent.	Bags and bagging	54 per cent.
Knit goods, not valued at over 30 cents per pound	88 per cent.	Woolen cloth, not over 80 cents per pound	89 per cent.
Wool yarn	69 per cent.	Shawls, not over 80 cents per pound	88 per cent.
Women's and children's dress goods, wholly or partly of wool	60 to 80 per cent.	Flannels, not over 30 cents per pound	73 per cent.
Clothing, ready-made	54 per cent.	Blankets, not over 30 cents per pound	79 per cent.

THE TRUSTS BY NAME—FORMER TARIFFS.

Average rate of duty under tariff of 1789, 8½ per cent.
Average rate of duty under tariff of 1792, 13½ per cent.
Average rate of duty under tariff of 1816, 30 per cent.
Average rate of duty under tariff of 1824, 37 per cent.
Average rate of duty under tariff of 1828, 41 per cent.
Average rate of duty under tariff of 1832, 33 per cent.
Average rate of duty under tariff of 1846 to 1861, 19 per cent.
Average rate of duty under tariff of 1862, 35 per cent.
Average rate before revision of 1883, 43½ per cent.
Average rate under the present tariff, 41 per cent.
Estimated average under this bill, 33 per cent.

The following is a list of a few of the trusts, together with the amount of bounty the present tariff seeks to allow to collect from the people, also their expense for labor, and the excess of tariff bounty over the amount they pay in wages. Not one of these trusts could live were it not for the war tariff.

NAME OF TRUST.	Protected by duties averaging, per cent.—	Adjusted to guarantee a bonus in each $100 of product amounting to—	Their whole expense for labor in $100 worth of product being—
Salt trust	50	$33	$25
Earthenware trust	56	36	40
Bessemer-steel trust	84	46	9
Plow-steel trust	45	33	29
General steel trust	45	33	29
Nail trust	45	33	29
General iron trust	45	33	25
Copper trust	24	22	22
Zinc trust	53	28	25
Tin trust	33	24	21
Lead trust	74	43	65
Glass trust	55	36	45
Soap trust	26	19	8
Linseed-oil trust	54	35	5
Rubber-shoe trust	25	20	24
Envelope trust	35	30	11
Paper-bag trust	35	28	15
Cordage trust	25	20	12
Average		30	24

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS UNDER PROTECTION.

YEARS.	NUMBER.		Average establishments to a strike.	Employes striking and involved.	NUMBER.		Average establishments to a lockout.	Employes locked out.
	Strikes.	Establishments.			Lockouts.	Establishments.		
1881	471	2,928	6.2	129,521	6	9	1.5	655
1882	454	2,105	4.6	154,606	21	42	2.0	4,131
1883	478	2,759	5.8	149,763	28	117	4.2	20,512
1884	443	2,307	5.3	147,043	38	354	9.3	18,121
1885	645	2,284	3.5	242,705	52	183	3.5	15,424
1886	1,412	9,863	7.0	500,514	127	1,477	11.6	100,705
Total	3,903	22,336	5.7	1,324,152	272	2,182	8.0	159,548

VIII.

SUPPOSE IT WAS A DIRECT TAX.

A SUGGESTION AS TO WHAT WOULD BE DONE IF THE TAX COLLECTOR SHOULD COME WITH A BILL AND DEMAND IT.

Representative Luther F. McKinney, of New Hampshire, May 3.

How long would the people endure this tax if instead of collecting it indirectly it was collected directly when they purchased the article for consumption? A man buys a dollar's worth of sugar, an officer demands 50 cents; he buys a dollar's worth of rice, an officer demands 40 cents; he buys a pair of woolen blankets, an officer demands $2; he buys a bolt of cotton cloth, an officer demands $1.50; and so through the entire list of taxed necessities. Reduce the amount one-half, if you please—I care not how much it is reduced—collect your tax direct and let the collection result in a hundred millions a year more than is necessary for the support of the Government, and there would be revolution and the party that advocated such a tax would be speedily relegated to the rear. Yet we are, by an indirect tax on the people, gathering into the Treasury, of the people's money, tens of millions a year that is forced to lie idle. By what moral right is this money collected? Does the Government own the people's property or earnings? Is the Government Treasury a depository of the people's money?

WHY THE WAGES OF LABOR ARE GOOD.

If the statement that a protective tariff increases the price of labor be true, then the interests that have the largest protection ought to pay the highest wages. This is not so. The shoe interest has grown to be one of the largest interests in the line of manufacture in this country. Cotton has a protection of 50 per cent., woolens a protection of 58 per cent., while manufactured shoes only have a protection of 30 per cent. Now, anyone who has investigated the subject knows that the wages of operatives in shoe manufactories get about 50 per cent. better wages than the operatives in cotton or woolens. One of the largest shoe manufacturers in New England told me a few days ago that the wages of his employes last month averaged $10.93 a week, men, women and children. In this corporation they manufactured cheap shoes that sell for from 85 cents to $1.50 a pair. The averages wages of operatives in woolens and cotton is considerably less than $1 a day. I have talked with many of the largest shoe manufacturers of my own State, and they all tell me if they can have their raw material free, leather, serge, buttons, thread, etc., they can compete with the world, sell their shoes in the foreign markets, and will ask no protection on the manufactured goods.

The reason why they can pay higher wages to-day than any of the other great manufacturing interests is that we have free hides and only 20 per cent. on leather. Take away your tax on raw material and give us an opportunity to go into the markets of the world, and we need have no fear of foreign competition. We can sell more in their markets than they can sell in ours. It has been shown very clearly upon this floor that while we pay much higher wages per diem in this country than is paid in the same industries in Europe, yet the labor cost of manufacturing a given product here is less than in the Old World. Where, then, is the difficulty? It is in the system of first taxing the material that enters into the manufacture and creating a necessity to tax the manufactured article to overcome it. Thus the laborer's wages is not increased, but the price of what he consumes is. Make first the raw material as cheap as possible the laborer's wages will be kept where they are, and the purchasing power of what he earns will be increased. It is easy to show, further, that under our protective system the wages of labor have not been kept up. The average wages paid in the worsted manufactories of this country in 1870 was

$338, in 1880 they were $302—a decrease of $36 per year. In the carpet manufactories the averages wages in 1870 were $387—in 1880, $335; a decrease of $52 a year; and if you will investigate the wages paid in the various protected industries you will find they are far less to-day than in 1870.

SOMETHING FROM AN OLD HISTORY.

I have read in one of the old histories, written many centuries ago, of a class of people who had a monopoly of a certain industry and made great gain therefrom. And there was a certain man came into the land where these people dwelt and preached against them, and his words were so powerful that those who used curious arts brought their books and burned them before all men, and they counted the price of them and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver. And we are told at—

> The same time there was no small stir about that way, for a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain to the craftsmen, whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation and said: "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth; moreover, ye see and hear that not alone at Epheus but almost throughout all Asia this Paul has persuaded and turned away much people, saying that there be no gods which are made with hands; so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at naught, but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed whom all Asia and the world worshipeth." And when they heard these things they were full of wrath and cried out, saying, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

Now, like these people of old, Pennsylvania has for a long time had a monopoly in many of those industries which have brought to them great wealth. An apostle has come into their midst who dwells at the other end of this avenue, and has proclaimed to the people against such a monopoly, and many who have hitherto believed in their doctrine are repenting of their sins and proclaiming their conversion before all the people. And now comes the great apostle of protection and calls together his people and says: Sirs, ye know that by this protection we have our wealth. Moreover, ye see and hear that not only in Pennsylvania, but almost throughout all the nation, this apostle of reform hath pursuaded and turned away much people, saying that there be no justice in this doctrine of protection, so that not only this our wealth is in danger to be set at naught, but also that the great goddess of protection should be despised, whom Pennsylvania and all the land hath heretofore worshiped. And when they heard these words they were full of wrath, and cried out, Great is the goddess of protection!

IX.

WHAT THE FARMER PAYS.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE TAXES ON ARTICLES IN COMMON USE NOW PAID WHICH WILL BE REDUCED UNDER THE PROPOSED LAW ON ARTICLES.

Representative John D. Stewart, of Georgia, May 2:

I insist that the farmers of this country, although in numbers the largest, are not benefited by a high tariff, but, on the contrary, are shamefully discriminated against, and it is not so strange that their farms are heavily mortgaged when we come to understand how the tariff affects them.

Under the present law let us see what an ordinary family on a farm has to contribute to the Government. I submit a schedule of articles mostly used by a family as an illustration, and the duty on them, and also showing the reduction proposed under the Mills bill:

	Value.	Duty.		Net Saving.
		Per cent.		
One cook stove	$35 00	47—	$16 45	
By Mills bill		31—	10 85	
				5 60
One set crockery	12 00	55—	6 60	
By Mills bill		35—	4 20	
				2 40
One set cheap glassware	4 00	56—	2 24	
By Mills bill		41—	1 64	
				60
One set cheap cutlery	2 00	50—	1 00	
By Mills bill		35—	70	
				30
Two carpets, $12 and $15	27 00	47—	12 00	
By Mills bill		30—	8 00	
				4 00
Sugar	20 00	60—	12 00	
By Mills bill		50—	10 00	
				2 00
Molasses	10 00	47—	4 70	
By Mills bill		35—	3 50	
				1 20
Salt	3 00	40—	1 20	
By Mills bill		Free list.		
				1 20
Two suits each for father and two sons, six suits, $14	84 00	54—	45 36	
By Mills bill		45—	37 80	
				7 56
Two suits each for mother and two daughters, six suits, $14	84 00	82—	68 88	
By Mills bill		40—	33 60	
				35 28
Twelve pairs shoes, $2.50 each	30 00	30—	9 00	
By Mills bill		15—	4 50	
				4 50
Six wool hats, $1 each	6 00	73—	4 38	
By Mills bill		40—	2 40	
				1 98
Six fur hats, $2.50 each	15 00	52—	7 80	
By Mills bill		40—	6 20	
				1 60
Six ladies' hats, $3 each	18 00	70—	12 60	
By Mills bill		40—	7 20	
				5 40
Six bonnets for ladies, $3 each	18 00	70—	12 60	
By Mills bill		40—	7 20	
				5 40
Farming tools, including plows, gear, hand-saw, ax, draw-knife, chains, etc	60 00	47—	28 20	
By Mills bill		34—	13 60	
				14 60
Medicines	20 00	*48—	9 80	
By Mills bill		30—	6 00	
				3 80
Thread, needles, thimbles, scissors, etc	12 00	35—	4 20	
By Mills bill		20—	2 40	
				1 80
Four pairs blankets, $3 each	12 00	70—	8 40	
By Mills bill		40—	4 80	
				3 60
Two umbrellas, $2 50 each	5 00	40—	2 00	
By Mills bill		30—	1 50	
				50

*Average.

	Value.	Duty.		Net Saving.
		Per cent.		
Cotton hosiery, undershirts, etc.	8 00	45—	3 60	
By Mills bill		30—	2 40	1 20
Window glass	2 00	60—	1 20	
By Mills bill		43—	86	34
Starch	4 00	94—	3 70	
By Mills bill		47—	1 88	1 82
Rice	10 00	113—	11 30	
By Mills bill		100—	10 00	1 30
Total cost under present tariff	$501 00		189 27	
Under Mills bill			104 98	$84 29

WAGES AND COST OF LIVING IN EUROPE.

Table showing average weekly wages paid in the enumerated occupations in different European countries.

[Furnished by the Bureau of Labor, Washington, D. C.]

Occupation.	Austria.	Belgium.	France.	Germany.	Great Britain.	Holland.	Switzerland.
Blacksmiths	$3 18	$5 38	$5 81	$4 00	$7 37	$4 80	$5 20
Bricklayers	3 55	4 56	5 74	4 21	7 56	4 80	5 21
Hodcarriers	2 60	3 22	3 13	2 92	4 94	3 60	2 99
Carpenters and joiners	5 10	4 07	6 20	4 11	7 66	4 80	4 74
Coopers	3 64	5 17	5 58	3 97	7 50	4 80	4 78
Harness and saddle makers	3 60	5 51	5 70	3 69	6 63	.....	5 20
Masons	3 40	5 22	5 33	4 67	7 68	4 80	5 27
Painters	.....	.....	.....	4 82	.....	.....	.....
Plasterers	4 01	4 66	6 34	4 43	7 80	4 00	5 03
Plumbers	4 11	5 46	6 10	4 26	7 90	4 80	5 18
Tailors	4 03	5 58	5 02	3 41	7 40	5 00	6 36
Tinsmiths	3 70	4 40	5 46	3 55	6 58	4 00	4 40
Servants (Domestic)	7 00	.....	.....	3 34	.....	3 75	3 90
Farm laborers	3 50	2 72	3 10	3 06	4 02	3 24	.....

Facts relating to foreign countries are taken from the report on foreign labor published by the Department of State, 1885.

COST OF LIVING—MASSACHUSETTS AND GREAT BRITAIN.

Rents are 89.62 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.
Board and lodging is 39.01 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.
Fuel is 104.96 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.
Clothing is 45.06 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.
Dry goods are 13.26 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.
Boots and shoes are 62.59 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.
Groceries are 16.18 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.
Provisions are 23.08 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.
The above facts are taken from the report of the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics for 1884.

X.

HOW THE FARMER IS MADE TO SUFFER.

THE WAY IN WHICH TARIFF TAXES BEAR WITH UNNATURAL WEIGHT UPON THE AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY.

Representative Knute Nelson, of Minnesota, (Rep.) March 29, 1888.

This brings me to a consideration of our tariff taxes. These taxes may properly be divided into two great heads, namely: Purely revenue taxes, such, for instance, as a tax on tea or coffee, and protective taxes, such as are laid on products common to this country. All tariff taxes not purely revenue taxes are, to some extent or in some degree, protective, except in those instances where nature has given us a practical monopoly, as in the case of petroleum, cotton, etc., or where there is a great overproduction dependent on export trade, as in the case of wheat.

Owing to the vast and varied resources of our country the items on which a purely revenue tariff could be levied are quite limited and to a large extent confined to the pure necessaries of life, and hence there are very few people indeed in this country who desire that our tariff taxes be limited to pure revenue items. So few, indeed, are these that it is not at all a question of practical moment. When we come to tariff taxes on products common to this country we enter the domain of "protection," and have reached a practical question. A tariff on a commodity we readily produce, where our production does not quite equal or exceed our consumption is, as a rule and to the degree of the tariff tax laid, protective. Where the tariff is very low the protection will be slight and the revenue quite ample. Where the tariff is very high the duty will be more than protective; it will breed a monopoly, and yield no revenue whatsoever. The primary object of a protective tariff is to enlarge and expand our field of production in those directions in which we are fairly open to expansion, for I do not believe a protective tariff is justified in those cases where nature has put a veto on the power of expansion, and where revenue rather than increased production seems to be the chief result, as in the case of sugar.

WHAT HAS PRODUCED OUR PROGRESS.

Coming to the question of the degree of protection that ought to be given in a case where protection is fairly warranted, it seems to me that only so high a duty should be laid as will fairly cover the difference in the cost of production here and abroad, be it in labor, raw material, or interest on capital. Such a tariff I call a low tariff as distinguished from a revenue tariff. Where a tariff tax exceeds in a material degree this measure I term it a high tariff. It then becomes more or less prohibitive, breeds monopolies, and works injury both to the consumer and the laboring man

The price of labor is primarily governed by the law of supply and demand. The protected producer does not measure the wages he pays by the amount of protection he gets, but by the ease or difficulty with which he can procure labor, or by the fact whether labor is plenty or scarce. A protective tariff only helps labor indirectly by enlarging the demand for it. One of the secondary results of a very high tariff is overproduction, and this leads to stagnation and suspension, from which comes to the laborer lower wages, lockouts, strikes, and untold miseries.

It has been the fashion of certain economists to ascribe the marvelous growth of this country for the past twenty-five years wholly to our tariff laws. Statistics of growth in all conceivable forms have been paraded, accompanied with the exclamation, "Behold the tariff!" This is all pure exaggeration

The tariff with a multitude of other causes have, all combined, produced the magnificent result. The chief factors, however, have been our abundant supply of the most fertile lands in the world, which we have freely given away under our homestead laws, together with the immense tide of immigration, with all its capital

of money and muscle. This has produced our great home market. Our oceans of land, as free as water, and the development of the same have covered a multitude of sins, and, not least of all, some of the sins which lurk here and there in our tariff laws.

Our leading agricultural staples are breadstuffs and cotton. The latter is theoretically and the former practically, so far as our producers are concerned, free of duty. The home price of wheat is fixed by the export price, and the farmer in Minnesota has to compete, without any governmental aid direct or indirect, with the farmers of India in the markets of England. And it is in these great and unprotected agricultural industries that our growth has been the greatest and most pronounced. But for the great volume of export of our non-protected agricultural staples our foreign commerce would cut but a sorry figure and the balance of trade would be heavily against us all the time. During the last fiscal year our total imports amounted to $692,320,000, while our total exports amounted to $703 022,923, and of this total 74.41 per cent. were agricultural products, while only 19.45 per cent. were products of manufactures, as the following table shows:

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE DOMESTIC EXPORT TRADE DURING 1887.

The values of our exports of domestic merchandise during the last fiscal year, classified by groups according to sources of production, were as follows:

Articles.	Values.	Per cent.
Products of agriculture	$523,073,798	74.41
Products of manufacture	136,735,105	19.45
Products of mining (including mineral oils)	11,758,662	1.67
Products of the forest	21,126,273	3.01
Products of the fisheries	5,155,775	.73
Other products	5,173 310	.73
Total	$703,022,923	100.00

Against an aggregate of $692,320,000 of imports, our non-protected farmers can show an aggregate export of $523 073,798, while our protected manufacturers can only show a paltry export of $136,735,105. Let it be remembered, too, in this connection, that while our farmers thus proudly enter into the competitive markets of the entire world, the wages they pay the agricultural laborer are, as compared with the wages paid in any other country for such labor, relatively much higher than the wages paid by our manufacturers.

XI.

THE DUTY ON LUMBER.

IT OPERATES TO INCREASE THE COST OF EVERY HOUSE, FENCE, PIECE OF FURNITURE OR HOUSEHOLD ORNAMENT.

Representative W. D. Bynum, of Indiana, June 5.

In Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota there are large quantities of white pine. It makes a valuable lumber. We have but little elsewhere. The pine lumber of the Southern States is valuable, but does not come into competition with the white-pine lumber of the North. The yellow pine is filled with turpentine and resin. The white pine is adapted to all finishing purposes. It can be used where you desire to paint. Large quantities of yellow pine are shipped all over the world, but is not used for the same purposes as the white pine. Consequently there is but little competition between the pine lumber of the South and that of the North, whether they meet in the markets in the North or in the South.

Much has been said about the wages paid by the lumber manufacturers of Michigan and other States. It is claimed that if lumber is placed upon the free list wages in this industry will be reduced. It will require more than mere assertions; it will require more than the testimony of interested parties to convince me that wages are higher in the lumber regions of Michigan than they are in close proximity in Canada. Such a statement the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Reed) would say "everybody knows is absurd." The laborers of Canada are not going to work for 30 per cent. less if by crossing an imaginary line they can get 30 per cent. more wages. They will come over and keep coming until wages have so fallen in the United States and so risen in Canada as to be upon an equality. What has the tariff done? That it has put one penny into the pockets of the wage-workers no one has dared to claim. Every member upon the other side when pressed has admitted that the wages paid by the lumbermen are no greater than those paid in other avocations in the same locality. Who, then, has received any benefit?

THE PINE TIMBER CONTROLLED BY TRUSTS.

The price of white-pine lumber has advanced several dollars per thousand in the last two years. The price in Saginaw, Mich., in 1876 was $9 67 per thousand; in 1877 it was $9.73; in 1878 it was $9.66; in 1879 in was $9.50; in 1880 the stumpage, that is the timber, had been so reduced that the same had come under the control of a few men, who, organizing a combination, advanced the price to $11.63. In 1881 it was further advanced to $13.92, and in 1882 it was sold as high as $14 per thousand, and still sells for about that price; that is, good common white pine lumber. This advance was brought about by a combination of the owners of the stumpage, who were principally the lumbermen. The lumber barons have gotten hold of all the timber, advanced the price of stumpage from an average of $1 to an average of $4.50 per thousand. This was the cause of the advance in the price of timber lands of from 300 to 1,000 per cent., as stated by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Wilson). The gentleman from Maine (Mr. Reed) attempted to answer this in his usual style, declaring that the increase in value was solely on account of the wonderful growth and progress that had taken place throughout the country. The truth is that the best farming lands in Ohio, Indiana, and the Western States, which had been improved, have during this period fallen instead of risen in value.

This argument is upon a par with all the sophistry that has been made use of by gentlemen upon the other side during this debate. Why should white-pine stumpage have advanced so marvelously, while the stumpage of all other kinds of timber remained stationary? Why should this class of stumpage be worth $4.50 per thousand in the United States and only $1.25 per thousand in Canada? The reason is perfectly apparent: a few men own the timber in the United States, they have combined to realize every dollar they possibly can out of it. They have an advantage over their Canadian competitor of about $1 per thousand in the cost of transportation, and $2 per thousand in the duty, and these they have added to the value of their timber and estimate it as a part of the cost of lumber. Every dollar goes to the owners of the stumpage. Let us see what their profits amount to. The Government sold the lands upon which the timber stands at from $1.25 to $2.50 per acre—a section, at the highest price, costing $1,600. These lands, according to the lowest estimate, contain, upon an average, a stumpage of 5,000 feet per acre. A section, therefore, contains a stumpage of 3,200,000, which, at $4.50 per thousand, brings $14,400.

INTO WHOSE POCKET THE TAX GOES.

The land, after the timber has been removed, sells for from $2 50 to $10 per acre. Upon an average it brings more than the original cost. The lumbermen therefore realize a clean profit off of each section of land purchased by them of over $15,000.

Here is where the $2 per thousand duty has gone. Here is where your protection protects. It has not gone into the calloused hands of the wage-worker, but into the price of the timber, before labor has touched it, and afterwards into the bank accounts of the timber or lumber barons. Shall we uphold and sustain this monopoly, or shall we release the people from its grasp?

The manufacturers of Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin produce about 8,000,000,000 feet per annum. The $2 duty per thousand, which they have placed upon the value of their lumber in the tree, amounts to $16,000,000 annually. Who pays this bonus? The farmers of the West; the wage-workers in our cities who are struggling by the aid of building and loan associations to get a little home of their own, from which their families can not be driven when they are out of employment.

Mr. O. R. Bishop, of Chicago, an iron-worker representing the Knights of Labor before the Tariff Commission upon the subject of lumber, said:

It was stated yesterday by the lumber interests that they had paid in wages to 56,000 workers $17,000,000. Truly a large sum, but if divided by 56,000 it gives to each worker the insignificant sum, for a year's hard toil, amid snow and ice in winter, and malarial fever in summer, $304 with which to clothe, feed and educate himself and family, while the few employers cleared, by their own figures, nearly $4,000,000 net, and still have $40,000,000 worth of mills and tools on hand. Why should they not wish a continuance of the monopoly when it pays so well? And your attention is called to the action of the Lumbermen's Exchange (a trade union). The other day they met and raised the price of all grades of lumber $1.50 per thousand, which, if made general on the 3,919,500,000, will increase the profits to $8,000,000—a very mild species of robbery.

Gentlemen talk about the number of establishments in this industry, the amount of capital invested, and the number of laborers employed as if these were all to be extinguished by the passage of this bill. The number of establishments will not be decreased, the wages of the laborers will not be reduced, nor the capital invested be diminished by placing lumber upon the free list, but the power of the trust to extort from the people $16,000,000 annually, over and above a fair and legitimate profit, let us hope will be forever destroyed.

PUT IT DOWN IN HIS WALLET.

Representative Charles E. Hooker, of Mississippi, May 9.

I have read the views of this gentleman who is named here as Mr. Blanchard, of Chicago.

Mr. Blanchard, of Chicago, in a short speech a few days ago, said more to show up the evils of a high tariff system than others have done in labored speeches and ponderous volumes. Mr. Blanchard is a refreshing sample of a protected operator who is willing to tell the truth and shame his demoniac majesty, and furnishes a beautiful illustration of the utter selfishness that governs the beneficiaries of a high protective tariff. He says: "I am high tariff on lumber, but low tariff on copper, iron, wool, cotton, leather, glass, etc. I will tell you why. I own timber lands and sell stumpage; besides, I operate largely myself, and this tariff puts money into my pocket. I get $2 per thousand feet for my stumpage, and $2 per thousand for my boards. I have just sold 5,000,000 feet of lumber. Now, $2 per thousand on 5,000,000 feet is just $10,000. That is the difference to me between high tariff and free lumber. I am high tariff on lumber, I am. The blessed tariff, they tell us, is all for the benefit of the American laborer. What do you suppose I did with the $10,000. Divide it among my workmen? Not a bit of it. I put it right into this calfskin wallet, I did. Of all my workmen I am the only protected American laborer. Wages depend upon supply and demand, my friends, and not upon taxes. When you see two men after one boss wages are low; when you see two bosses after one man wages are high; and that is the whole of it—the theory, the principle and practice."

HOW LABOR IS BROUGHT FROM CANADA.

Representative Timothy E. Tarsney, of Michigan, June 6.

I stand here as the representative of one of the largest lumber constituencies in the United States. The produce of the Saginaw river during the last year was 779,000,000 feet of lumber. I have been somewhat amused to find prairie chickens from the prairie fields of the Northwest, from Iowa and Kansas, standing up upon the floor of this House to protect Saginaw lumber. And I have been accused of neglecting the interest I represent. Why, sir, as I have said, I have listened to all this conversation upon this floor, and I have heard of the great benefits that labor has received by reason of your protective tariff. But when did you ever hear under that system of protection of its ever protecting the laboring man one dollar's worth in the world? We employ thousands of men in our lumber industry, but how are they protected? Within a few miles of the Canadian line we have found year after year that our lumbermen, instead of protecting the American laborer,

would go into the province of Ontario and bring over cheap Canadian labor, bring them across the river and through the lines, and greet them with a good morning as they passed out of the custom-house and came into competition with American labor whom you pretend to protect. That is the way you protect American labor.

I wish to say here on this floor, and it cannot have been forgotten, that I voted for the consideration of the so-called Morrison tariff bill in the Forty-ninth Congress. I went home to my people after I gave that vote and I was attacked by high protectionists. The gentleman whose name headed the memorial presented by my colleague [Mr. Burrows] was at that time the Democratic mayor of the city of Saginaw. He is a protectionist. He opposed me. He wrote in the newspapers against me. He placed upon every door step of every house in that city a flyer, "Do not vote for Tim Tarsney; he is a free-trader." I spoke in that city the night before the election, and I said to them that I had been accused of being an enemy of my own surroundings. If that were true I was my own enemy, because everything I had was centered in Saginaw. I told them that I had voted for the consideration of the so-called Morrison bill. And I told them I would do it again. I did do it again. Notwithstanding those statements, not leaving my position in the slightest doubt as to what I was for and what I was against, the next day after that speech I carried the city of Saginaw by a larger majority than the mayor of the city had ever received. I carried the county of Saginaw on that platform by 1,650 majority.

XII.

A WOOLEN MANUFACTURER'S IDEAS.

A CONCISE EXPLANATION OF THE EFFECT OF REDUCING THE TAXES ON WOOL AND HOW IT WILL PROMOTE OUR INDUSTRIES.

Representative John E. Russell, of Massachusetts, May 16.

The highest estimate of the number of sheep in the country in the last year was much less than 50,000,000, but calling it that it requires 25 sheep to support each person with wool worth about $40 for a year's work. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Butterworth], who does me the honor to listen, made a speech in Boston recently before the Home Market Club, and when some one in the audience said, "We want free wool," he replied, "But what are you going to do with the thousands of men who make a living herding sheep?" I think we ought to find them a better business, for if they were supported for one year by their flocks they would have to use all the wool for clothing, and the mutton for food, so that there would not be a sheep left in the country at the end of a year. If there are any facts in the United States census on which we can rely, there have been the most reckless statements current on the floor of this House in the interest mainly of Ohio wool growers.

The wool-grower is dependent for the sale of his wool upon the manufacturers of his own country alone. Wool is the only one of our farm products of considerable value for which there is no foreign demand. If there is a surplus it must remain on hand. The manufacturers of other nations are not accustomed to our wools, and will not take them.

Like all other things men wish to sell, its price will be governed by the demand for it; that demand will arise from the prosperity of your customers, and that only. Therefore, if the business of the woolen manufacturers is good you will get a fair price for your wool, but if these men are not successful, if their business is hard and waning, your market grows narrow and wool falls, as we have seen it fall during the last ten years. The wool-grower and the manufacturer can have no divided interest; they must flourish together or they must languish together, and at this time they are equally unhappy.

HOW THE TAX ON WOOL WAS LEVIED.

How did we get the blessing of a high tax on imported wool? It was the result of a combination between woolmen and manufacturers.

Prior to 1857 we had a nominal duty on wool, and the fortunate experience of the country in every department of industry and enterprise under the tariff of 1846 led to the further reduction of the tariff in 1857. And, as I had the pleasure to remind the House in the debate the other day, the whole delegation from Massachusetts here and at the other end of the Capitol voted for it. In that revision wool under 20 cents a pound was made free.

The effect upon wool was immediate. It went up, and in 1859 it was as high as it has ever been in our history, and the manufacturers of Massachusetts and Rhode Island made more money than they ever did in any year of their business. They flourished together, because their interests are identical

No manufacturing people in our day can raise all its own wool. No soil or climate will produce all the various wools that enter into fabrics ranging from coarse carpets to cloths mixed with silk. The wools grown in America are not complete raw material even for the cloths for men's ordinary wear. We are controlled by fashion. The manufacturer must make what is demanded. He has to make cloths such as people who pay high prices will buy. In order to get material for such clothing the wool-buyer must go to the world's market and select fleeces to mix and blend with American wool. He may require Australian, or African, or South American, or Spanish, or French wools for his purpose, and if he does he will pay from 50 to 75 per cent. duty on them, and that handicaps him in competition with the men who have free wool; he is thus at a disadvantage with the manufacturers of England, France, Belgium and Germany, the great cloth-exporting countries.

THE KIND OF MATERIAL USED IN MANUFACTURES.

Mr. Millikin. The gentleman speaks only for himself and not for other members of Congress when he says they do not wear domestic goods. The cloth in which I am dressed was made in Maine; the suit was made in Maine. We are not up to the sublimated condition of some gentlemen from Massachusetts.

Mr. Russell, of Massachusetts. I hope the establishment that made the gentlemen's cloth is prosperous, for there are but few in New England that are so. They are not prosperous because of the tax on their raw material that enables the manufacturers of Europe to send here between forty and fifty million dollars' worth of cloth a year, representing not less than 150,000,000 pounds of wool, which we neither grew, nor sheared, nor wove.

Nor does the gentleman know that his coat is wool at all. Few men in this House have any idea how far substitutes are used for wool. In my district, in the immediate neighborhood where I live, within a radius of 4 or 5 miles from my house, there is turned out a product of about $2,000,000 of woolen cloths—so called. You flatter yourselves that they are woolen cloths, and so they are, except so far as cotton is mixed in them; but the wool was worn by previous generations of sheep and may have been worn by two generations of men. These cloths are made from rags, picked to shred and fiber in a shoddy picker, and then handled like wool. This cloth bears the relation to other cloth that oleomargarine does to butter.

WHERE SOME-CALLED FINE CLOTHES COME FROM.

Do you ask what these rags are? They are of all grades, carefully assorted; they are tailor's clippings from fine clothes which make a good "short staple" wool; but in this thrifty age nothing is lost and the shoddy rags come back again. Said one of these manufacturers to me, "I have seen my old shoddy goods come back here time and time again to be picked up and made into new cloth." These shoddies are the woolen cloths boastfully mentioned on the other side of the House that make the cheap suits in which the protected laborer is dressed.

Why, the cloth which the gentleman from Maine is wearing may have made a procession down from the really protected magnates of the land and been worn by the commonest beggar shrinking from the sun. These shoddy clothes are sold cheaply enough, perhaps. Men may get their money's worth, for they are sold at prices that would not buy their weight in actual wool.

The American laborer who bears with the farmer the real burden of taxes is not able to buy woolen cloth, but wears the wool that comes from the crop of old clothes.

THE ONLY COUNTRY WHICH LAYS A TAX ON WOOL.

We are the only civilized country on the earth to-day that imposes a high duty on wool, except poor old-fashioned Spain, and she is an exporter of wools and we are not. England, Belgium, France, and Germany took the duties off of wool years ago.

It is urged here that our people can not keep their flocks without a protection to wool; it is said our sheep will disappear; one will forget the taste of mutton. That is not the teaching of experience here or abroad.

The high-priced lands of England, open to the competition of all mankind, carry more sheep than in former days. The pastures of France have double the sheep they had when wool was protected.

No vote of mine would ever be given consciously against the interest of the American farmer, but I would take the duty off of wool, for I believe that in less than a year the price of wool would advance because the woolen manufacturer, freed from the tax on two-thirds of his raw material, would be better able to buy the other third.

I have before said that the tariff of 1867 was the result of a combination of manufacturers and wool men to shear mankind. Like Cæsar Augustus, they decreed that all the world—their world—should be taxed. There should be a prodigious duty on wool and a compensating duty on cloth. It was an abominable agreement. The Treasury did not need the tax, and both of the contemplated beneficiaries were fairly prosperous. The war was over and no revenue change was ever made upon such slight grounds. It brought its own punishment. It was an Ohio idea; but did flocks increase in Ohio under its action, or in any State east of the Mississippi? The census figures show an immediate and heavy decrease in those States. Your tariff proved a hireling shepherd. Within a year wool began to decline and flocks to shrink, and in five years there was a falling off in the number of sheep in the older States of twenty per cent.

They increased heavily west of the Mississippi River from new and unforeseen causes—the opening of free range by the extension of railroads and the disappearance of the Indian and his game from the new Territories.

XIII.

HIGH TAXES AND THE FARMER.

THE AGRICULTURAL CLASSES LEFT WITH THE BAG TO HOLD WHEN THEIR TIME COMES FOR THE EXPECTED DISTRIBUTION OF REWARDS.

Representative Melbourne H. Ford, of Michigan, April 27.

But it is to the farmer of the United States that the advocates of this trust-creating tariff make their strongest appeal. He is told by them that he should stand by American industries. That the agitation for the reduction of the war-tariff taxes is being stimulated and encouraged by British manufacturers and British gold.

What is it that fixes the price of the farmer's wheat? It is the Liverpool market. Let the price of wheat go up in Liverpool, then watch how quick it will advance in Chicago. Let the price of wheat in Liverpool decline and the market in Chicago will respond instantly, and go down. We cannot begin to consume our agricultural productions. We produce a good deal more than enough to supply the United States, and are obliged to depend upon a foreign market for the disposal of our surplus. No tariff can help the farmer on his surplus production, because the price at which it is sold is fixed by competition with all the producers of the world. We now consume at home about 70 per cent. of our agricultural productions and export about 30 per cent. of them. Now mark this: Whenever any country produces more than it consumes and has a surplus, the price of that surplus will fix the price of the whole product. Therefore, so long as our farmers produce a surplus (and this they will always do) the price of the agricultural productions in the United States will be the same as the world's price. There is no escaping this conclusion. You may pile tariffs on wheat, corn, beef, pork and cotton mountains high and it will not increase the price of those products in this country a penny—not a farthing.

The farmer's wheat is sent 3,000 miles away to England, and it then comes into direct competition with wheat from the East Indies, raised by the worst pauper labor on the face of the globe; a labor so low and so half-civilized that the American farmer can scarcely conceive how degraded it is. The price of one of the most important of the farmer's crops is thus fixed by competition with wheat raised by laborers whose dress consists of half a yard of cotton cloth, and who work for 6 cents a day.

WHAT THE FARMER HAS TO BUY.

But how is it with regard to the articles which the farmer cannot produce and which he must buy? The price of nearly everything which the farmer buys is fixed by so-called protective legislation. The English farmer stands a little better in that respect than the American. The price of what the English farmer buys is fixed in the same market and by the same laws which fix the price of what he sells; while, as for the American farmer, the price of what he sells is fixed by competition in the open markets of the world, and the price of what he buys to produce his crops is arbitrarily determined and unnaturally increased by the laws of the Congress of his own country for the benefit of a few manufacturers.

But the duty on wool is one of the strong points of the tariff monopolists. They and all their subsidized newspapers are talking continually not about coal, not about glass, not about iron, but about wool. They have constituted themselves the special guardians of the wool tariff, and are overwhelmed with anxiety to save the farmer from utter destruction from a decrease of the tariff on wool. I very much doubt the sincerity of some of these new converts to the farmer's interest. It might be well supposed that they were more anxious for their own particular industries than for the farmer's. To an unprejudiced observer it would look very much as if some of them were using the farmer as a cat's paw to further their own interests.

If the tariff on wool benefits the farmer, what does it amount to? Taking the entire value of our agricultural productions, the wool crop does not comprise over 2 or 3 per cent. of it. What a short-sighted policy it is for a farmer to calmly submit to paying war-tariff prices for nearly everything he buys to produce his crop, all for some supposed trivial benefit derived from the wool tariff on 2 per cent. of his product. These tariff-tax manufacturers ask the farmer to pay $15 for a $9 suit of clothes for himself, $17 for a $12 shawl for his wife, to pay increased prices on his plows, tools and agricultural implements; they ask him to sell his produce for a niggardly sum, and they tell him to meekly endure all this, and to be comforted by the thought that there is a tariff on wool.

You cannot have a good price for wool unless you have somebody to buy it. We do not produce enough wool for our own consumption. Our manufacturers must import foreign wool; and when you artificially increase the price of foreign

wool you cripple the manufacturing industry, which injures the farmer's customer. Take the result in my State for instance, the State of Michigan. In 1867 the wool tariff was enormously increased; in that year the tariff on wool was raised, so that it averaged between 50 and 60 per cent., and it so continued, practically without interruption, for sixteen years. In 1867, when the tariff went into effect, there were 4,000,000 sheep in the State; and under the effect of this high tariff on wool on the 1st of January, 1880, the number of those sheep had dwindled down to less than 2,000,000. This wool tariff has induced many farmers to vote for the maintenance of these war taxes. When some farmers have viewed the tariff, the wool has been pulled over their eyes to that extent that they could not see anything else. But I believe the farmers are beginning to appreciate that in this cry of "Wool! wool!" there is more noise than benefit.

Another statement which has had considerable effect is that our high tariff gives the farmer a home market. This claim, it seems to me, can be absolutely demonstrated to be false beyond the possibility of a doubt. Let us examine this question and see how much of a home market these tariff taxes have given the farmer. We consume at home about 70 per cent. of our entire agricultural productions, and export about 30 per cent. Our farmers comprise about one-half of the population of this Republic, and it is fair to suppose that they would consume one-half of the products of agriculture which are consumed in this country. As we consume 70 per cent. here, our farmers would consume one-half of that amount, or 35 per cent. of the whole crop. The people engaged in manufacturing, mining and mechanical pursuits, according to the census of 1880, comprise about one fifth of our population; therefore they would consume one-fifth of the 70 per cent., or 14 per cent. of our entire production. But it is well known that only a small proportion of those engaged in mining, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits receive any benefit from the present high tariff. To a great number of our industries the war tariff acts as a bane and a curse. Making a liberal estimate, let us assume that of those engaged in manufacturing, mining and mechanical industries one-third of them are benefited by the high-tariff taxes. Then the amount of the farmer's productions that they would consume would be one-third of the 14 per cent., or 4⅔ per cent. of the whole product—call it 5 per cent. Therefore the consumers which the tariff trust advocates say they have created for the farmer, and who will give him a home market, only take 5 per cent. of his product, while the farmer's foreign customer takes 30 per cent. of it.

What an insignificant thing this home market scheme is when the facts are laid bare.

The proposition is that the farmer is to be taxed to support an industry which would not otherwise exist, and he is to get his money back by selling his produce to men who work in the industry. The farmer is to be compelled to pay taxes to help the manufacturer, and he is to get it back in money for his produce! That would be a remarkable investment. As Henry George well says, this is like the man who owned stock in a railroad and kept riding on the cars and paying his fare in order to increase the dividend he would get out of the stock.

The home market delusion amounts to about this. The protected manufacturer says to the farmer, "I want you to vote for a Congressman who will aid in maintaining this war tariff, and I will agree to take 5 per cent of your crop. But if I do that I want the privilege of charging you 47 per cent. more than my goods are worth in the markets of the world." In other words, he say: "Out of every $2,000 worth of your agricultural productions I will take $100 worth, and when I pay you that $100 I want you to buy $100 worth of my goods, but I want you to pay me $147 for them," while the farmer's foreign customer says: "Out of every $2,000 worth of your productions I will take $600 worth, and I will let you have $600 worth of my goods without paying any bonus whatever."

Our agricultural productions are always more than we can consume, and our farmers must rely, of necessity, upon the markets of the world. No act of Congress can prevent this. Ever since the war tariff has been in force the farmer's home market has been growing smaller and smaller.

I have a table here, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, which absolutely refutes the pretension that the war tariff has enlarged the home market of the farmer.

Year.	Value of agricultural products (in gold.)	Value of agricultural products exported.	Per cent. exported.	Per cent. consumed at home.
1860	No record	$256,560,972		
1870	$1,958,030,926	361,188,483	18	82
1880	2,213,402,564	685,961,095	31	69

We have no record of our agricultural productions in 1860, but we have data of the agricultural exports for that year. We find that the exports of the products of the farm are constantly growing and growing. We find that in 1870 this country bought 82 per cent. of our agricultural productions, and in 1880 it bought but 69 per cent. of them. Observe what this wonderful American system has done for the farmer. After wearily waiting year after year for that home market which the high tariff advocates told him would surely come, what is the result? In 1870 the farmer was obliged to look to foreign countries for the disposal of only 18 per cent. of his crop, and after ten years of war tariff taxation, under which monopolies have grown rich, and trusts have become defiant, he finds his home market ebbing away, and that he must go abroad to sell 31 per cent. of his productions.

The following is a list of a few of the trusts, together with the amount of bounty the present tariff seeks to allow them to collect from the people, also their expense for labor, and the excess of tariff bounty over the amount they pay in wages. Not one of these trusts could live were it not for the war tariff.

Name of trust.	Protected by duties averaging, per cent.	Adjusted to guaranty a bonus in each $100 of product amounting to	Their whole expense for labor in $100 worth of product being
Salt trust	50	$33	$25
Earthenware trust	56	36	40
Bessemer-steel trust	84	46	9
Plow-steel trust	45	33	29
General steel trust	45	33	29
Nail trust	45	33	22
General iron trust	45	33	25
Copper trust	24	22	22
Zinc trust	52	28	25
Tin trust	32	24	21
Lead trust	74	43	65
Glass trust	55	36	45
Soap trust	26	19	8
Linseed oil trust	54	35	5
Rubber shoe trust	25	20	24
Envelope trust	25	20	11
Paper bag trust	35	26	15
Cordage trust	25	20	12
Average		30	24

XIV.

THE APPEAL OF A REPUBLICAN.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THAT PARTY CITED TO SHOW ITS PRINCIPLES IN ITS BETTER DAYS BEFORE IT EMBRACED FREE WHISKEY.

Representative A. R. Anderson, of Iowa, June 6.

I ask my friends on this side, Republicans with whom I have trained all my life, in the face of the distinct pledges that have marked the history of this business from its beginning—I ask, how do they account for the wonderful strides they have made with reference to this question? I am a Republican, and always have been. I learned all my political knowledge, though it may be little, in the Republican household; and while there are those who may criticise me with reference to my party fealty, it does not alter the fact that I am familiar with the history of the Republican party of this country. I know its record not only in my State but in this Union with reference to this great economic question, and I want to produce, if I am allowed to do so, some authority with reference to this matter. I want to say in answer to all such questions that, as for myself, I have made up my mind the tax burden upon the people of the country, which is $100,000,000 in excess of what it ought to be, should be reduced to that extent. As to matters of detail, I challenge this side of the House, in spite of all its boasted glee in tackling this great question, to bring in a bill on which you can align your own forces. While the bill under consideration does not in many particulars satisfy me, I undertake to say that it is a step in the right direction and that it is more reductive; there is a less per cent. of protection in it than there would be in any bill now pending in this House if the Republican side dominated the House. This is, as already suggested, a question of details; and you have not during the long months that this question has been here exhibited any disposition to get yourselves together upon the matter of details and point out the items upon which you will agree to a reduction; but you stand here in the way, finding fault with the men who are making honest effort in the direction of reduction of taxation.

In politics the principle of protection is what poison is in medicine; it must be handled in the same guarded manner. It is the fell influence of this institution, growing and widening like a Upas tree, that accounts for the great strides Republican leaders in certain quarters have taken in reference to this question. They have found this principal not only a politic thing in certain quarters, but they have found that it is or may be an exceedingly lucrative thing. There is one further point I want to make, and it is in the trend of the argument, if I may call it such, to show what progress and in connection with showing what progress to show what danger there is in this principle of so-called protection if it is not properly and carefully guarded and restrained.

REPUBLICAN OPINION ON THE LUMBER TAX.

My predecessor on the floor, whose loyalty to the country and the party has not been questioned by those men who have thought fit to differ with me, when he came fresh from the people, with his homely virtues, such as we have upon the prairies, was occupying the position as to the question of lumber that would to-day put his standing in the party, as far as the would-be leaders of the party are concerned, in jeopardy, and I want to show what his opinion was with reference to this subject in some of the debates that took place on this floor some years ago, and which he, no doubt entertains to-day, unless, forsooth, he has made as much progress as some of his colleagues on this floor. In the Forty-seventh Congress, on the 14th day of February, 1883, in his place in this Hall, my distinguished predecessor made these remarks, and I wish to repeat that his whole political standing in the party, if some of those self-constituted bosses are allowed to determine the question, would be jeopardized.

Mr. Hepburn said: It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin as well as the gentleman from Maine, is unnecessarily indignant towards those of us who have said something with reference to the preservation of the forests of this country. No one has proposed to say that the gentleman from Maine and the gentleman from Wisconsin may not destroy their forists as rapidly as they choose. It is not the question presented in this paragraph. The question is as to whether we will offer them a bonus of ten, fifteen, or twenty dollars an acre for the destruction of their forests. That is what they ask us to do.

He does not put it on the doubtful ground that is suggested here by some. He wants to protect the forests by a broad and manly and defensible plan in the interests of his constituents and of all the people of the country.

Mr. Chairman, this is what my colleague said further:

It is not the question presented in this paragraph. The question is as to whether we will offer them a bonus $10, $15, or $20 an acre for the destruction of their forests. That is what they ask us to do. There is no objection to these forests being destroyed, perhaps. There is no question of the right of these gentlemen who own them to destroy them if they see fit.

Mr. Chairman, I concur with my predecessor in that, and I put my belief in free trade in lumber on no such grounds as the protection of the forests. My predecessor went on to say:

But they have no right to quarrel with us because we refuse to give them this bonus of one, two, three, and three and a half dollars a thousand feet for their destruction, which amounts to from $20 to $25 an acre for the forests.

Mr. Chairman, I invite attention to the reason which my predecessor gives at this point. He says further:

Here is the difference, it seems to me, between the position of this now under consideration and any of the other protected industries of this country. It is claimed that the reason why this protection should be given is to protect the laborer, and yet a gentleman speaking by authority for the State of Michigan only a few days ago in another place admitted that 10,000 or more laborers from the Dominion of Canada each winter cross the river, or an imaginary line, and become competitors with our people in the forests of Michigan. We know that in Maine it is an easy matter to introduce all the cheap labor—the pauper labor, if you choose—from Canada. Now, why should we offer this bonus to that class of laborers?

There are more laboring men than those engaged in the technically protected industries of the country. There are thirty millions of people in this country who are interested in the labor of agriculture, and they are put off by such a tub to the whale as a duty on exports.

Granting for argument's sake that the laborer's in the protected industries receive increased wages on account of the high war taxes being retained, those so to be benefited are very few in numbers compared with the great body of farmers who must pay these taxes, and who are not, in turn, in any way benefited thereby.

I wish to say to gentlemen who talk so eloquently about devoloping the industries of America, that there is perhaps no trouble in developing the tin-plate industry or any other if the parties developing it can make the millions of people who are not interested in the business foot the bills.

If there is a single thing in the country that the laboring people engaged in agricultural pursuits are concerned in, it is the domination and control of the great commercial establishments, which, like the railroads, the telegraph, the banks, and the manufactories, the creatures of legislation, are dictating unduly and at the expense of the other industrial establishments of the country the laws that impose the hundreds of millions of taxes which the people pay annually into an overflowing Treasury.

XV.

THE BURDENSOME TAX ON SALT.

THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SALT-PRODUCING DISTRICTS SAY THEY CAN COMPETE SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE WORLD.

Representative Justin R. Whiting, of Michigan, June 9.

Although I am a manufacturer of salt, I do not feel justified in taking a course against tariff reduction on this article of commodity. Had I thought that would be wise, I could not have accepted a nomination for a seat upon this floor upon a platform which clearly and boldly asked for tariff reduction.

I see the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Burrows) does not clearly understand the facts as to this question of salt. The foreign salt which is imported into Michigan sells there at wholesale, or at the agencies, at $2.75 for 224 pounds of salt, which is four bushels of salt. The dairymen buy this salt; the farmers also buy it. The ordinary Michigan salt brings the manufacturers about 60 cents for 280 pounds of salt, which is five bushels. Now, is it not a bad criticism on the intelligence of these men if they will pay $2 75 for 224 pounds of foreign salt, if the ordinary domestic salt, which brings the manufacturer but 60 cents for 280 pounds, will answer just as well?

But they buy the foreign salt because they believe it to be a necessity on their part. They pay the higher price for foreign salt because they believe it keeps their butter better. If they did not so believe they would buy the cheaper American product and not pay so large a price for the foreign salt. But they feel that it is an injustice to them, when there is really no competition between the ordinary American product and the foreign salt, that they should be compelled to pay 27 cents a sack duty on every sack of foreign salt. They are in favor of putting salt on the free list. They know very well, Mr. Chairman, that the large exporter of meat has the duty on salt remitted when he exports his product. The large exporters of meat get a rebate when their product is exported. The exporters of meat and fish get their salt free. Why, then, should the dairyman or farmer be compelled to pay 27 cents a sack on foreign salt when that foreign salt does not come in competition with the common grade of American salt, and the higher grades when they bring anything like the price of English salt duty free do not need any protection. The dairymen use foreign salt because they get more for their butter. They sell their product for an average price of 30 cents a pound, and they use fine English salt to keep up the price; and the duty on salt imported is therefore a burden upon them which ought to be remitted.

Now, the claim made by the gentleman from Michigan, that we can not sell our salt in New York city, is not in accordance with the fact, so far as my knowledge goes.

ABLE TO COMPETE WITH ANY COUNTRY.

The gentleman from Michigan said that the English salt could be landed in New York city for $5.75 a ton. I have been told by a gentleman here, a very intelligent gentleman, and in the salt business, that this Liverpool salt cost there $6 a ton. That is not a material difference, therefore, in that respect. But the Warsaw salt people of the State of New York send their salt to New York city and sell it at $4.50 a ton. Church & Co., the salaratus manufacturers, buy their salt at $4.25 a ton and are satisfied with the quality of it in their business. There is no reason in the world why Michigan should send its common salt, or what is called "fine salt," into New York at all. New York State can supply the city of New York with salt, and she need not go West to interfere with the Michigan industries.

Now, I want to say that salt is bulky and will not bear very great transportation as a rule. It will not pay to ship salt to Kansas, as there have been discovered great salt fields in Kansas; and I have been of opinion lately that at my first opportunity I would like to go to Kansas and manufacture salt there. It can be made

there, and let me tell you that English salt free, or even with a premium added to it, could not be transported to Kansas and compete with salt made there. And if there are places somewhere on the seaboard where British salt can be laid down in competition with American salt, I do not think it is fair for the manufacturer to ask the people living there to pay from four to six dollars a ton transportation to get it there. It is not honest.

Now, on this tariff question generally I have but one thing to say. I believe that a reduction of the tariff simply reduces the toll which a foreign manufacturer pays for access to our markets. If that toll is reduced it will make that access freer and easier to him, but that necessarily increases competition, and competition means lower prices, and that is what the people demand. It is what the manufacturers need if they would make a success of manufacturing long in this country. I do not see how manufacturers can expect with impunity to combine, close up part of their factories, and then ask the overtaxed agricultural people of this country to pay them higher prices. It curtails business and throws labor out of employment.

HOW THE REPUBLICANS PROTECTED SALT.

Representative Timothy E. Tarsney, of Michigan, June 1.

It happens that I come from the centre of the salt-producing district of the Northwest, the great Saginaw district, the city in which I live. Last year we produced 3,944,000 and some odd barrels of salt. That is just about our average annual products, although this year it will probably exceed 4,000,000 barrels. That, as has been said by my distinguished colleague (Mr. Burrows), is more than one-third of the entire salt consumed within the limits of the United States. About one-half of the balance is produced in the other States of the Union outside of Michigan, and the remainder is imported.

Now, I desire to make a statement concerning the true position that salt has held, which may be startling to some of my friends on the other side, and I ask their careful attention to it. I desire to make this statement, and I make it from personal observation, as well as from the best testimony that I can get from leading salt manufacturers, even from the president of the Salt Association of Michigan himself, and all of these point to the fact, which is admitted by the president of the Salt Association to which I have referred, that salt is practically upon the free-list to-day.

Now listen; if while you are talking about protecting salt I point to the record of the Republican party and show the fact that it was from your hands came the very first blow that struck down the duties on salt, then I think your arguments on this subject will have been largely met. I refer to the record of your acts in 1871, and I call your attention to what a leader of your party then said, Mr. Eugene Hale. Do you know him? He introduced a bill into this House, or rather he called it up for consideration, to place salt upon the free list. There was the first attack upon this product, and you will find by reference to the record of that session of Congress the evidence of what was done.

THE ATTACK MADE ON THE INTEREST OF THE FISHERMEN.

I will call the attention of the committee to that now. The very next day the distinguished decliner of the Presidency moved to place coal upon the free-list. Then time passed on again until 1883, and what do we find there? This provision of law, to be found on page 514 of the Statutes of that year, which did ruin, if that term can be applied, the industry of salt, and why? Because the duty was removed to the extent of 90 per cent. on all salt manufactured in the country for the purposes of curing meats, epecially upon proof that it was used for that purpose; but salt imported for the purpose of curing fish was admitted in bond, and that meant absolutely free. Who is benefited by it? Why, the gentleman from Maine, who has so manfully attacked this proposition, and the gentleman from Michigan, with his salt. But who passed that bill? I find that on March 3, 1883, on the vote for free salt, there were recorded the names of such distinguished gentlemen as the following (now I ask you to listen): Julius C. Burrows, of Michigan. I find another

protective patriot loudly proclaiming for protection, then representing the district from which my friend from New York comes, the Syracuse district. I refer to Mr. Frank Hiscock. His name I find appended there in favor of free salt. I find the name of another distinguished gentleman who marshals his forces here upon the floor of the House to-day in opposition to every proposition suggested by the Committee on Ways and Means to benefit the people of this country by a reduction of these charges—Mr. Reed, of Maine, who voted for free salt on that 3d day of March, 1883. There is your record.

I remember well, Mr. Chairman, when, in 1884, I stood upon a platform in the city of Saginaw, at that time as now the attorney for many salt producers of the State—and made the bold and open declaration that there was then no such thing as protection to them upon their salt. I pointed out the record that Mr. Hale had made and Mr. Hoar had made, and the record of Mr. Hiscock upon this question.

WANTS THE REPUBLICAN LEADER'S HELP.

I also pointed out to them the record my distinguished friend from Maine (Mr. Reed) had made. I stated, these are the men who have protected you; see what they have done. Oh, yes; but before that the same man Hale, who struck the blow at our salt industry, came to Saginaw and took a great interest in that question of our protection. Oh! you ought to have seen the elaborate preparations they made to receive the distinguished protectionist, the man who was doing so much for their local industries. A platform of salt barrels and lumber and shingles was erected in an angle of the street, and the distinguished gentleman from Maine had talked boldly and loudly about protecting the very salt that he voted to destroy and tried to destroy.

A distinguished gentleman whose death we mourned here but a few months ago, Hon. John A. Logan—he, too, voted for free salt; and one of my predecessors, one John F. Griggs, who represented the Saginaw district, and as consistent and honorable a gentleman as ever lived, came here then, an ex-member of Congress, deputed to plead for the salt industries of that district in my State. Mr. Logan turned to him and said: "Why, Griggs, I voted at that time to maintain the duty upon salt, and I never got the devil so much in my life as I did from my constituents for the vote that I then gave."

Now, then, Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to occupy the attention of this committee but a moment longer, and I simply do so to call to the attention of the committee the fact that I represent a district and the people of a district whom I know well. Knowing the ground upon which I stand, knowing the situation of our people there, I could not permit myself to remain silent upon this floor, and have one of my colleagues, who hitherto has voted to strike down the very industry for which he now pleads, undertake to represent me or my constituents.

I will take care of myself. I will do my duty to my own constituents without his aid. I can go home to my constituents at Saginaw, and I can justify the vote that I shall cast upon this question to them.

To my distinguished friend from Maine I desire to say, and to the House, that every time I have been a candidate for Congress in the Saginaw district that gentleman has been there opposing me.

Mr. Cox—You ought to thank him for it.

Mr. Tarsney—I do thank him for it; and I desire to say more than that: that if I should ever be so unfortunate, as I hope I shall not be, of becoming again a candidate for Congress, all I desire is, on behalf of myself, and on behalf of the salt manufacturers of Saginaw, on behalf of my constituents generally, to invite the gentleman from Maine to come down again and help to send me back here.

XVI.

THE POWER OF TAXATION.

WHAT IT COSTS THE PEOPLE UNDER THE WORKINGS OF THE PRESENT LAW TO MAINTAIN TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

James D. Richardson, May 8, 1888.

Whence comes the power to tax the people to build up monopolies and make rich certain special interests by subsidy? I remember one argument I have heretofore had to meet, and I have heard it repeated on this floor, that all high protective duties or taxes are paid by the foreigners who manufacture goods and bring them here to market. How is this? Recently I read this statement:

> In 1881 the duty on the best plate glass was 112 per cent. Glass of this kind selling in Belgium for $386,000 was imported here, and, at 112 per cent., duty or tariff was paid on it to the amount of $437,000. It was then sold here in the United States for $850,000. Now, who paid this duty? Did the Belgian manufacturer? If he did, then out of the $386,000, which was all he got for his glass, he paid $437,000 to our government for the privilege of sending it here. In other words, he gave us his glass for nothing when he could have sold it at home for $386,000, and he gave us $51,000 more for leave to do so.

If this glass only sold for $386,000 in Belgium, when it was brought here and sold to our consumers for $850,000, of which $437,000 went into the Treasury as taxes, I want to know if the consumers here did not pay this tax? But for the high tariff of 112 per cent. on the glass our consumers here would have been able to buy it at $386,000, and the transportation added. There can be no answer to this argument. In many instances, however, the tariff is laid so high that it amounts to a total prohibition of the importation of the goods so taxed. Then what is the inevitable result? If the goods are not imported, you say of course the Treasury gets no tax or tariff. This is true; but while that is true, our people who have to buy these goods from American manufacturers, thus prohibited from importation by reason of high duty, pay the increased prices all the same. Not that it goes into the Treasury, for in this case it goes into the pockets of the American manufacturer in the shape of subsidy or increase in profits. Many of the cheapest of woolen goods are thus taxed so high they are not imported. The duty on them varies from 115 to 200 per cent., and they cannot be brought here by foreign merchants and sold after paying this high rate of tariff duty. The American manufacturer, however, knowing this, charges from 75 to 150 per cent. more for these goods than the foreigner, and is secure against his competition.

ALL A TAX PAID BY THE CONSUMER.

Who pays this increased price to our manufacturers? Not the foreign importer, for we have seen he does not in this case import on account of the high duty, but it is all paid by the poor consumer in our country who is compelled to buy these cheap woolen goods. And even in cases where the foreigner imports his goods, if he pays duty upon them he is not at least the party who suffers most under this tariff for protection. The best statistics we have show that the proportion of American goods we use to foreign goods is about five to one; so that the tariff raises the price of goods to our people about five times where it places the tax once upon the foreigner who brings his goods here for sale. Therefore when $1 is paid into the Treasury for tariff our people have paid $5 to the American manufacturer in the shape of subsidy. As we raise every year about $200,000,000 by the tariff, it follows that to do this the people pay five times this sum, or ten hundred millions in subsidy. Such a law for taxation is not right and cannot be defended on any just or equitable

principle; yet any propositions which look to any reduction of taxes or the giving of any relief to the people are met by the cry of "free trade," and that an assault is being made upon the great American system of protection.

Whence, I ask again, comes the authority to Congress to lay any duty which does not look simply to raising revenue? Congress has no more authority under the Constitution to take money from me which it does not need for the Government, under the guise of a revenue law, with the view of aiding or benefiting some other citizen or class of citizens, than it has to take my horses, mules, sheep, or other property for a like purpose.

According to the logic of the argument of protection Congress can levy a tax upon the people to raise $101,000,000, of which one million will go into the Treasury as taxes and the remaining one hundred millions will go into the pockets of a benefited class. Such a proposition, I submit, is monstrous. Who contends that the tariff is not a tax? I have heard that there are some who make this contention. Hear the great Western lawyer and orator, Mr. Storrs, on this point. He said:

Finally, what is a tariff? It is a tax. It is nothing less and nothing but a tax. It is a tax which we do not pay to the Government; for where protection begins revenue ceases. The consumer is impoverished, the Government is not aided.

This is an honest statement. A protective tariff laid upon four thousand articles of daily consumption by our people means a tax laid upon these articles, not for revenue, not for any purpose of government; for as quoted above, "where protection begins revenue ceases." I have heard it gravely argued here and elsewhere that the high tariff reduced the price of every merchantable commodity, and that all profits are raised by this system. If this be true it opens up a new way for us all to get rich, and it is to be recommended as a popular panacea for poverty. We need only keep on piling up taxes, increase the protection, make the tariff altogether prohibitory, place restrictions upon trade until profits are carried up 300 or 400 per cent., and when all trade has ceased everybody's profits will be increased.

This again is absurd. Take the article of quinine which a few years ago was sold under a high duty. Our people paid $3.50 per ounce for it; the tariff was taken off, and did this "merchantable commodity,' go higher as was predicted? On the other hand it retails at 80 cents per ounce. When it was sold at $3.50 per ounce who paid it? The consumers among our people. Who got the benefit of the protection on it? Only two or three manufacturers in the United States. Who gets the benefits now of the reduction to 80 cents per ounce? The question answers itself.

Let us pursue this a little further. To the manufacturer the protectionist says, we give you a protective tariff, that you may get higher prices for your goods; that is the avowed object of it. To the consumer of these goods—the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, the doctor—he says, we will give you a protective tariff, that you may get goods you buy of the manufacturer cheaper. And to the laborer he says, we give you protective tariff that you may get higher wages from the manufacturer. And the people believe him in each case. Let us suppose the object of the protective tariff was to enable lawyers to charge larger fees for their legal services, and as a lawyer I was to say to my clients, you ought to favor this law, for while it enables me to charge you larger fees it also enables you to get my services more cheaply. Let the miller say to his customers, you should favor this law, because it enables me to take more toll from you and at the same time give you more meal. So with the physician. So with the mechanic who builds your house. This argument would not work at all in any of these cases, but just apply it to the manufacturer and it acts like a charm. It is a wonderful antidote.

WHAT THE TAX PAYER HAS TO BEAR.

To answer, further the contention that this protective tariff lessens the cost of living and cheapens goods to our people, I will insert here a table which shows the rate of tax laid upon some of the necessaries of life which enter into daily consumption by every family in the land, I care not how rich or poor they may be:

TARIFF ON CLOTHES AND OTHER ARTICLES.

	cents.		cents.
Men's suits of wool—on every dollar you invest in a suit the tariff takes	48	Pen-Knives	50
Woolen hosiery and undershirts	75	Needles	25
Cotton hosiery and undershirts	45	Steel pens	45
Woolen hats and caps	75	Paper	00
Your wife's silk dress, about	50	Razors	55
Gloves	60	On your carpet, if made of druggets, for every dollar	74
Blankets	60	Carpet, if made of tapestry	68
Alpaca dresses	63	Furniture (ask G. R. dealers)	35
Any other woolen dressing	70	Wall paper	25
Scissors	45	Window curtains	45
Brass pins	30	Looking glass	60
Hair-pins	45	Ornaments	35

TARIFF ON KITCHENS.

	cents.		cents.
On every dollar's worth of iron in your stove there is a tariff of	45	Table cutlery and spoons	45
Pots and kettles	58	Pickled and salt fish	25
Copper and brass utensils	45	Salt	36
Crockery of the commonest kind	55	Sugar	48
Glassware, cheapest kind	45	Rice	123
		Oranges and other fruit	10

If your woolen suit cost you $10, put it down that $4.80 of that cost is protective tariff tax, and so with each article named in the table. So the laboring man, the farmer, the lawyer, the preacher, the physician, the mechanic, everybody, every day, everywhere in our land is paying this tribute under the present tariff laws. It is an insidious tax. It is an indirect tax.

If a tax-collector of the United States stood at the store door and levied and collected the tax upon every article set forth in the preceding table at the rate therein set forth, there would be an immediate outcry, and the gentlemen now on this floor who are defending with their might the present rate of taxation would change their position on this question or they would be retired by the people to the shades of private life While this is true, the very people who would rather fight than pay such a tax as I have mentioned to a tax-gatherer at the store door will uncomplainingly pay higher taxes when they are collected by the storekeeper in the shape of increased prices.

XVII.

THE PAUPER LABOR ARGUMENT.

AN INSULT TO THE FREE AND EFFICIENT LABOR WHICH HAS BUILT UP THIS COUNTRY BY ITS HARD TOIL.

Representative John E. Russell, of Massachusetts, May 28.

A great deal has been said about "pauper labor" and about the workingmen of New England—of Massachusetts, for instance—being unable to compete with it. I scorn that argument. My people can compete with the labor of any part of the world if they have a free field. Let me give you an instance in our boot and shoe industry which will prove that. A few years ago one of the great inventors of the State of Massachusetts, one of the makers of those magnificent automatic machines that play so great a part in the manufactures of our day, invented and took out letters patent all over the world for sewing and heeling machines which turned out the handsomest boots and shoes that can be made. The proprietors of those machines

did not choose to sell them directly to the manufacturers; they preferred to lease them, their use being paid for by a royalty upon each boot or shoe sewed on them, the number being indicated by a device which registered it upon the machine itself.

After that machine was started in this country they went over to Europe with it and introduced it into the great boot and shoe manufacturing establishments not only of Great Britain, but also of Germany, and at the end of the year they were very much surprised to find that their royalties from the machines in use in England reached only 47 per cent of what they collected in the State of Massachusetts. They were alarmed and suspicious. They knew that from the accurate construction of the machine and the certainty of its registering power it could not tell any lie about its own work; so they sent over one of the ablest men in Massachusetts in the examination of patent matters to investigate.

He came back and told them that they were getting an honest return from the foreign boot and shoe manufacturers, and that the explanation was that the best labor of England could not produce with those machines more than 47 per cent. of the amount of work that was produced by the Massachusetts operatives upon the same machine. That meant that the American mechanic, with his enterprise and his ambition, standing at those machines worked more hours a day at a greater rate of speed than did the "pauper labor," as it is called, of Great Britain; it meant that the Englishman quit work on Saturday afternoon and did not come back to work until Tuesday morning; it meant that he would not work as many hours or stand to his work as well as the Massachusetts workman, and there is the whole difference between "pauper labor" and free labor.

HOW THE QUESTION WAS FORMERLY DEALT WITH.

Gentlemen on the other side of the House declare that the whole prosperity of this country is founded upon the tariff of 47.10 per cent., and, so far as I understand their position, they will not agree that one jot or tittle of what they call "protection" in that regard shall be touched or taken away. That was not the feeling of our people in old times, when the cotton manufacturing industries of Massachusetts were established. It was not the feeling of the House of Representatives when it came to deal with the question of a great surplus in 1856.

We were then living under a tariff averaging 28 per cent., the tariff of 1846, which was made by the greatest financier that this country had seen since Alexander Hamilton. I mean Robert J. Walker. He was not from Arkansas; he was not from Texas: he was not from Kentucky; but he happened to be from Mississippi, and yet the tariff which the Mississippian made brought prosperity to the country. So we may be permitted to hope that a tariff made in part by a Texan (Mr. Mills) may produce the same result. But, Mr. Chairman, in 1857, when the country had a large surplus and we were living under a tariff of 28 per cent., the manufacturers of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, came to this House and asked for a reduction of the tariff. That reduction was 21 per cent., and if the gentleman from Maine will look back at the record of that time he will see nine members of Congress, the whole delegation in this House, and the two Senators voted with the solid South to reduce that to 21 per cent. I regret they were not followed by all of New England.

In 1871 the Treasury showed pretty much the same condition we have to-day. There was a surplus of $100,000,000. Under the administration of General Grant the President repeatedly advised the reduction of the tariff, and no man howled free trade when he made such recommendations to Congress. What did the House do at that time? What did the Republican party in charge of the affairs of Congress at that time do? Did they pass a bill in favor of cheap whiskey and cheap tobacco? Did they pass a tariff taking off revenue taxes and leaving all the taxes on the common articles of consumption? No, Mr. Chairman, not a bit of it; but they passed a bill to reduce the tariff, and they did reduce the tariff under the lead of another Massachusetts man, Mr. Dawes, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, who brought in a bill similar to that which you laughed away from the doors of the House when proposed by the Committee on Ways and Means by its chairman, Mr. Morrison, a horizontal reduction of 10 per cent.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL HONOR.

THE MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND ON THE QUESTION OF RETALIATING UPON CANADA.

To the Congress:—The rejection by the Senate of the treaty lately negotiated for the settlement and adjustment of the differences existing between the United States and Great Britain concerning the rights and privileges of American fishermen in the ports and waters of British North America, seems to justify a survey of the condition to which the pending question is thus remitted.

The treaty upon this subject concluded in 1818, through disagreeements as to the meaning of its terms, has been a fruitful source of irritation and trouble. Our citizens engaged in fishing enterprises in waters adjacent to Canada, have been subjected to numerous vexatious interferences and annoyances, their vessels have been seized upon pretexts which appeared to be entirely inadmissible, and they have been otherwise treated by the Canadian authorities and officials in a manner inexcusably harsh and oppressive.

This conduct has been justified by Great Britain and Canada, by the claim that the treaty of 1818 permitted it, and upon the ground that it was necessary to the proper protection of Canadian interests. We deny that treaty agreements justify these acts, and we further maintain that, aside from any treaty restraints, of disputed interpretation, the relative positions of the United States and Canada as near neighbors, the growth of our joint commerce, the development and prosperity of both countries, which amicable relations surely guarantee, and above all, the liberality always extended by the United States to the people of Canada, furnished motives for kindness and consideration higher and better than treaty covenants.

While keenly sensitive to all that was exasperating in the condition, and by no means indisposed to support the just complaints of our injured citizens, I still deemed it my duty for the preservation of important American interests which were directly involved, and in view of all the details of the situation, to attempt by negotiation to remedy existing wrongs and to finally terminate, by a fair and just treaty these ever recurring causes of difficulty.

I fully believe that the treaty just rejected by the Senate was well suited to the exigency, and that its provisions were adequate for our security in the future from vexatious incidents and for the promotion of friendly neighborhood and intimacy, without sacrificing in the least our national pride or dignity.

I am quite concious that neither my opinion of the value of the rejected treaty nor the motives which prompted its negotiation, are of importance in the light of the judgment of the Senate thereupon. But it is of importance to note that this treaty has been rejected without any apparent disposition on the part of the Senate to alter or amend its provisions, and with the evident intention, not wanting expression, that no negotiation should at present be concluded touching the matter at issue.

The co-operation necessary for the adjustment of the long-standing national differences with which we have to deal, by methods of conference and agreement, having thus been declined, I am by no means disposed to abandon the interests and the rights of our people in the premises, or to neglect their grievances; and I therefore turn to the contemplation of a plan of retaliation as a mode, which still remains, of treating the situation.

I am not unmindful of the gravity of the responsibility assumed in adopting this line of conduct, nor do I fail in the least to appreciate its serious consequences. It will be impossible to injure our Canadian neighbors by retaliatory measures without inflicting some damage upon our own citizens. This results from our proximity, our community of interests, and the inevitable commingling of the business enterprises which have been developed by mutual activity.

Plainly stated, the policy of national retaliation manifestly embraces the infliction of the greatest harm upon those who have injured us, with the least possible damage to ourselves. There is also an evident propriety as well as an invitation to moral support, found in visiting upon the offending party the same measure or kind of treatment of which we complain, and as far as possible within the same lines. And above all things the plan of retaliation, if entered upon, should be thorough and vigorous.

CONGRESS APPEALED TO FOR ADDITIONAL POWER.

These considerations lead me at this time to invoke the aid and counsel of the Congress and its support in such a further grant of power as seems to me necessary and desirable to render effective the policy I have indicated.

The Congress has already passed a law, which received Executive assent on the third day of March, 1887, providing that in case American fishing vessels being or visiting in the waters, or at any of the ports of the British Dominions of North America, should be, or lately have been, deprived of the rights to which they were entitled by treaty or law, or if they were denied certain other privileges therein specified, or vexed and harassed in the enjoyment of the same, the President might deny to vessels and their masters and crews of the British Dominions of North America any entrance into the waters, ports or harbors of the United States, and also deny entry into any port or place of the United States of any product of said Dominions, or other goods coming from said Dominion to the United States.

While I shall not hesitate upon proper occasion to enforce this act, it would seem to be unnecessary to suggest that, if such enforcement is limited in such a manner as shall result in the least possible injury to our own people, the effect would probably be entirely inadequate to the accomplishment of the purpose desired.

I deem it my duty, therefore, to call the attention of the Congress to certain particulars in the action of the authorities of the Dominion of Canada, in addition to the general allegations already made, which appear to be in such marked contrast to the liberal and friendly disposition of our country as in my opinion to call for such legislation as will, upon the principles already stated, properly supplement the power to inaugurate retaliation already vested in the Executive.

Actuated by the generous and neighborly spirit which has characterized our legislation, our tariff laws have since 1866 been so far waived in favor of Canada as to allow free of duty the transit across the territory of the United States of property arriving at our ports and destined to Canada, or exported from Canada to other foreign countries.

When the treaty of Washington was negotiated in 1871 between the United States and Great Britain, having for its object very largely the modification of the treaty of 1818, the privileges above referred to were made reciprocal and given in return by Canada to the United States in the following language, contained in the twenty-ninth article of said treaty:

"It is agreed that, for the term of years mentioned in article thirty-three of this treaty, goods, wares, or merchandise arriving at the ports of New York, Boston and Portland, and any other ports in the United States which have been or may, from time to time, be specially designated by the President of the United States, and destined for Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in North America, may be entered at the proper custom-house and conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, through the territory of the United

States, under such rules, regulations and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the Government of the United States may from time to time prescribe; and under like rules, regulations, and conditions goods, wares or merchandise may be conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties from such Possessions through the territory of the United States for export from the said ports of the United States.

"It is further agreed that, for the like period, goods, wares, or merchandise arriving at any of the ports of Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in North America, and destined for the United States, may be entered at the proper custom-house and conveyed in transit without the payment of duties, through the said Possessions, under such rules and regulations and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the Governments of the said Possessions may from time to time prescribe; and, under like rules, and regulations, and conditions, goods, wares, or merchandise may be conveyed in transit, without payment of duties, from the United States through the said Possessions to other places in the United States, or for export from ports in the said Possessions."

SUSPENDING THE RIGHT OF TRANSIT.

In the year 1886 notice was received by the representatives of our Government that our fishermen would no longer be allowed to ship their fish in bond and free of duty through Canadian territory to this country; and ever since that time such shipment has been denied.

The privilege of such shipment which had been extended to our fishermen, was a most important one, allowing them to spend the time upon the fishing-grounds which would otherwise be devoted to a voyage home with their catch, and doubling their opportunities for profitably prosecuting their vocation.

In forbidding the transit of the catch of our fishermen over their territory in bond and free of duty, the Canadian authorities deprived us of the only facility dependent upon their concession, and for which we could supply no substitute.

The value of the Dominion of Canada of the privilege of transit for their exports and imports across our territory, and to and from our ports, though great in every respect, will be better appreciated when it is remembered that, for a considerable portion of each year, the St. Lawrence River, which constitutes the direct avenue of foreign commerce leading to Canada, is closed by ice.

During the last six years the imports and exports of British Canadian Provinces carried across our territory under the privileges granted by our laws, amounted in value to about two hundred and seventy millions of dollars, nearly all of which were goods dutiable under our tariff laws, by far the larger part of this traffic consisting of exchanges of goods between Great Britain and her American provinces brought to and carried from our ports in their own vessels.

The treaty stipulation entered into by our government was in harmony with laws which were then on our statute-book, and are still in force.

I recommend immediate legislative action conferring upon the Executive the power to suspend by proclamation the operation of all laws and regulations permitting the transit of goods, wares, and merchandise in bond across or over the territory of the United States to or from Canada.

There need be no hesitation in suspending these laws arising from the supposition that their continuation is secured by treaty obligations, for it seems quite plain that article twenty-nine of the treaty of 1871, which was the only article incorporating such laws, terminated the first day of July, 1885.

The article itself declares that its provisions shall be in force "for the term of years mentioned in article thirty-three of this treaty." Turning to article thirty-three we find no mention of the twenty-ninth article, but only a provision that articles eighteen to twenty-five, inclusive, and article thirty shall take effect as soon as the laws required to carry them into operation shall be passed by the legislative bodies of the different countries concerned, and that "they shall remain in force for the period of ten years from the date at which they may come into operation, and further until the expiration of two years after either of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same."

I am of the opinion that the "term of years mentioned in article thirty-three," referred to in article twenty-nine as the limit of its duration, means the period during which articles eighteen to twenty-five, inclusive, and article thirty, commonly called the "fishery articles," should continue in force under the language of said article thirty-three.

That the Joint High Commissioners who negotiated the treaty so understood and intended the phrase, is certain, for in a statement containing an account of their negotiations, prepared under their supervision and approved by them, we find the following entry on the subject:

"The transit question was discussed, and it was agreed that any settlement that might be made should include a reciprocal arrangement in that respect for the period for which the fishery articles should be in force."

In addition to this very satisfactory evidence supporting this construction of the language of article twenty-nine, it will be found that the law passed by Congress to carry the treaty into effect furnishes conclusive proof of the correctness of such construction.

THE UNDOUBTED RIGHT OF THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE THIS ACTION.

This law was passed March 1, 1873, and is entitled "An act to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, signed in the city of Washington the eighth day of May, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, relating to the fisheries." After providing in its first and second sections for putting in operation articles eighteen to twenty-five, inclusive, and article thirty of the treaty, the third section is devoted to article twenty-nine as follows:

"SECTION 3. That from the date of the President's proclamation authorized by the first section of this act, and so long as the articles eighteenth to twenty-fifth, inclusive, and article thirtieth of said treaty shall remain in force according to the terms and conditions of article thirty-third of said treaty, all goods, wares and merchandise arriving, etc., etc."—

following in the remainder of the section the precise words of the stipulation on the part of the United States as contained in article twenty-nine, which I have already fully quoted.

Here, then, is a distinct enactment of the Congress limiting the duration of this article of the treaty to the time that articles eighteen to twenty-five, inclusive, and article thirty, should continue in force. That in fixing such limitation it but gave the meaning of the treaty itself, is indicated by the fact that its purpose is declared to be to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty, and by the further fact that this law appears to have been submitted before the promulgation of the treaty to certain members of the Joint High Commission representing both countries, and met with no objection or dissent.

There appearing to be no conflict or inconsistency between the treaty and the act of the Congress last cited, it is not necessary to invoke the well-settled principle that in such conflict the statute governs the question.

In any event, and whether the law of 1873 construes the treaty or governs it, section twenty-nine of such treaty, I have no doubt, terminated with the proceedings taken by our Government to terminate articles eighteen to twenty-five, inclusive, and article thirty of the treaty. These proceedings had their inception in a joint resolution of Congress passed May 3, 1883, declaring that in the judgment of Congress these articles ought to be terminated, and directing the President to give the notice to the Government of Great Britain provided for in article thirty-three of the treaty. Such notice having been given two years prior to the first day of July, 1885, the articles mentioned were absolutely terminated on the last-named day, and with them article twenty-nine was also terminated.

If by any language used in the joint resolution it was intended to relieve section three of the act of 1873 embodying article twenty-nine of the treaty from its own limitations, or to save the article itself, I am entirely satisfied that the intention miscarried.

But statutes granting to the people of Canada the valuable privileges of transit for their goods from our ports and over our soil, which had been passed prior to the making of the treaty of 1871 and independently of it, remained in force; and ever since the abrogation of the treaty, and notwithstanding the refusal of Canada to permit our fishermen to send their fish to their home market through her territory in bond, the people of that Dominion have enjoyed without diminution the advantages of our liberal and generous laws.

THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH RETALIATION IS BASED.

Without basing our complaint upon a violation of treaty obligations, it is nevertheless true that such refusal of transit and the other injurious acts which have been recited constitute a provoking insistance upon the rights neither mitigated by the amenities of national intercourse nor modified by the recognition of our liberality and generous considerations.

The history of events connected with this subject makes it manifest that the Canadian Government can, if so disposed, administer its laws and protect the interests of its people without manifestation of unfriendliness, and without the unneighborly treatment of our fishing vessels of which we have justly complained; and whatever is done on our part should be done in the hope that the disposition of the Canadian Government may remove the occasion of a resort to the additional Executive power now sought through legislative action.

I am satisfied that upon the principles which should govern retaliation our intercourse and relations with the Dominion of Canada furnish no better opportunity for its application than is suggested by the conditions herein presented; and that it could not be more effectively inaugurated than under the power of suspension recommended.

While I have expressed my clear conviction upon the question of the continuance of section twenty-nine of the treaty of 1871, I of course fully concede the power and the duty of the Congress, in contemplating legislative action, to construe the terms of any treaty stipulation which might, upon any possible consideration of good faith, limit such action; and likewise the peculiar propriety in the case here presented of its interpretation of its own language as contained in the laws of 1873 putting in operation said treaty, and of 1883 directing the termination thereof; and if in the deliberate judgment of Congress any restraint to the proposed legislation exists, it is to be hoped that the expediency of its early removal will be recognized.

THE NAVIGATION OF THE GREAT LAKES.

I desire, also, to call the attention of the Congress to another subject involving such wrongs and unfair treatment to our citizens as, in my opinion, require prompt action.

The navigation of the great lakes, and the immense business and carrying trade growing out of the same, have been treated broadly and liberally by the United States Government, and made free to all mankind, while Canadian railroads and navigation companies share in our country's transportation upon terms as favorable as are accorded to our own citizens.

The canals and other public works built and maintained by the Government along the line of the lakes are made free to all.

In contrast to this condition, and evincing a narrow and ungenerous commercial spirit, every lock and canal which is a public work of the Dominion of Canada is subject to tolls and charges.

By article twenty seven of the treaty of 1871 provision was made to secure to the citizens of the United States the use of the Welland, St. Lawrence, and other canals in the Dominion of Canada, on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion, and to also secure to the subjects of Great Britain the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States.

The equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion which we were promised in the use of the canals of Canada did not secure to us freedom from tolls in their navigation, but we had a right to expect that we, being Americans and interested in American commerce, would be no more burdened in regard to the same than Canadians engaged in their own trade; and the whole spirit of the concession made was, or should have been, that merchandise and property transported to an American market through these canals should not be enhanced in its cost by tolls many times higher than such as were carried to an adjoining Canadian market. All our citizens, producers and consumers, as well as vessel-owners, were to enjoy the equality promised.

And yet evidence has for some time been before the Congress, furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury, showing that while the tolls charged in the first instance are the same to all, such vessels and cargoes as are destined to certain Canadian ports are allowed a refund of nearly the entire tolls, while those bound for American ports are not allowed any such advantage.

To promise equality, and then in practice make it conditional upon our vessels doing Canadian business instead of their own, is to fulfill a promise with the shadow of performance.

A GOVERNMENT MUST PROTECT ITS OWN CITIZENS.

I recommend that such legislative action be taken as will give Canadian vessels navigating our canals, and their cargoes, precisely the advantages granted to our vessels and cargoes upon Canadian canals, and that the same be measured by exactly the same rule of discrimination.

The course which I have outlined and the recommendations made relate to the honor and dignity of our country and the protection and preservation of the rights and interests of all our people. A government does but half its duty when it protects its citizens at home and permits them to be imposed upon and humiliated by the unfair and over-reaching disposition of other nations. If we invite our people to rely upon arrangements made for their benefit abroad, we should see to it that they are not deceived; and if we are generous and liberal to a neighboring country our people should reap the advantage of it by a return of liberality and generosity.

These are subjects which partisanship should not disturb or confuse. Let us survey the ground calmly and moderately, and having put aside other means of settlement, if we enter upon the policy of retaliation let us pursue it firmly, with a determination only to subserve the interests of our people and maintain the high standard and the becoming pride of American citizenship.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
August 23, 1888.

POLITICAL TABLES.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

NAME.	QUALIFIED.	BORN.	DIED.
George Washington	April 30, 1789	Feb. 22, 1732	Dec. 14, 1799
George Washington	March 4, 1793		
John Adams	March 4, 1797	Oct. 19, 1735	July 4, 1826
Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1801	April 2, 1743	July 4, 1826
Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1805		
James Madison	March 4, 1809	March 5, 1751	June 28, 1836
James Madison	March 4, 1813		
James Monroe	March 4, 1817	April 28, 1758	July 4, 1831
James Monroe	March 5, 1821		
John Quincy Adams	March 4, 1825	July 11, 1767	Feb. 23, 1848
Andrew Jackson	March 4, 1829	Mar. 15, 1767	June 8, 1845
Andrew Jackson	March 4, 1833		
Martin Van Buren	March 4, 1837	Dec. 5, 1782	July 24, 1862
Wm. H. Harrison*	March 4, 1841	Feb. 9, 1773	April 4, 1841
John Tyler	April 6, 1841	Mar. 29, 1790	Jan. 17, 1862
James K. Polk	March 4, 1845	Nov. 2, 1795	June 15, 1849
Zachary Taylor*	March 5, 1849	Nov. 24, 1784	July 9, 1850
Millard Fillmore	July 9, 1850	Jan. 7, 1800	March 8, 1874
Franklin Pierce	March 4, 1853	Nov. 23, 1804	Oct. 8, 1869
James Buchanan	March 4, 1857	April 22, 1791	June 1, 1868
Abraham Lincoln	March 4, 1861	Feb. 12, 1809	April 15, 1865
Abraham Lincoln*	March 4, 1865		
Andrew Johnson	April 15, 1865	Dec. 29, 1808	July 30, 1875
Ulysses S. Grant	March 4, 1869	April 27, 1822	July 23, 1885
Ulysses S. Grant	March 4, 1873		
Rutherford B. Hayes	March 5, 1877	Oct. 4, 1822	
James A. Garfield*	March 4, 1881	Nov. 19, 1831	Sept. 19, 1881
Chester A. Arthur	Sep't 20, 1881	Oct. 5, 1830	June 18, 1886
Grover Cleveland	March 4, 1885	Mar. 18, 1837	

*Died in office.

VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

NAME.	QUALIFIED.	BORN.	DIED.
John Adams	June 3, 1789	1735	1826
John Adams	Dec. 2, 1793		
Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1797	1743	1826
Aaron Burr	March 4, 1801	1756	1836
George Clinton	March 4, 1805	1739	1812
George Clinton*	March 4, 1809		
Elbridge Gerry*	March 4, 1813	1744	1814
Daniel D. Tompkins	March 4, 1817	1744	1825
Daniel D. Tompkins	March 4, 1825		
John C. Calhoun	March 4, 1825	1782	1850
John C. Calhoun‡	March 4, 1829		
Martin Van Buren	March 4, 1833	1782	1862
Richard M. Johnson	March 4, 1837	1780	1850
John Tyler§	March 4, 1841	1790	1862
George M. Dallas	March 4, 1845	1792	1864
Millard Fillmore§	March 5, 1849	1800	1869
William R. King*	March 4, 1853	1786	1853
John C. Breckenridge	March 4, 1857	1821	1875
Hannibal Hamlin	March 4, 1861	1809	
Andrew Johnson§	March 4, 1865	1808	1875
Schuyler Colfax	March 4, 1869	1823	1885
Henry Wilson*	March 4, 1873	1812	1875
William A. Wheeler	March 5, 1877	1819	1887
Chester A. Arthur§	March 4, 1881	1830	1886

*Died in office. ‡Resigned the Vice-Presidency. §Became President.

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STATES.

I. Ratio of Representatives and Population.

By Constitution	1789					One to 30,000
" First Census,	from March 4th,	1793				" 33,000
" Second	"	"	"	"	1803	" 33,000
" Third	"	"	"	"	1813	" 35,000
" Fourth	"	"	"	"	1823	" 40,000
" Fifth	"	"	"	"	1833	" 47,700
" Sixth	"	"	"	"	1843	" 70,680
" Seventh	"	"	"	"	1853	" 93,423
" Eighth	"	"	"	"	1863	" 127,381
" Ninth	"	"	"	"	1873	" 131,425
" Tenth	"	"	"	"	1883	" 154,325

II. Representatives from Each State Under Each Census.

States.	Constitution, 1789.	1st Census.	2d Census.	3d Census.	4th Census.	5th Census.	6th Census.	7th Census.	8th Census.	9th Census.	10th Census.
Connecticut	5	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	4	4	4
Delaware	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Georgia	3	2	4	6	7	9	8	8	7	9	10
Maryland	6	8	9	9	9	8	6	6	5	6	6
Massachusetts	8	14	17	20	13	12	10	11	10	11	12
New Hampshire	3	4	5	6	6	5	4	3	3	3	2
New Jersey	4	5	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	7	7
New York	6	10	17	27	34	40	34	33	31	33	34
North Carolina	5	10	12	13	13	13	9	8	7	8	9
Pennsylvania	8	13	18	23	26	28	24	25	24	27	28
Rhode Island	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
South Carolina	5	6	8	9	9	9	7	6	4	5	7
Virginia	10	19	22	23	22	21	15	13	11	9	10
Kentucky	.....	2	6	10	12	13	10	10	9	10	11
Vermont	.....	2	4	6	5	5	4	3	3	3	2
Tennessee	.....	.....	3	6	9	13	11	10	8	10	10
Ohio	.....	.....	.....	6	14	19	21	21	19	20	21
Alabama	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	5	7	7	6	8	8
Illinois	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	7	9	14	19	20
Indiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	7	10	11	11	13	13
Louisiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	4	4	5	6	6
Maine	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	8	7	6	5	5	4
Mississippi	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	4	5	5	6	7
Missouri	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	5	7	9	13	14
Arkansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	3	4	5
Michigan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	4	6	9	11
California	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3	4	6
Florida	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2	2
Iowa	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	6	9	11
Minnesota	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	3	5
Oregon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	1
Texas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	6	11
Wisconsin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	6	8	9
Kansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	7
Nebraska	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	3
Nevada	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1
Colorado	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
West Virginia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	4
Whole number	65	105	141	181	213	240	223	237	243	293	325

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

The Presidential election will take place on Tuesday, November 6, 1888. The Constitution prescribes that each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress. For the election this year the electors by States will be as follows:

States.	Electoral Vote.	States.	Electoral Vote.
Alabama	10	Missouri	16
Arkansas	7	Nebraska	5
California	8	Nevada	3
Colorado	3	New Hamphire	4
Connecticut	6	New Jersey	9
Delaware	3	New York	36
Florida	4	North Carolina	11
Georgia	12	Ohio	23
Illinois	22	Oregon	3
Indiana	15	Pennsylvania	30
Iowa	13	Rhode Island	4
Kansas	9	South Carolina	9
Kentucky	13	Tennessee	12
Louisiana	8	Texas	13
Maine	6	Vermont	4
Maryland	8	Virginia	12
Massachusetts	14	West Virginia	6
Michigan	13	Wisconsin	11
Minnesota	7		
Mississippi	9	Total	401

Necessary to a choice, 201.

POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1884.

A table showing the vote by States for each of the four leading candidates for President, the plurality received, the aggregate vote cast.

STATES.	Cleveland. Dem.	Blaine. Rep.	Butler. Gr.	St. John. Pro.	Cleveland's Plurality.	Blaine's Plurality.	Total Popular Vote.
Alabama	92,973	59,144	762	610	33,829		153,489
Arkansas	72,927	50,895	1,847		22,032		125,580
California	89,288	102,416	2,017	2,920		13,158	193,738
Colorado	27,603	36,166	1,961	762		8,563	66,492
Connecticut	67,182	65,898	1,685	2,494	1,284		137,233
Delaware	16,976	13,053	10	64	3,923		30,103
Florida	31,769	28,031		72	3,738		59,872
Georgia	94,853	47,892	135	168	46,961		143,543
Illinois	312,584	337,411	10,849	12,005		24,827	672,849
Indiana	244,992	238,480	8,293	3,038	6,512		494,793
Iowa	*177,316	197,089		1,472		19,773	375,969
Kansas	90,132	154,406	16,341	4,954		64,474	265,843
Kentucky	152,961	118,122	1,693	3,139	34,839		275,915
Louisiana	62,546	46,347	120	338	16,199		109,234
Maine	51,856	71,716	3,994	2,143		20,060	129,509
Maryland	93,866	85,748	578	2,827	11,118		186,019
Massachusetts	122,352	146,724	24,382	9,925		24,372	303,383
Michigan	*189,361	192,669	753	18,403		3,308	401,186
Minnesota	70,065	111,685	3,583	4,684		41,620	190,017
Mississippi	76,510	43,500			33,001		120,019
Missouri	235,988	†202,929		2,153	†33,059		441,070
Nebraska	*54,391	76,903		2,899		22,512	134,404
Nevada	5,578	7,193	26			1,615	12,797
New Hampshire	39,187	43,250	552	1,571		4,063	84,566
New Jersey	127,778	123,366	3,456	6,153	4,412		261,537
New York	563,048	562,001	17,002	25,001	1,047		1,171,312
North Carolina	142,952	125,068		454	17,884		268,474
Ohio	368,286	400,082	5,170	11,239		31,796	784,807
Oregon	24,604	26,860	726	493		2,256	52,682
Pennsylvania	392,785	473,804	17,002	15,737		81,019	899,328
Rhode Island	12,391	19,030	422	928		6,639	32,771
South Carolina	69,764	21,733			48,031		91,578
Tennessee	133,270	124,090	957	1,151	9,180		259,468
Texas	223,679	91,701	3,321	3,508	131,978		322,209
Vermont	17,331	39,514	785	1,752		22,183	59,382
Virginia	145,497	139,356		138	6,141		284,991
West Virginia	67,317	†63,096	805	939	4,221		132,157
Wisconsin	146,459	161,157	4,598	7,656		14,698	319,942
Total	4,911,017	4,848,334	133,825	151,809	469,389	406,706	10,048,061
Cleveland's plurality	62,683						
Per cent	48.87	48.25	1.33	1.51			
Scattering							11,362

*In these three States, Iowa, Michigan and Nebraska, there was a "fusion" of the Democratic and the National Greenback parties on one Electoral ticket.

†In Missouri and West Virginia there was a "fusion" of the Republicans and the National Greenback parties on one Electoral ticket.

The blank and scattering votes reported were: Connecticut, 6; Georgia, 895; Kansas, 459; Louisiana, 453; Michigan, 4,284; Nebraska, 47; New Hampshire, 6; New Jersey, 784 New York, 4,269; Oregon, 50; Texas, 13; Vermont, 27; West Virginia, 2; Wisconsin, 72. Total, 11,362.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES FOR PRESIDENT, 1860-1884.

Year of Election	No. of States.	Total Elec. Vote.	Political Party.	Presidents. Candidates.	Vote. States.	Vote. Popular.	Vote. Electoral.	Vice-Presidents. Candidates.	Vice-Presidents. Elec. Vote.
1860	33	303	Republican	Abraham Lincoln	17	1,866,352	180	Hannibal Hamlin	180
			Democratic	J. C. Breckinridge	11	845,763	72	Joseph Lane	72
			Cons. Union	John Bell	3	589,581	39	Edward Everett	39
			Ind. Dem.	S. A. Douglas	2	1,375,157	12	H. V. Johnson	12
1864	*36	314	Republican	Abraham Lincoln	22	2,216,067	212	Andrew Johnson	212
			Democratic	Geo. B. McClellan	3	1,808,725	21	G. H. Pendleton	21
				Vacancies	11		81		81
1868	†37	317	Republican	Ulysses S. Grant	26	3,015,071	214	Schuyler Colfax	214
			Democratic	Horatio Seymour	8	2,709,613	80	F. P. Blair, Jr.	80
				Vacancies	3		23		23
1872	37	366	Republican	Ulysses S. Grant	31	3,597,070	286	Henry Wilson	286
			Dem. and Lib.	Horace Greely	6	2,834,079		B. Gratz Brown	47
			Democratic	Charles O'Connor	..	29,408		Geo. W. Julian	5
			Temperance	James Black	..	5,608		A. H. Colquitt	5
				Thos. A. Hendricks	..		42	John M. Palmer	3
				B. Gratz Brown	..		18	T. E. Bramlette	3
				Charles J. Jenkins	..		2	W. S. Groesbeck	1
				David Davis	..		1	Willis B. Machen	1
					..			N. P. Banks	1
				Not Counted	..		17		14
1876	38	369	Republican	Rutherford B. Hayes	21	4,033,950	185	Wm. A. Wheeler	185
			Democratic	Samuel J. Tilden	17	4,284,885	184	Thos. A. Hendricks	184
			Greenback	Peter Cooper	..	81,740			
			Prohibition	Green Clay Smith	..	9,522			
				Scattering	..	2,636			
1880	38	369	Republican	James A. Garfield	19	4,449,053	214	Chester A. Arthur	214
			Democratic	Winfield S. Hancock	19	4,442,035	155	Wm. H. English	155
			Greenback	James B. Weaver	..	307,306		B. J. Chambers	
				Scattering	..	12,576			
1884	38	400	Democratic	Grover Cleveland	20	4,911,017	219	Thos. A. Hendricks	219
			Republican	James G. Blaine	18	4,848,334	182	John A. Logan	182
			Prohibition	John P. St. John	..	151,809		William Daniel	
			Greenback	Benj. F. Butler	..	133,825		A. M. West	
				Scattering	..	11,362			

*Eleven States did not vote, viz.: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

†Three States did not vote, viz.: Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, . . . GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York.
PRIVATE SECRETARY, ... DANIEL S. LAMONT, of New York.

MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET.

Secretary of State, ... THOMAS F. BAYARD, of Delaware.
Secretary of the Treasury, ... CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD, of New York.
Secretary of War, ... WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT, of Massachusetts.
Secretary of the Navy, ... WILLLIAM C. WHITNEY, of New York.
Secretary of the Interior, ... WILLIAM F. VILAS, of Wisconsin.
Postmaster-General, ... DON M. DICKINSON, of Michigan.
Attorney-General, ... AUGUSTUS H. GARLAND, of Arkansas.

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

1st Ass't. Secretary of State, ... GEORGE L. RIVES, of New York.
2nd Ass't. Secretary of State, ... ALVEY A. ADEE.
3rd Ass't. Secretary of State, ... JOHN B. MOORE, of Delaware.

Ass't. Secretaries of the Treasury, . . . HUGH S. THOMPSON, of South Carolina.
ISAAC H. MAYNARD, of New York.

Commander-in-Chief of the Army, . . . MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD.

Admiral of the Navy, ... DAVID D. PORTER.

1st Assistant Postmaster-General, ... A. E. STEVENSON, of Illinois.
2nd " " . . . . . A. LEO KNOTT, of Maryland.
3rd " " . . . . . HENRY R. HARRIS, of Georgia.

1st Assistant Secretary of the Interior, . . . HENRY L. MULDROW, of Mississippi.
Assistant Secretary of the Interior, ... DAVID L. HAWKINS, of Missouri.

Solicitor-General, ... GEORGE A. JENKS, of Pennsylvania.
Commissioner of the General Land Office, ... S. M. STOCKSLAGER, of Indiana.
Commissioner of Patents, ... BENTON J. HALL, of Iowa.
Commissioner of Pensions, ... JOHN C. BLACK, of Illinois.
Commissioner of Agriculture, ... NORMAN J. COLMAN, of Missouri.

CIVIL-SERVICE COMMISSIONERS.

ALFRED P. EDGERTON, of Ohio, JOHN H. OBERLY, of Illinois,
CHARLES LYMAN, of Connecticut.

Government Printer, ... THOMAS E. BENEDICT, of New York.

President of the United States Senate, ... JOHN J. INGALLS, of Kansas.

Speaker of the House of Representatives, ... JOHN G. CARLISLE, of Kentucky.

Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, ... ROGER Q. MILLS, of Texas.

Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, . . SAMUEL J. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania.

COLLECTORS OF THE PRINCIPAL PORTS.

New York City, ... DANIEL MAGONE.
Philadelphia, ... JOHN CADWALADER.
Boston, ... LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.
Chicago, ... A. F. SEEBURGER.
San Francisco, ... JOHN S. HAGAR.
New Orleans, ... B. F. JONAS.
Baltimore, ... JAMES B. GROOME.

POSTMASTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES.

New York City, ... HENRY G. PEARSON.
Chicago, ... S. CORNING JUDD.
Philadelphia, ... WILLIAM F. HARRITY.
Boston, ... JOHN M. CORSE.
Brooklyn, ... JOSEPH C. HENDRIX.
San Francisco, ... WILLIAM J. BRYAN.
New Orleans, ... GEORGE W. NOTT.
Pittsburg, ... JOHN B. LARKIN.
Baltimore, ... FRANK BROWN.

MINISTERS TO LEADING FOREIGN COUNTRIES

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France, ... ROBERT M. MCLANE, of Maryland.
Germany, ... GEORGE H. PENDLETON, of Ohio.
Russia, ... GEORGE V. N. LOTHROP, of Michigan.
Italy, ... JOHN B. STALLO, of Ohio.
Austria, ... A. R. LAWTON, of Georgia.
Spain, ... J. L. M. CURRY, of Virginia.
China, ... CHARLES DENBY, of Indiana.
Japan, ... RICHARD B. HUBBARD, of Texas.
Turkey, ... OSCAR S. STRAUSS, of New York.
Brazil, ... THOMAS J. JARVIS, of North Carolina.

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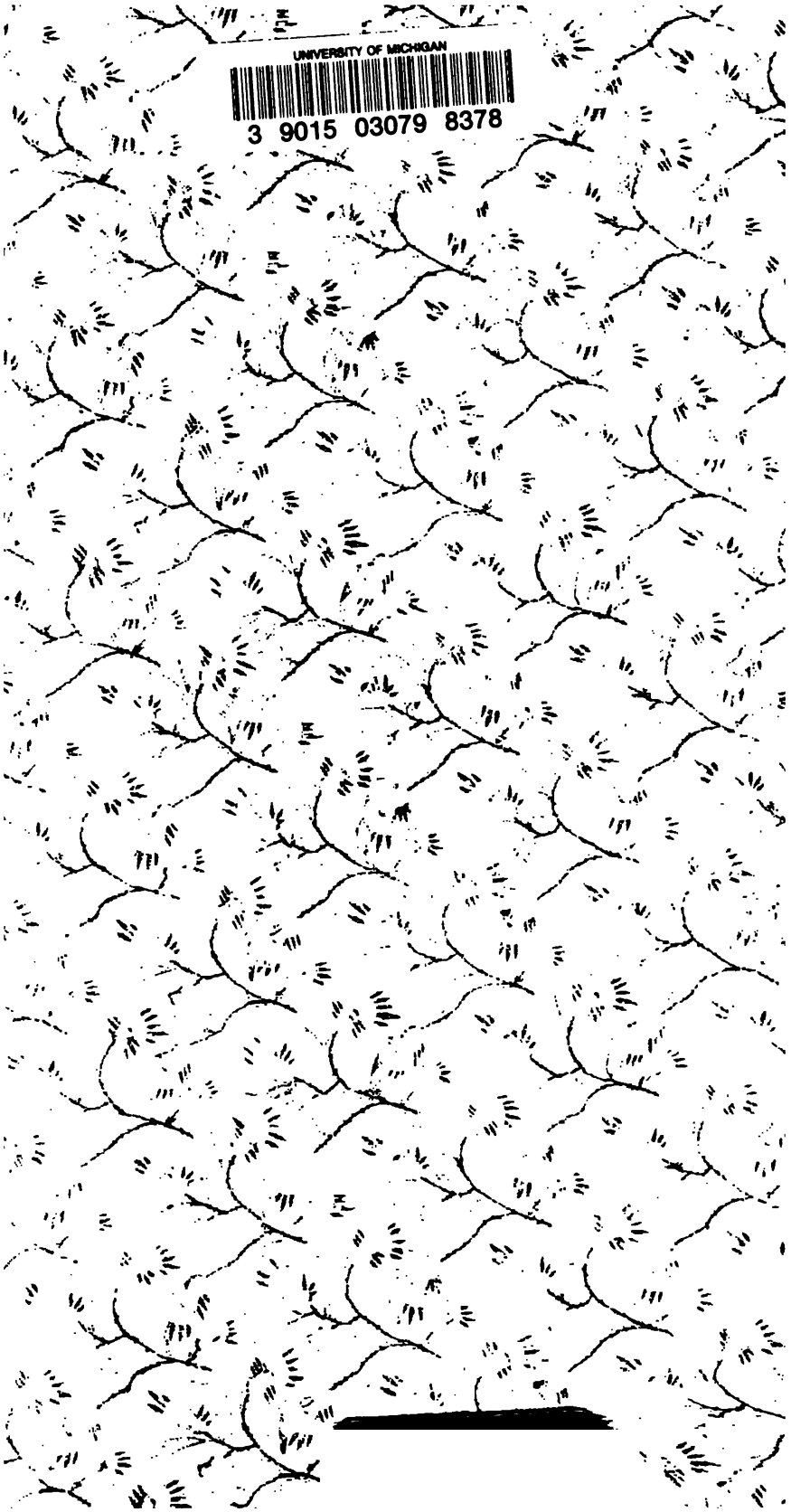
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